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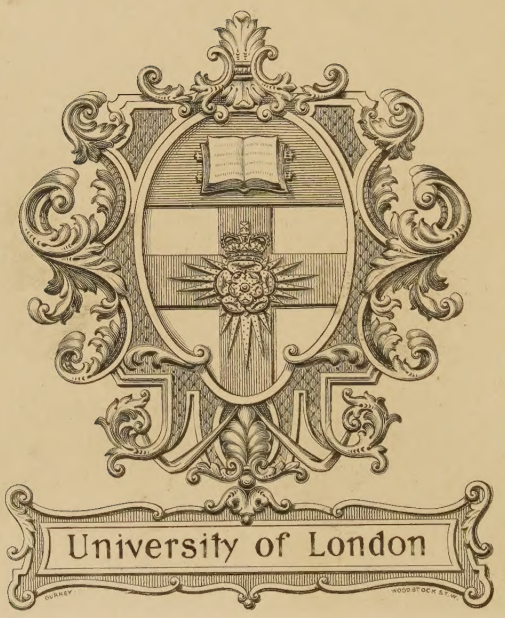

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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

48° & 49° VICTORIÆ, 1884-5.

VOL. CCXCVIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE EIGHTH DAY OF MAY, 1885,

TO

THE SEVENTH DAY OF JULY, 1885.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY CORNELIUS BUCK,

AT THE OFFICE FOR "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,"

22, PATERNOSTER ROW. [E.C.]

1885.

8995

BIBL.
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PARLIAMENT—ORDER—COURSE OF PROCEDURE—REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL—Observations, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Reply, Mr. Speaker 438

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill [Bill 150]—

Order for Consideration, as amended, read 441

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be re-committed with respect to new Clauses regarding temporary provision for remuneration of local officials, and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Dublin by townships of Pembroke and Blackrock,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Bill *considered*:—After debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) 464

After short debate, Motion postponed.

Tithe Rent Extraordinary Limitation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Daniel Grant, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Borlase*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 177] .. 465

Land (Compulsory Registration of Incumbrances) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Harcourt, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Charles Roundell, Mr. Staveley Hill*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 178] 465

Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 179] 465

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSURANCE—

Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 465

[5.55.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MAY 14.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 466

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—UNJUST CONVICTIONS—CASE OF JOSEPH AND CHARLES DICKSON—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 467

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IRELAND—PORT OF BALLYSHANNON — WRECK OF THE "ROCKABILL"—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. J. Holms 469

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PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—GREYSTONES HARBOUR WORKS—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 471

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—UNION OF OMAGH—MR. ROBERT S. CLEMENTS—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 471

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF MR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON AS ASSISTANT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 472

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LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—COUNTY DOWN LUNATIC ASYLUM—RESIDENCE AND ATTENDANCE OF GOVERNORS—Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 473

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROSECUTION OF MR. DANIEL RYAN, OF DOON, COUNTY LIMERICK, FOR RE-ENTRY AFTER EVICTION—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 473

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LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JUDICIAL ARRANGEMENTS AT LISBURN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 475

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PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE SLIGO HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS—MEMORIAL FOR EXTENSION OF TIME FOR REPAYMENT OF LOAN—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 476

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POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—BRANCH OFFICE AT WHITBY'S CROSS, CO. WEXFORD—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 478

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—RUMOURED BRITISH PROTECTORATE—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 478

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL—Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 478

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SUPPLY—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN UPPER EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN—THE VOTE OF CREDIT—Questions, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Brodrick, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 485

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 485

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NATIONAL DEBT BILL—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 490

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LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—COLONEL KING-HARMAN AND HIS TENANTS—Questions, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 491

CROFTERS HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, The Lord Advocate.. 492

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

H.R.H. PRINCESS BEATRICE—THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE—

Message from Her Majesty [12th May],—*considered* in Committee .. 492

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H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—The Queen's Message—*continued.*

Message from Her Majesty read.

Moved, "That the annual sum of Six Thousand Pounds be granted to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, the said Annuity to be settled on Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice for Her life, in such manner as Her Majesty shall think proper, and to commence from the date of the Marriage of Her Royal Highness with His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 337, Noes 38; Majority 299.—(Div. List, No. 188.)

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill [Bill 150]—

Consideration:—Adjourned Debate *resumed* 512

After long debate, Bill *re-committed; considered* in Committee .. 562

After further short debate, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*) 564

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *passed.*

Sporting Lands Rating (Scotland) Bill [Bill 3]—

Order for Second Reading read 565

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Bill—

Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the tenure of land by Crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto,"—(*The Lord Advocate*) 566

Debate arising:—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Bill—

Sir William Dyke, Colonel Walrond, Mr. Ruston, and Dr. Farquharson, *nominated* Members of the Select Committee,—(*Mr. George Russell*) 566

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*) 566

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*) 566

Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 180] 566

Tithe Rent Charge Redemption Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Monk, Mr. Vivian*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 181] 566

[2.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, MAY 15.

Secretary for Scotland Bill—

Bill for appointing a Secretary for Scotland—*Presented* (*The Lord Privy Seal*); read 1ª (No. 117) 567

Registration (Occupation Voters) Bill—Read 1ª (*The Lord Chancellor*) (No. 111) 567

Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill—Read 1ª (*The Lord Privy Seal*) (No. 112) 568

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill—Read 1ª (*The Lord President*) (No. 116) 568

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Legislation—Question, The Earl of Donoughmore; Answer, Lord Carlingford .. 568

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H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—The Queen's Message—

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Message of Tuesday last *considered* (according to Order) 569

Moved, "That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for the most gracious communication which it has pleased Her Majesty to make to this House of the intended marriage between Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice and His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg, and to assure Her Majesty that this House, always feeling the liveliest interest in any event which can contribute to the happiness of the Royal Family, will concur in the measures which may be proposed for the consideration of the House to enable Her Majesty to make suitable provision for Her Royal Highness,"—(*Earl Granville.*)

After short debate, Motion *agreed to, nemine dissentiente.*

The said Address to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Organization and Equipment—Resolution—

Moved to resolve, "That the present state of the Auxiliary Forces, deficient as they are in the organization and equipment necessary to enable them, if required, to take and keep the field, demands the immediate and earnest attention of those who are responsible for their efficiency and for the security of the country,"—(*The Earl of Wemyss*).. 571

After debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 20, Not-Contents 23; Majority 3.—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill (No. 109)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) 596

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 8*th* of *June* next.

Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) Bill [H.L.] — *Presented* (*The Lord Thurlow*); read 1ª (No. 118) 599

[8.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MAY 15.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 599

After debate, Motion *agreed to* (Queen's *Consent* signified):—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

Post Office—The Inventions Exhibition—Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Birkbeck; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert 612

Poor Law (Ireland)—Dr. Molony, Medical Officer, Arklow Dispensary District—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 613

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882, Sec. 84 (Searches, &c.)—Case of Mr. John O'Rourke, Redhill, Newport, Co. Mayo—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 613

Law and Police—Alleged Breach of the Licensing Laws at Dysart, Co. Roscommon—Questions, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 614

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Firing at the Person—Case of W. R. Perceval—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 614

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884, SEC. 9—DUTIES OF OVERSEERS —Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Finch-Hatton; Answers, The Attorney General 615

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LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC CHILDREN IN ENGLISH PROTESTANT CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—CASE OF ROSE DOYLE— Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, The Attorney General .. 621

ARMY—SMALL-POX AT MANCHESTER—THE 5TH DRAGOON GUARDS—Questions, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 622

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EXTRA POLICE TAX (IRELAND)—THE CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 623

ARMY (INDIA)—CAMP FOLLOWERS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 623

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ARMY—DEFENCE OF THE COALING STATIONS—Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 625

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM SUAKIN—Questions, Colonel Stanley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 625

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair: "—

FORESTRY—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to consider whether by the establishment of a Forest School or otherwise, our Woodlands could be rendered more remunerative,"—(*Sir John Lubbock,*)—instead thereof 634

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question: "—After debate, Question put, and *negatived:*—Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply,—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair: "—

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF THE BROTHERS DELAHUNTY—Resolution, Mr. Kenny 649

[House counted out] [7.5.]

LORDS, MONDAY, MAY 18.

South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Companies (Arbitration) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee to whom the said Bill was committed,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*) 650

After short debate, *Resolved* in the *negative.*

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—ABANDONMENT BY ENGLAND—RESOLUTION—

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, until a settled government has been established in Eastern Soudan, in the interests of civilization, of the native population, and of commerce, and for the security of Egypt, this country cannot relieve itself of the responsibilities it has incurred through the warlike operations that have, during the last two years, been twice undertaken in that part of the Soudan,"—(*The Earl of Wemyss*) 655

Amendment *moved,*

To leave out all the words after the first ("That"), and insert the following words ("this House accepts with satisfaction the promise of Her Majesty's Government to recall Her Forces from the Soudan, and considers the construction of a railway from Suakin by military force through a hostile population would be inconsistent with the pledge just given to Parliament and the country. Moreover this House declines to assume any responsibility for commercial, civilizing, or philanthropic enterprises outside the admitted obligations and interests of Great Britain,")—(*The Lord Wentworth.*)

After debate, Amendment and Original Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.* [8.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, MAY 18.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

ROADS AND BRIDGES (IRELAND)—NEWTOWNBARRY BRIDGE—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 699

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CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL—Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Dr. Cameron [no reply] 719

CENTRAL ASIA—THE "PENJDEH INCIDENT"—GENERAL KOMAROFF AND SIR PETER LUMSDEN—Notice of Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 719

MOTION.

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (RULE 12—NOTICES ON GOING INTO COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY)—Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Gorst; Reply, Mr. Speaker:—Short debate thereon 720

Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS—

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further sum, not exceeding £3,360,500, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886" 723

[Then the several Services are set forth.]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further sum, not exceeding £1,360,500, be granted, &c.,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill:*)—After debate, *Moved*, "That the Motion be, by leave, withdrawn:"—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 11, Noes 74; Majority 63.—(Div. List, No. 195.)

Original Question again proposed 768

After long debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th May]—

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the tenure of land by Crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto,"—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 843

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 184.]

Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill—H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—Message from Her Majesty [12th May]—Resolution *reported*, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert*) .. 873

Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 153]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Norwood*) 874

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee.

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday.*

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Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill [Bill 138]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 876
After short time spent therein, 40 Members not being present [House counted out] [3.0.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, MAY 19.

Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill (No. 60)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 879
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*; House in Committee; Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* the *8th of June* next.

Arbitration Bill (No. 85)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Bramwell*) .. 880
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª.

Earldom of Mar Restitution Bill (No. 107)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) .. 880
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *referred* to a Select Committee.

Registration (Occupation Voters) Bill (No. 111)—
House in Committee (according to order) 889
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 120.)

Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill (No. 112)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Earl of Rosebery*) 903
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 121.)

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill (No. 116)—
House in Committee (according to order) 905
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 122.)

EGYPT—RETURN OF EXPENDITURE—ADDRESS FOR A RETURN—
Moved for, "Return of the total sums spent by the Imperial and Indian Governments on naval and military operations in or connected with Egypt, on its civil administration, and on any other matters relating to that country since 1st January 1882 up to the present time: Also, for a Return of the officers and men who have lost their lives and of the number invalided home in consequence of our operations in Egypt between the above-mentioned dates,"—(*The Earl of Jersey*) 908
After short debate, Motion amended, by the addition of the words ("so far as it can be given,") and *agreed to*.
[7.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, MAY 19.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Barrington's Hospital Bill (by Order)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn*) .. 910

Barrington's Hospital Bill (*by Order*)—continued.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "be," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "re-committed, in order that provision may be made that the two additional Governors of the Hospital shall be nominated from time to time by the Corporation of the City of Limerick,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'now read the third time' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Metropolitan Board of Works Bill (*by Order*)—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 916

After short debate, Bill to be read the third time.

North British Railway Bill (*by Order*)—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 926

After short debate, Bill to be read the third time.

QUESTIONS.

Lighthouses—Telegraphic Communication with the Mainland—Question, Mr. Vivian; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 936

Employers' Liability Act—Amendment—Question, Mr. Charles Roundell; Answer, The Attorney General 937

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Lawrence Hannen—Costs of Defence—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 938

Evictions (Ireland)—Case of Mary Magee, Gweedore, Co. Donegal—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 938

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Imprisonment of two Women—Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 939

Egypt (The Military Expedition)—Lord Wolseley's Instructions—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter 639

Egypt (The Military Expedition)—The Suakin-Berber Railway—Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Raikes; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter 940

Gambling Act—Raid on a Betting Club—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 941

Coal Mines—Denaby Main Colliery—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 942

Poor Law (Ireland)—Election of Guardians—Vacancies in Usk and Naas Divisions, Naas Union—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 943

Ways and Means—The Financial Statement—The Wine Duties—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Hibbert .. 944

Egypt—The Fortifications of Alexandria—Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter .. 944

Police Bill—Question, General Alexander; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 944

Spain—The Barque "Mary Mark"—Question, Mr. Henderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 945

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Outbreak in Yorkshire—Question, Mr. Ackers; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 945

Spain—The Derelict Ship "Thessalos"—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 946

The Suez Canal—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 946

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HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—TRANSFER OF SMALL HOUSES—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 946

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-PERSIAN FRONTIER—Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 947

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—MILITARY EXPEDITION—THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS—Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter .. 947

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Lord John Manners, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir William Harcourt, The Attorney General 947

LAW AND POLICE—ROBBERY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Questions, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Lord Richard Grosvenor .. 949

PARLIAMENT—WEDNESDAY SITTINGS—Resolution, Mr. Warton .. 950
[House counted out] [6.15.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, MAY 20.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT—
Moved, "That the House do adjourn during pleasure,"—(*The Earl of Cork*) 950
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House adjourned accordingly at 11.45 A.M.:—House resumed at 5 P.M. [5.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MAY 20.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT (WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS)—Observations, Sir R. Assheton Cross 951
Moved, "That the House, at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*:)—Debate arising; Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Registration (Occupation Voters) Bill—
Lords Amendments *considered*, and *agreed to* 952

Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill—
Lords Amendments *considered*, and *agreed to*.. 970

LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND—LAND BILL AND LABOURERS' BILL—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 971

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Pluralities Bill [Bill 22]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Acland*) .. 972
After short debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Warton.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

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Sites for Places of Religious Worship Bill [Bill 58]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Broadhurst*) .. 979
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Colonel Makins*).
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Newdegate:*)—Question put, and *negatived.*
Original Question again proposed:—Debate arising;
And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

EGYPT—THE MILITARY EXPEDITION—THE GUARDS—Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter 985

MOTIONS.

Local Loans (Sinking Funds) Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Matthew Ridley, Sir Richard Cross, Sir Hardinge Giffard*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 189] 985

POSTAL SERVICE (GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA)—
Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 985

Rivers Purification Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Earl Percy, Colonel Walrond*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 190] 986

Valuation of Lands (Scotland) (Appeals) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henderson, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Stewart Clark*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 191] 986
[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, MAY 21.

Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment Bill (No. 102)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie*) .. 987
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 16*th of June* next.

PARLIAMENT—PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION)—Question, Observations, Lord Norton, The Earl of Wemyss, Viscount Bury; Reply, The Earl of Rosebery 999

DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856—BELLIGERENT RIGHTS AT SEA—RESOLUTION—
Moved to resolve "That it is our duty to withdraw from the Declaration of Paris of 1856, and thus maintain our ancient maritime rights so essential to the power and the prosperity of the Empire,"—(*The Lord Lamington*) 1000
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION AT CABUL—Question, Observations, Lord Inchiquin, Earl Stanhope, The Earl of Galloway; Replies, The Earl of Kimberley, Earl Granville 1008

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OCCUPATION OF SUAKIN—Question, Observations, The Earl of Wemyss, Viscount Bury; Reply, Earl Granville 1011

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS—

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess.

[6.45.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MAY 21.

QUESTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE—DISTRICT INSPECTOR HURST, STRABANE — Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1014

SUPPLY—THE VOTE OF CREDIT—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1015

PRISONS (IRELAND)—THE LATE ROYAL COMMISSION—EXPENSES OF MEDICAL WITNESSES FOR PAYMENT OF SUBSTITUTES—Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1015

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Creyke; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1016

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL—THE SPIRIT AND BEER DUTIES—INCOME TAX EXEMPTIONS—Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Hibbert 1016

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—TRANSFER OF SERGEANT PRICE FROM STEWARTSTOWN, Co. TYRONE—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1018

SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT—SPURIOUS BUTTERS—Questions, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain 1018

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—STORES FOR THE SOUDAN—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Brand 1019

EGYPT—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1882—THE MEAT CONTRACT—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Brand 1019

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY AT URLAUR—ACTION OF THE SWINEFORD SANITARY BOARD—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1020

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY—Question, Mr. Craig Sellar; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1021

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—IRREGULARITY OF A RATE COLLECTOR AT ARKLOW—Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1021

CIVIL BILL OFFICERS (IRELAND) — Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1022

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—UNEQUAL SENTENCES—Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1022

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN"—Questions, Mr. Gibson, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone 1025

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ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1028

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Supply—Civil Service Estimates, May 18—Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Gladstone—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1040
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—European Prisoners with the Mahdi—Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1041
Parliament—Business of the House—Observation, Mr. Gladstone .. 1042

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

East India Loan (£10,000,000) Bill [Bill 109]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. K. Cross*) .. 1042
After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* 8th June.

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PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT (WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS)—RESOLUTION [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question proposed [20th May:]—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1077

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House, at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Postponed Resolution [7th May] *considered.*

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £38,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Administration of Military Law, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886" 1125

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 153]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1134

After short debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with an Amendment.

Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill [Bill 152]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Daniel Grant*) 1136

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MOTIONS.

Intermediate Education, Wales, Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Mundella*) 1136

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Lord Richard Grosvenor*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 195.]

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 194] .. 1140

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 192] 1140

[2.15.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, MAY 22.

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CAVAN UNION—MR. JAMES HARTLY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1140

DEFACEMENT OF FRENCH COIN—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1141

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—BALLYMOTE NATIONAL SCHOOL, Co. SLIGO—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1141

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—BANAGHER ROYAL SCHOOL—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1143

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—DR. NEWELL, SENIOR SECRETARY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1143

POST OFFICE—CHARGES AGAINST POST OFFICE SERVANTS—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1144

BOARD OF TRADE—HARBOUR APPOINTMENTS IN DUBLIN—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1145

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE—INDIAN CANDIDATES—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1146

CRIMES (IRELAND)—RETURN OF STATISTICS, JANUARY 1 TO APRIL 30, 1885—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1146

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—BANFFSHIRE ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1147

PUBLIC HEALTH—CHOLERA VACCINATION—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1147

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE (YORKSHIRE)—Question, Colonel Gunter; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1148

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—EUROPEAN PRISONERS OF THE MAHDI—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1148

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN"—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1149

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSIAN ATTACK AT PENJDEH—PROCLAMATION OF THE AMEER—Questions, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1150

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—ORGANIZATION OF A LOCAL FORCE—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1151

THE EGYPTIAN LOAN—THE JOINT GUARANTEE—Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Lord John Manners, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1151

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill [Bill 121]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1154

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 4th June.

Criminal Law Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 159]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir William Harcourt*) 1175

After short debate, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

PRIVATE BILLS—

Ordered, That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Thursday the 4th day of June,—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

MOTIONS.

—o—

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 196] 1183

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 197] 1183

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 198] .. 1183

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £71,323, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices" 1194

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £70,973, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Onslow*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 1197

After long debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) £51,373, to complete the sum for the Foreign Office.

(3.) £27,063, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1247

(4.) £35,883, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.

(5.) £71,178, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1268

(6.) £664, to complete the sum for the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1283

(7.) £26,007, to complete the sum for the Charity Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1287

(8.) £21,739, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1291

(9.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £40,189, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer, including the Chancery Audit Branch" . 1300

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—*continued.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £39,189, be granted, &c.,"—(*Dr. Cameron :*)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 15, Noes 41 ; Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 200.)
Original Question again proposed 1315
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor :*)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
(10.) £5,622, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Registry.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1316

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Post Office Sites (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 193]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1317
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland :*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* next.

Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Bill [Bill 179]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Holms*) .. 1324
After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Shannon Navigation (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 171]—
Order for Committee read :—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) 1325
After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Bill *considered* in Committee :—Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill [Bill 138]—
Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 18th May*] 1325
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported ;* as amended, to be considered upon *Friday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 200.]

Local Government Provisional Orders (Municipal Corporations) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 199] 1328
[1.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875—REGISTRATION OF NEW SOCIETIES—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the working of the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, with regard to the admission of new societies to registry,"—(*The Lord Greville*) 1329
After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided ;* Contents 9, Not-Contents 50 ; Majority 41 :—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION—Questions, Observations, Earl Stanhope, The Marquess of Salisbury ; Reply, Earl Granville 1329
[5.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

MOTION.

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*) ; *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 201] 1333

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LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER—Notice of Resolution, Mr. T. D. Sullivan 1345

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER—Observations, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland; Observations, Mr. Sexton, Mr. John Redmond [House counted out] .. 1346

[8.0.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 8.

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill (No. 109)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) 1360

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months,")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On Question, That the word ("now") stand part of the Motion?—*Resolved* in the *affirmative.*

After short debate, House in Committee 1374

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 129.)

AFRICA (SOUTH-EAST COAST)—ST. LUCIA BAY—Question, Observations, The Earl of Jersey; Reply, The Earl of Derby 1395

[8.45.]

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill [Bill 154]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*).. 1417

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House regards the increase proposed by this Bill in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine, and declines to impose fresh Taxation on Real Property until effect has been given to its Resolution of 17th April 1883 and of 28th March 1884, by which it has acknowledged further measures of relief to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 252, Noes 264; Majority 12.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1511

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—Motion *agreed to.* [1.45.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 9.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—
Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday,"—(*The Earl Granville*) 1516
After short debate, Motion *agreed to.* [4.45.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JUNE 9.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE — ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—
Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1517
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
Moved, "That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*) — Question put, and *agreed to.*
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—Question put, and *agreed to.* [4.45.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10.

Page

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.30.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JUNE 11.

Their Lordships met;—

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—

Report of Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

And having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

[House adjourned] [4.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—Statement, Earl Granville 1521

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill (No. 129)—

Report of Amendments *considered* (according to order) 1522

After debate, Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to Order), and *dispensed with;* Bill read 3ª with the Amendments, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

THE EARL OF LINDSAY—

The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery delivered his certificate that the Earl of Lindsay had been elected a Representative Peer for Scotland in the room of the Earl of Selkirk deceased.

Real Property Registration Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Duke of Marlborough*); read 1ª (No. 132) 1527

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS—

Ordered that Standing Orders Nos. 72 and 82 be suspended for the remainder of the Session. [5.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—Statement, Mr. Gladstone 1528

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—

Lords Amendments to be considered upon *Monday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 202.] [5.15.]

LORDS, SATURDAY, JUNE 13.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [2.0.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 15.

Glasgow Corporation Tramways Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" 1533

Moved, "That the Order be postponed,"—(*The Earl of Redesdale:*)—After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Original Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

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PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—MOTION

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday next,"—(*Viscount Cranbrook*) 1534

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

After an interval, during which several Bills were advanced a stage,

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday next,"—(*Viscount Cranbrook.*)

PUBLIC OFFICES—THE NEW ADMIRALTY AND WAR OFFICES—THE MODELS—Question, The Earl of Wemyss; Answer, The Earl of Rosebery .. 1535

Motion *agreed to*.

Yorkshire Registries Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Wenlock*); read 1ª (No. 133) 1535

[4.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JUNE 15.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE — ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—

Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1536

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

COMMITTEES—RESOLUTION—

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House,—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1540

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill [Bill 202]—

Moved, "That the Lords Amendments be now considered,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) 1540

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff:*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 35, Noes 333; Majority 298.—(Div. List, No. 202.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Lords Amendments *considered* accordingly 1555

Several *agreed to;* two *disagreed to*.

Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to two of the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed:"—List of the Committee 1583

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—

Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendments *reported*, and *agreed to:*—To be communicated to the Lords.

ADJOURNMENT—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1583

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 32, Noes 55; Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 206.)

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill [Bill 26]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Pell*) 1585

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday*.

MOTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDERS OF THE DAY—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That the remaining Orders of the Day be deferred till Friday," —(*Mr. Rowley Hill*) 1586
After short debate, *Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Henry Fletcher:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 75, Noes 7; Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 207.)

Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill—
Motion for Leave (*Mr. Jesse Collings*) 1590
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Davey, Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Reid, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Agnew*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 206.]

Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, Provisional Order Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*) 1591
[9.45.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 16.

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—
Returned from the Commons with several of the amendments *agreed to*, and some *disagreed to*, with Reasons for such disagreement: The said Reasons to be *printed;* and to be considered on *Friday* next. (No. 135.)
[3.15.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.

Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill—
Read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Friday* next; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with (*The Earl Granville*) (No. 138.)
[4.30.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.15.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS — Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury 1592

Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill (No. 138)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl Granville*) .. 1593
Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee *negatived:* Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill—
Commons Amendment *considered* (according to order) 1594
Moved, "To agree to the said Amendment,"—(*The Marquess of Ripon:*)—After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*
A Committee appointed to prepare a reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said amendment: The Committee to meet *forthwith:* Report from the Committee of the reason prepared by them; read, and *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons with a reason.

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Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—

Order of the Day for considering the Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendments, read 1594

Moved, "That the House do now take the said reasons into consideration,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("on Tuesday next,")—(*The Marquess of Salisbury :*)—After short debate, on Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 56, Not-Contents 124; Majority 68.

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 1598

Ordered that the said reasons be considered on *Tuesday* next.

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Tuesday next,"—(*Earl Granville :*)—Motion *agreed to.*

Archdeaconries Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*); read 1ª (No. 150) 1600

[5.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (MR. BRADLAUGH)—Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh 1600

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—

Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn until Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1603

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

COMMITTEES—RESOLUTION—

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House,—(*Mr. Gladstone.*) [5.0.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 22.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR SCOTLAND—

Minutes of Election of the Earl of Lindsay as one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland in room of Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk 1607

[4.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 23.

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—Statement of The Earl Granville 1607

Moved, "That the Commons' Reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords' Amendments be now considered,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) .. 1608

Amendment *moved*, to leave out the word ("now") and at the end of the Motion to add ("this day six months,")—(*The Lord Denman :*)—On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Original Motion *agreed to :*—Commons reasons *considered* accordingly.

Women's Suffrage Bill (No. 27)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Denman*) .. 1611

After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 8, Not-Contents 36; Majority 28.—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND COMMISSION—LETTER OF THE DUKE OF ARGYLL—Observations, Lord Napier and Ettrick, The Duke of Argyll 1612

[5.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JUNE 23. *Page*

QUESTION.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT (IRELAND)—SPEECH OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN—Notice of Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1617

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE BY THE NEW MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE—

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 1 be suspended, and that this House, at its rising, do adjourn until To-morrow at Five of the clock,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1618

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—Question put, and *agreed to.* [4.45.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—NEW WRITS—

Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Friday,"—(*Mr. Rowland Winn.*)

THE NEW MINISTRY—THE CORRESPONDENCE—Statement, Mr. Gladstone 1623

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Rowland Winn.*)

NOTICE.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—RENEWAL OF ACT—Notice of Motion, Mr. Parnell 1630

Question put, and *agreed to.* [5.45.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

The Earl of REDESDALE—Sat Speaker.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Right Honourable Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD, Knight, having been appointed Lord Chancellor—Sat Speaker.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—STATEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY—Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury, Earl Granville 1631

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—

Moved, "That this House do adjourn until Monday week,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 1638

Motion *agreed to.* [5.15.]

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Message from *The Lords*—That they do not insist on their Amendments to the Bill to which this House has *disagreed.*

NEW WRITS 1639

ADJOURNMENT—

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Monday 6th July,—(*Mr. Akers-Douglas.*)

COMMITTEES—

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House. [4.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

The Earl of SELBORNE—Chosen Speaker in the absence of the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners.

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR—

The LORD PRESIDENT acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to create the Right Honourable Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Peer of this Realm, by the title of Baron Halsbury of Halsbury in the county of Devon, and his Lordship, having retired to robe, was introduced in the usual manner. [4.30.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 29.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [1.45.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JUNE 30.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [3.45.]

LORDS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 1.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 2.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [2.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 3.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

MINISTRY OF THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, AS IT STOOD AT THEIR RESIGNATION OF OFFICE 1643

MINISTRY OF THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, AS FORMED ON ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE 1644

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 6.

Page

NEW PEERS 1647

Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill (No. 127)—

Order of the Day read for taking into consideration Standing Order No. 93. in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a petition or petitions of the Metropolitan Water Companies praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill 1647

Moved, "That the said Standing Order be now considered,"—(*The Lord Bramwell:*)—After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Viscount Enfield.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly; and *referred* to a Select Committee.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—STATEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY—

Moved, "That the House do now adjourn,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) 1652

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL—Observation, The Earl of Rosebery .. 1670

LUNACY BILL — Question, The Earl of Selborne; Answer, The Marquess of Salisbury 1670

Motion *agreed to.* [6.15.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 6.

MOTION.

NEW WRITS ISSUED 1671

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (MR. BRADLAUGH)—RESOLUTION—

Mr. BRADLAUGH, one of the Members for Northampton, came to the Table to take the Oath.

Moved, "That this House doth affirm the two Resolutions made upon the 11th of February 1884, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the statute 29 Vic. c. 12, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, and directing the Serjeant at Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) 1672

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, having informed Mr. Speaker of his intention to come to the Table to be sworn, this House is of opinion that the questions raised concerning promissory and other Oaths call for an early settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a constituency or its Member, and, believing that legislation is necessary for its settlement, resolves that it be proceeded with as soon as possible,"—(*Mr. Hopwood,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 263, Noes 219; Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 208.)

Main Question again proposed 1701

After short debate, Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL AND THE KHEDIVE—Notice of Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, The Secretary of State for India 1702

RUSSIA—OFFENSIVE SPEECHES—Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Picton; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1704

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LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT—Question, Mr. Villiers Stuart; Answer, The Chief Secretary 1704
THE LORD PRIVY SEAL—Questions, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1705
PARLIAMENT—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT—Question, Mr. Heneage; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1705
EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN—THE "PROTOCOLE DE DESINTERESSEMENT"—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1706
INDIA — BENGAL TENANCY BILL—Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Secretary of State for India 1707
IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS—ESTATE OF CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, CO. LONGFORD—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, The Chief Secretary 1707
FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—LOAN OF £250,000 FROM IRISH CHURCH FUND—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury 1708
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer: — Short debate thereon 1708

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £16,021, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1712
(2.) £361,254, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1713
(3.) £10,725, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1721
(4.) £44,333, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.
(5.) £9,200, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.
(6.) £31,997, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1732
(7.) £17,774, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1733
(8.) £6,747, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1734
(9.) £15,288, to complete the sum for the Record Office.
(10.) £34,887, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.
(11.) £422,097, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.
(12.) £16,852, to complete the sum for the Woods, Forests, &c. Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1741
(13.) £35,529, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.
(14.) £40,000, Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).
(15.) £25,000, to complete the sum for Secret Service.
(16.) £4,800, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and other Offices, Scotland.
(17.) £18,095, to complete the sum for the Fishery Board, Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1742
(18.) £4,469, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.
(19.) £4,893, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.
(20.) £24,959, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.
(21.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,469, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses" 1745
After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 89, Noes 19; Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 209.)
(22.) £32,382, to complete the sum for the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1746

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(23.) £1,552, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £119,978, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation" 1746

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £36,111, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland" .. 1747

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(24.) £4,756, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(25.) £11,126, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.

(26.) £15,804, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(27.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £152,245, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad" 1747

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £145,245, be granted, &c.," — (*Mr. Labouchere :*) — After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn :*—Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(28.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £131,495, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expense of the Consular Establishments Abroad, and for other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote" 1760

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £131,465, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1763

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £130,895, be granted &c.,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(29.) £8,272, to complete the sum for the Slave Trade Services

(30.) £2,025, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1764

(31.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £21,566, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, in aid of Colonial Local Revenue, and for the Salaries and Allowances of Governors, &c., and for other Charges connected with the Colonies, including Expenses incurred under 'The Pacific Islanders Protection Act, 1875'" .. 1766

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,815, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Biggar :*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £24,690, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for certain Charges connected with the Orange River Territory, the Transvaal, Zululand, Bechuanaland, the Island of St. Helena, and the High Commissioner for South Africa" 1769

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir George Campbell :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Moved, "That the Original Motion be withdrawn,"—(*Sir Henry Holland :*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to :*—Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(32.) £17,300, to complete the sum for the Subsidies to Eastern and South African Telegraph Company.

(33.) £15,000, Cyprus Grant in Aid.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* .. 1771

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

[*July* 6.] *Page*

East India Loan (£10,000,000) Bill [Bill 109]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1776
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
Bill *considered* in Committee 1789
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill [Bill 26]—
Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 15th June*] 1790
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Puleston:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday*.

MOTION.

—o—

London Livery Companies Bill—
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law respecting the Livery Companies of the City of London,"—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) .. 1791
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Illingworth:*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.
Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. George Russell*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 210.]
[1.30.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 7.

NEW PEERS 1793
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" 1793
Moved, "That Standing Order No. 128 (which prohibits the payment of interest out of capital) be dispensed with,"—(*The Earl of Ravensworth:*)—After short debate, on Question? their Lordships *divided;* Contents 46, Not-Contents 37; Majority 9.—*Resolved* in the *affirmative*.
Bill read 2ª, and *committed:* The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection. [6.15.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 7.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

Dee Conservancy Bill [*Lords*]—RESOLUTION—
Moved, "That the Resolution which, upon the 23rd day of June last, was reported from the Select Committee on Standing Orders in relation to the Dee Conservancy Bill [*Lords*], together with the Bill and Report of the Examiner with respect to non-compliance with the Standing Orders, be referred back to the Select Committee on Standing Orders:—That the following Petitions in relation thereto be referred to the said Committee (that is to say):—
"1. Corporations of Chester and Flint, River Dee Commissioners, and others interested in the navigation of the River Dee;
"2. River Dee Company;
"3. Shipowners, Traders, and others:
"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to inquire into the allegations contained in such Petitions, and to report to the House whether the circumstances therein stated are such as render it just and expedient that the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with,"—(*Mr. Raikes*) 1806
After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 129, Noes 155; Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 210.)

[*July 7.*] *Page*

Sittings and Adjournment of the House—Commencement of Public Business—Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1824

QUESTIONS.

Cruisers of the Mercantile Marine—Manning and Equipment—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty .. 1824

Post Office—Sixpenny Telegrams—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Puleston; Answers, The Postmaster General .. 1825

The "Pall Mall Gazette"—Objectionable Articles—Revelations of Gross Immoralities—Questions, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Callan; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department .. 1827

Egypt—Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Special Mission—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1828

Literature, Science, and Art—The National Portrait Gallery—Questions, Mr. Coope, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works 1829

Egypt (The Military Expedition)—Vote of Thanks to the Forces—Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Secretary of State for War .. 1830

Public Health—The Cholera—Preventive Measures—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board 1830

Police Superannuation Bill—Question, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department.. .. 1831

Provision for the Royal Family—A Select Committee—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1832

High Court of Justice—The Chancery Division—Question, Mr. Ince; Answer, The Attorney General 1832

The Stationery Department—Contracts—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury 1832

Navy—The Steam Reserves—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty 1833

Navy—The Royal Marines—Pensions of Non-Commissioned Officers—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty .. 1833

MOTION.

Parliament—Business of the House—Resolution—

Moved, "That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other business; and that, for the remainder of the Session, including this day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government Orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) 1834

After long debate, Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After further debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 151, Noes 2; Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 211.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

[*July 7.*] *Page*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Marriage Portion of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice—

(In the Committee)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the sum of £30,000 be granted to Her Majesty, for the marriage portion of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice Marie Victoria Feodora,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 1902
After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 153, Noes 32; Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 212.)

Civil Service Estimates.

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(2.) £71,135, to complete the sum for Law Charges.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1913
(3.) £109,135, to complete the sum for Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1914
(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £291,673, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund" 1918
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £286,673, be granted &c.,"—(*Mr. Ince:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed 1924
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £287,673, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. West:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed 1933
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Supply—Report—Resolutions [6th July] *reported* 1934
After short debate, Resolutions *agreed to.*

Beer Adulteration Bill [Bill 14]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Storer*) .. 1936
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed:—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Bill *withdrawn.*

Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill [Bill 130]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [30th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1938
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Bill [Bill 179]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1939
After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

Tithe Rent Charge Redemption Bill [Bill 181]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd*) 1940
Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

River Thames (No. 2) (*re-committed*) Bill [Bill 203]—
Bill *considered* in Committee 1941
After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

COMMONS.

—o—

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1885.

For *County of Antrim*, *v.* James Chaine, esquire, deceased.

FRIDAY, MAY 15.

For *County of Denbigh*, *v.* Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, deceased.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

For *Wakefield Borough*, *v.* Robert Bownas Mackie, esquire, deceased.
For *Devon County* (*Northern Division*), *v.* Right honble. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, First Lord of the Treasury.
For *Gloucester County* (*Eastern Division*), *v.* Right honble. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, baronet, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
For *Lancaster County* (*South-Western Division*), *v.* Sir Richard Assheton Cross, baronet, Secretary of State.
For *Woodstock Borough*, *v.* Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State.
For *Westminster City*, *v.* Right honble. William Henry Smith, Secretary of State.
For *Lancaster County* (*Northern Division*), *v.* Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley, Secretary of State.
For *Launceston Borough*, *v.* Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.
For *Dublin University*, *v.* Right honble. Edward Gibson, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
For *Middlesex County*, *v.* Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty.
For *Leicester County* (*Northern Division*), *v.* Right honble. John James Robert Manners, Postmaster General.
For *Lincoln County* (*Mid Division*), *v.* Honble. Edward Stanhope, Vice President of the Council.
For *Lincoln County* (*Mid Division*), *v.* Henry Chaplin, esquire, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
For *Hertford Borough*, *v.* Arthur James Balfour, esquire, President of the Local Government Board.
For *Dublin University*, *v.* Right honble. David Robert Plunket, First Commissioner of Works.
For *Kent County* (*Mid Division*), *v.* Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

For *Lincoln County* (*Northern Division*), *v.* Rowland Winn, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.
For *Kent* (*Western Division*), *v.* Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.
For *Down County*, *v.* Right honble. Arthur William Hill, commonly called Lord Arthur Hill, Controller of Her Majesty's Household.

NEW WRITS ISSUED—*continued.*

For *Wilts County* (*Southern Division*), *v.* Right honble. William Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household.

For *Devon County* (*Eastern Division*), *v.* William Hood Walrond, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For *Wilton Borough*, *v.* the honble. Sidney Herbert, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For *Bute County*, *v.* Charles Dalrymple, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For *Eye Borough*, *v.* Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire, Commissioner of the Admiralty.

MONDAY, JULY 6.

For *Brighton*, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Q.C., Judge Advocate General.

For *Chatham*, *v.* John Eldon Gorst, esquire, Q.C., Solicitor General.

TUESDAY, JULY 7.

For *Aylesbury*, *v.* Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, baronet, now Baron Rothschild, called up to the House of Peers.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

MONDAY, JUNE 8.

Antrim County—William Pirrie Sinclair, esquire

Denbigh County—Sir Herbert Lloyd Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet.

MONDAY, JULY 6.

Gloucester County (*Eastern Division*)—The Right honble. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, baronet.

Lancaster County (*South Western Division*)—The Right honble. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B.

Lancaster County (*Northern Division*)—The Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley.

Westminster City—The Right honble. William Henry Smith.

Woodstock Borough—The Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill.

Leicester County (*Northern Division*)—The Right honble. John James Robert Manners, commonly called Lord John Manners.

Lincoln County (*Mid Division*)—The honble. Edward Stanhope.

Middlesex—The Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton.

Trinity College Dublin—The Right honble. David Robert Plunket.

Hertford Borough—The Right honble. Arthur James Balfour.

Kent County (*Mid Division*)—The Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet.

Lincoln County (*Mid Division*)—Henry Chaplin, esquire.

Kent County (*Western Division*)—The Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham.

Bute County—Charles Dalrymple, esquire.

Wilts County (*Southern Division*)—The Right honble. Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone.

Eye Borough—Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire.

Launceston Borough—Richard Edward Webster, esquire.

Devon County (*Eastern Division*)—William Hood Walrond, esquire.

Wilton Borough—The honble. Sidney Herbert.

Trinity College, Dublin—Hugh Holmes, esquire.

Wakefield Borough—Edward Green, esquire.

Devon County (*Northern Division*)—John Curzon Moore Stevens, esquire.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

SIXTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET 29 APRIL, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 8th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Earldom of Mar Restitution (107).
Second Reading — Barristers Admission (Ireland) (100).
Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (89); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) * (90); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) * (94); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) * (91); Industrial Schools (Ireland) * (95).

EARLDOM OF MAR RESTITUTION BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, by Her Majesty's command I lay a Bill signed by Her Majesty on the Table of your Lordships' House entitled "A Bill for the restitution of the ancient dignity and title of Earl of Mar." I may mention that the Preamble of this Bill will be subject to proof either before a Select Committee or the Committee of Privileges. I venture to ask your Lordships to give a first reading to the Bill.

Bill for restitution of the ancient dignity and title of Earl of Mar (signed by Her Majesty) — *Presented* (The LORD PRIVY SEAL) (by Her Majesty's command); read 1ª. (No. 107.)

BARRISTERS ADMISSION (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 100.)

(*The Lord FitzGerald.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD FITZGERALD, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: This is a short Bill which, I hope, will

receive your Lordships' assent. It is intended to end a controversy of long standing in reference to the conditions of admission to the Bar of Ireland. There is an old Act of the Irish Parliament in the Reign of Henry VIII., which provides, among other things, that before a student can be admitted to the Irish Bar he shall have passed a certain number of terms, studying at one of the Inns of Court in London. Without that, admission to the Irish Bar cannot be obtained. That, I admit, was a very wise provision in the Reign of Henry VIII. ; because the Acts passed in his Reign, and that of his Predecessor, especially the Statute of Henry VII., familiarly known as Poynings' Law, introduced large changes into the law of Ireland. Besides, at that time there was no other School of Law, so far as these countries were concerned, except that which existed here ; and there were advantages in the arrangement, inasmuch as it enabled Irish students to become familiar with the law of England, and the manner and justice of its administration. During the last 40 or 50 years, however, the provision to which I allude has been regarded as a grievance. Several Bills have from time to time been brought in to remove it ; but they have all failed. This Bill, I may mention, has passed in the House of Commons, but with a modification. The effect of this modification is that the Bill does not repeal the Act of Henry VIII. It leaves students free to keep terms in London if they please ; but it relieves them of the compulsory obligation to do so. In the altered circumstances I think this proposed alteration in the law cannot be resisted logically. We have now an excellent School of Law in Ireland. We have an excellent teaching system, and the Irish Bar and the teaching body should be able between them to regulate admission to the Bar. The Benchers of the King's Inn do not object to the Bill, provided that in place of repealing the Statute of Henry VIII. it is merely made a permissive measure. The advocates at the Scotch Bar do not require to come to England—they receive their education in Edinburgh, and are at once admitted to the Scotch Bar, and there is no reason why the same rule should not be applied to Ireland. To some extent I regret this Bill—though, of course, I think it ought to pass—I regret it, for the reason that to some extent the existing practice promotes a homogeneous administration of the law, and gives Irish students an opportunity of seeing the administration of the law in this country, and I am happy to say of sometimes inducing them to remain here for life. They, in the past, have often become the great prize-holders, and the English Bar has been strengthened by the introduction of men who have shed lustre on both the Bar and the Bench of England. I should be sorry if this chance should be taken away. One very remarkable instance of what I say occurred in the case of the late Earl Cairns. He at one time was on the point of being called to the Irish Bar ; but he was induced to remain in England. But for that chance he would never have been Earl Cairns or Lord Chancellor of England. I am unwilling that Irish law students should be shut out from these chances ; but, at the same time, I should be reluctant to see the existing state of the law, which renders it compulsory for our law students to come here, continue. There is no logical answer to this Bill, which is supported by the leading representatives of the Profession in Ireland. I have to invite your Lordships to read the Bill a second time.

Lord Fitzgerald

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord FitzGerald.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR : I only rise to say that I see no objection to the Bill, which is desired by the Bar of Ireland.

Motion *agreed to ;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* next.

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN"—SIR EVELYN BARING.

THE EARL OF JERSEY had the following Question on the Paper :—To ask Her Majesty's Government whether, considering that Sir Evelyn Baring sanctioned the illegal proceedings connected with the suppression of *The Bosphore Egyptien*, they intend to retain him as British Adviser to the Khedive ; and, further, whether *The Bosphore Egyptien* will be allowed to re-appear ?

EARL GRANVILLE: I wish to make an appeal to the noble Earl before he puts the Question of which he has given Notice. I do so the more readily as I have observed instances of his being very fair in dealing with political subjects. I would ask him whether it would not be better that he should wait for the information contained in the Papers which will be presented next week before putting a Question which assumes without knowledge that a valuable public servant has been guilty of a dereliction of duty, and suggesting that he should be punished for it?

THE EARL OF JERSEY: I am quite willing to accede to the request of the noble Earl; at the same time, I would point out that our want of knowledge arises from the fact that the Government have not given it to us.

EARL GRANVILLE: The best way of giving information is to present Papers that will contain all the facts, and this we intend doing.

THE EARL OF JERSEY: We have not got them yet.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Will the noble Earl lay Papers containing the text of the Capitulations which are alleged to have been violated?

EARL GRANVILLE: Yes.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: I have to ask for a Return of the number of British troops now serving in Egypt and adjacent countries. It would have been more satisfactory if we were aware of the precise purpose that the Government have in view in maintaining a Force in that locality. I believe that this reluctance to explain their object has been very unfortunate to the Public Service—and unfortunate in this respect—the apparent indecision in Downing Street must tell unfavourably with those who are charged with the conduct of affairs abroad. A Commander of a Force in the field, who is uncertain about the mind of the Government at home—uncertain what orders may reach him from day to day—is at a considerable disadvantage as to his own arrangements; at this moment we at home do not know whether the Government regard the Arabs as a people rightly struggling for freedom, or as a hostile power that we are bound to "smash." We do not know whether the General at Suakin has orders to advance or to retire, or to do nothing at all; and, from anything that we can gather from reports of proceedings, the General is not better informed. Reports from a camp—whether through the letters of correspondents or through communications from combatants—are received with a certain reserve; but, as far as we can learn from abroad or at home, the Suakin Expedition is behind a curtain of mystery. The Force scattered along the Nile appears to be in much the same case—whether there is to be another thousand mile boat race next season, or whether the decision that was wanting in 1884 will be exhibited in 1885 in a timely organization of any Expedition that may be determined upon, remain to be seen. But, assuming that the Government has an object in maintaining a Force in and near Egypt, Parliament and the public will inquire with anxiety whether everything has been done, and is doing, that circumstances will reasonably permit, for the health and efficiency of the soldiers who are detained in so trying a climate. Inquiry has shown that in 1882, notwithstanding vast expenditure, and every disposition at home to supply the troops in Egypt most liberally, nevertheless there were failures and slips very disappointing to the troops. Supplies sent out did not reach the soldiers—or did not reach them at the proper time; and in some cases were found of inferior quality. Unfortunately, the contractors who come forward to assist the Government in a military emergency are less careful in their selection of supplies than they ought to be. Now, with this recent experience, the public hope that no similar disappointment may occur, and hope to be assured that supplies of all kinds which are practically the necessaries of life have been sent out. Campaigning is rough work at the best, and accidents must be expected and allowed for. Since I placed my Notice on the Paper, I observe that Questions in the same sense have been asked in the House of Commons. The answer of the Secretary of State was not very encouraging. With reference to shelter from the sun at one camp on the Nile, the Secretary of State had received a Report that the shelter was still incomplete; but he be-

lieved there was "something in the nature of a shed." Something in the nature of a shed! An Army, not very strong in numbers, but of material very precious to the country, is detained in a cruel climate, and we are informed that there is "something in the nature of a shed" for their comfort. We might rather have expected to hear that the daily and hourly thought of every official in Pall Mall was the efficient maintenance of the soldiers of this Expedition, not merely by contracting for supplies, but by insuring that they shall reach the soldier. We may yet hope that it is so, and that the noble Earl the Under Secretary can give more satisfactory assurances than the Secretary of State in "another place." In conclusion, I beg to move for a Return of the number (approximate) of British troops employed in Egypt and the Soudan; and to ask whether the troops are completely equipped and supplied as regards shelter, clothing, and rations suitable to the climate?

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Return of the number (approximate) of British troops employed in Egypt and the Soudan."—(*The Earl of Longford.*)

EARL STANHOPE asked whether any of the troops in the Soudan were to be sent to Cyprus for the benefit of the climate? A report to that effect had appeared in the morning papers, and it would be satisfactory to hear that the statement was well founded. The sickness that prevailed among our troops in the Soudan required the most anxious consideration.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the noble and gallant Earl opposite had made a speech which referred in a greater degree to the general policy of the Government than to the exact subject-matter of his Notice. He should confine his reply within the limits of that Notice. The noble and gallant Earl could hardly expect that he would agree to publish the Return for which the noble and gallant Earl asked. It was contrary to all precedent to move for a Return setting forth the actual strength of troops engaged in active operations. He had, however, no objection to state approximately the number of troops employed in Egypt and the Soudan. The number was between 24,000 and 25,000, exclusive of the Indian Brigade and the Australian Contingent. He could assure the noble and gallant Earl opposite that he was by no means singular in his desire to do all that was possible for the comfort and safety of the troops, who were exposed to the hot and trying climate of the Soudan. The wishes of the noble and gallant Earl were fully shared by the Department whose duty it was to provide clothing and stores of all kinds. He thought he could say that the Army was well supplied; but, of course, he could not say for certain how the stores were reaching each of the many stations on the Nile, those stations being at considerable distance from one another and far from the base. When the Nile was falling the transport was extremely difficult; but they were informed weekly of the progress that was made, and of what was being done at the various stations at which the troops were quartered, especially between Dongola and the furthest point, Merawi. Whatever had been asked for had been sent out and forwarded up the Nile as rapidly as possible. The War Office had no reason to suppose that there had been any default on the part of the contractors, or that the supplies had been defective in quality or quantity. On the contrary, he understood—and the illustrious Duke would confirm him—that, with the exception of one or two articles, the stores were extremely satisfactory. With regard to the question of shelter, the noble and gallant Earl had found fault with an answer given by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons. He had not seen that answer himself, but he understood that the noble and gallant Earl complained of the use of the word "shed." He really did not know what better word he could use to describe the kind of shelter which was being constructed for the troops in the Soudan. Anything of a thicker material than canvas was far preferable to tents, and, of course, whatever material came to hand was used by those on the spot to shelter from the sun the troops who were unfortunately stationed in hot localities. He felt sure that the officers were doing their very best to render the shelter afforded as efficient as possible. Then the noble and gallant Earl asked questions concerning clothing and rations. He would not weary the House by enumerating all the supplies that had been sent out; he would content himself with saying that the War Office had every reason

to believe that there was a superabundance of all supplies on the Nile, and that they were being moved forward as they were wanted without any loss of time. The last report stated that the steamer *Lotus* was then starting with a supply of clothing for the front. He did not deny that, whatever arrangements might be made, articles of clothing and other necessaries might temporarily be wanted by the troops; but if that was ever the case, it was not the result of any want of energy on the part of the Departments at home or of the officers on the lines of communication in Egypt. But, as far as the knowledge of the War Office went, he could affirm that the troops were completely equipped, and that the insinuations of the noble and gallant Earl were unfounded.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE asked whether any orders had been issued directing that any brigade should move northwards?

VISCOUNT BURY said, that when the Secretary of State for War was questioned in "another place" as to the condition of the troops at Debbeh, the noble Lord distinctly said that he was not specially informed about the state of affairs there, but promised to make special inquiries in order to ascertain whether the representations that had reached this country were true or not. The noble Earl opposite must be aware that not only had general statements been made, but officers stationed on the spot had written home private letters, which many of their Lordships had seen, stating that they were suffering, to a great and increasing extent, from fever; that there were no sheds for shelter; that the only thing they had between them and the extreme heat of the sun was the ordinary bell shelter tent; and that the temperature was so rapidly increasing that the officers said that every day was 24 hours of agony. It was also said that the clothing had not reached the troops; that they were without shoes; and, in fact, the description given of the condition of affairs existing in connection with the Nile part of the Expedition were such as to demand instant inquiry. He trusted that his noble Friend would institute the necessary inquiries; and he should like to know whether any steps had been taken in pursuance of the promise given by the Secretary of State for War in "another place?"

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, no doubt, the real fault lay with the want of a proper system, the immediate fault being caused by the Commissariat and Transport officer not being under the orders of the senior combatant officer —commanding officer—on the spot; and there would be no regularity in the issue of supplies to the troops in the field unless the commanding officer was made responsible, which in common fairness would require, with a view to efficiency, that all non-combatant officers should be placed under the orders and control of the senior combatant officer, which equally applied to the Medical Departments. No troops in or near the tropics should be in bell tents with a temperature of 120 degrees.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he had received private communications with regard to the want of boots and shoes; and he hoped the noble Earl would make it a special point to inquire into the matter.

LORD CHELMSFORD asked whether any communications had been received from General Buller to the effect that an adequate supply of clothing and boots had already reached Dongola?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON wished to know whether the noble Earl opposite had questioned any of the officers who had come home from the front as to the condition in which the troops were; and, if so, what was the nature of the replies he had received? Their evidence as to the exact state of the facts would be more satisfactory than the mere Report to which the noble Earl had alluded.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the last Report received from the front was dated March 29. It came from Sir Redvers Buller, who was then at Dongola. The *Lotus* was then pursuing its way towards the South with a cargo of clothing and necessaries on board. Therefore, he hoped that at Dongola there was now a sufficient quantity of those materials. He did not wish to be understood that there had never at any time been an insufficient supply of boots and clothing. He had, however, taken the opportunity of talking personally with the officers who had returned from the Front, and had heard no serious complaint with regard to the want of the articles mentioned. He did not know the date at which Lord Hart-

ington undertook to make inquiries, but, no doubt, if inquiries were promised, they would be made at once, and he should be glad to give any further information to the House when he had any to give. He sincerely hoped that the troops who had been engaged in a most trying campaign had suffered as little hardship as possible.

VISCOUNT BURY asked what the furthest Southern point was to which the telegraph now reached?

THE EARL OF MORLEY thought the telegraph now reached a point close to Korti.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE said, that in no previous campaign had the troops been better looked after by the Commissariat and the officers responsible for their welfare. The conditions in which the officers and men were placed were, of course, not very pleasant in such a hot climate; but those who made up their minds to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, must also be prepared to undergo a certain amount of discomfort. In India, where the climate was also very hot, every kind of arrangement existed for the comfort of the men. Such arrangements, of course, could not be made in the Soudan, and the discomfort there was, no doubt, very considerable. He could assure their Lordships that sufficient supplies were at the front. The materials were all there, and it was merely a matter of time when they would reach the troops requiring them. He had no reason to believe that anything was wanted.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: I do not, of course, press for the Return to which the noble Earl objects, and I ask to withdraw the Motion. I have heard the answer as to the supplies with satisfaction tempered by hesitation in my own mind how to reconcile his statements with reports that have reached me and Members of this House from other quarters.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

IMPERIAL DEFENCES—THE COLONIES —A COLONIAL NAVY.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked the Colonial Secretary, Whether he has made a selection of Papers in reference to the formation of a Navy for the Australian Colonies which he would lay upon the Table; he also asked the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any Correspondence had passed between the Admiralty and the Colonies on the same subject which could without inconvenience to the Public Service be produced?

THE EARL OF DERBY, in reply, said, there would be no difficulty about making a selection from the Papers referred to by the noble Viscount with a view to publication.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK explained that there was no direct official communication between the Admiralty and the Colonies. Communications from the Colonies affecting the Admiralty were sent to that Department by the Colonial Office, and formed part of the Correspondence of that Office. His noble Friend the Colonial Secretary was, therefore, the proper authority to decide whether such communications should be published or not. Any other communications were of an unofficial character between the Admiralty and the Agents General of the Colonies.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 8th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* the County of Antrim, *v.* James Chaine, esquire, deceased.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered in Committee*—*Resolution* [May 7] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2)* [166]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3)* [167]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3)* [168]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4)* [169]; Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders* [170]; Consolidated Fund (No. 3)*; National Debt* [172].

Second Reading—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1)* [143]; Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) [161].

Report of Select Committee—Shannon Navigation [No. 183].

Considered as amended—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders* [123]; Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) [*Third Night*] [134]; East India Unclaimed Stocks* [125]; Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment [152].

Third Reading—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) * [126]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 1) * [128], and *passed*.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

—o—

CONSOLIDATED FUND (No. 3) BILL—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: On behalf of my noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) I beg leave to give Notice that on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill he will move—

"That this House, having shown its readiness to grant such supplies as may be required for the defence of the Empire, is of opinion that, before proceeding with this Bill, it is entitled to receive adequate information as to the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the purposes to which the money granted by the recent Vote of Credit is to be applied."

QUESTIONS.

—o—

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE RIOT IN THE OPERA HOUSE, LONDONDERRY.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that a large number of so called "Nationalists" in the gallery of the Opera House, Londonderry, on the night of the 27th April last, during the performance of a pantomime, when the portraits of Her Majesty the Queen and the Prince of Wales were exhibited, indulged in cheers for the Mahdi, groans for the Queen, and cries of "To —— with Queen and Constitution;" whether these riotous proceedings lasted three-quarters of an hour, during which time drawn knives were thrown at the defenceless actors, mostly women, on the stage, the benches of the gallery broken up and one hurled into the pit, forty feet below, to the imminent danger of many lives; and afterwards the same mob proceeded into the street, broke windows, and assaulted persons who were known to be Loyalists or Protestants; whether it is a fact that no police were present or attempted to quell the riot; and, whether any steps have since been taken by the police to prosecute the offenders; and, if not, on what grounds?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that the facts are as stated in the first paragraph of this Question, except with reference to the cries referred to. It is alleged that two open penknives were thrown on the stage, and a board which formed a seat in the gallery was undoubtedly thrown into the pit; but the occupants had left at the time. No disturbance was anticipated, and no police were on duty in the theatre. A policeman, who was on leave, was present, and as soon as the disturbance began he ran for assistance to the Constabulary barracks, and returned with a party in a quarter of an hour; but by this time the affair was over, and the people had dispersed. So far no one has been identified.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE RIOT AT STEWARTSTOWN—INACTION OF THE POLICE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the sergeant, acting sergeant, and five of the eight policemen at Stewartstown are Protestants and Freemasons; that no attempt has been made to bring to justice any of the Orange mob who smashed the windows of Catholics on the 18th instant, although policemen witnessed their proceedings; and that, in consequence of this impunity, Orange outrages of the same character have become frequent in the town; and, whether any steps will be taken, by altering the composition of the local police force or otherwise, to protect the Catholic inhabitants from attack?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not feel called upon to make inquiries as to the religious and other matters referred to in the first part of this Question. It appears that there was some disturbance in Stewartstown on the 18th ultimo, and two panes of glass were broken in the windows of a Roman Catholic; but the police did not see this done, and the injured person has refused to swear an information. The Inspector General had already instructed the County Inspector to give his special attention to the existence of Party feeling in this locality, and had requested him to make such arrangements as were possible to deal with such cases. The composition of the local

Police Force was one of the matters to which his attention was directed.

MR. O'BRIEN: As the right hon. Gentleman has such reluctance to give information as to religious denominations, I would ask him whether it is not an understanding that in towns of this kind there should be a fair mixture of Protestants and Catholics in the Police Force, and are not the Catholics the majority of the inhabitants of this town?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not admit the accuracy of the figures quoted by the hon. Member.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. WALPOLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For what reason, in recasting the Land Sub-Commissions, Mr. Walpole has again been assigned to the Cork Commission, the other members of which have been from time to time changed; whether this is the Mr. Walpole for whose removal the Land Commission was last year memorialized on the ground of his connections with the agent of an extensive property whose rents he was dealing with, and of his neglect to make a personal inspection of farms which he purported to value; and, how many applications by tenants to have fair rents fixed have been withdrawn from the Court within the circuit of the Sub-Commission since Mr. Walpole's appointment?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Land Commissioners consider it inexpedient on public grounds to give their reasons for the selection of Assistant Commissioners for different districts. The Commissioners received a Memorial last year asking for the removal of Mr. Walpole; but it was found on inquiry that there was no justification for the complaints that were made in the Memorial. Down to the 1st of May this year five applications to have fair rents fixed have been withdrawn in the four counties included in Mr. Walpole's circuit. This is under the average of withdrawals in other districts.

MR. O'BRIEN: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, I beg to give Notice that I will call attention to this matter on the Vote for the Land Commissioners.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Do the Government intend to make any inquiries as to Mr. Walpole's relations with his own tenants?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That matter does not arise out of this Question.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, SEC. 10—BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What action (if any) was taken by the Local Government Board against the boards of guardians in Ireland under section 10 of the Labourers (Ireland) Act who failed to carry out the Act, or to pass a resolution to the effect that they would not proceed with such scheme?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The power of the Local Government Board in the circumstances referred to is limited to directing a local inquiry if they think it necessary. There have only been two cases in which the Board have received remonstrances against the decision of the Guardians; and after correspondence they have not thought it necessary to take any further action.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE INFIRMARY AT LIFFORD, CO. DONEGAL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How the County Donegal Infirmary at Lifford is maintained and managed, and to what classes of patients it is open; also, if John M'Sweeney of Gweedore, who obtained from the medical officer of the Gweedore district, on the 26th of March, an order for admission to the Lifford Infirmary, and who is unable to travel, has yet been conveyed to the Infirmary; and, whether the conveyance will be provided?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Donegal Infirmary appears to be maintained and managed under the Acts 5 & 6 *Geo.* III. c. 20, 45 *Geo.* III. c. 3, and 46 *Geo.* III. c. 95, and to be open to all classes of poor persons. I am informed that John M'Sweeney was admitted to it on the 5th instant; but I have no information as to how he got there.

IRELAND—MEMORIAL OF THE CIVIL BILL OFFICERS.

MR. P. J. POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

land, Whether any answer has yet been given to the Memorial presented to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland by the Civil Bill Officers; and, what decision has been come to?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This subject was under the consideration of the late Lord Chancellor; but no definite decision had been arrived at when his death supervened.

IRELAND—THE COLLECTOR GENERAL OF RATES, DUBLIN—COLLECTION OF THE IMPROVEMENT RATE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Paving and Lighting Committee and the Cleansing Committee of the Dublin Corporation have been brought to a dead-lock for want of funds, owing to the failure of the Collector General to make an adequate collection of the Improvement Rate within the present year; whether the amount collected in respect of the said rate, from the opening of this year to the 24th ultimo, has been less, by £1,500, than the amount collected in the corresponding period of last year, though the rate for the present year is higher by twopence in the pound; whether, in view of the fact that instalments of principal and interest in repayment of loans, amounting to £6,697, were due and payable to the Board of Works on the 1st instant, the Secretary of the Paving and Lighting Committee wrote, on the 17th ultimo, to the Collector General, pointing out that the Committee were deeply in debt to their several contractors, and that, unless there was a great improvement at once in the collection of the rates, the various Committees would be unable to meet their engagements; whether the Collector General replied that the time of the collectors had been much occupied this year with the Poor Law elections, and the investigation of claims served; and, what steps the Government will take, by increasing the staff of the Collector General, or otherwise, to enable the Corporation of Dublin, by adequate collection of its rates, to satisfy its engagements, and what measures will be adopted to secure the due discharge of duties connected with the registration of voters?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Collector General informs me that, allowing for the difference of the rate, his collection in Dublin this year, on the 24th of April, was behind that of last year by some £2,500, being about one week's collection at this time, the principal reason being as stated in the Question; but he is not aware that the severe results referred to have followed from this state of facts. The sum mentioned as due by the Paving and Lighting Committee was £5,618, not £6,697; and between the 17th of April and the 1st instant £6,400 has been placed to the credit of the Improvement Fund. The Collectors have been authorized to employ assistance in the service of the notices under the Representation of the People Act; and the Collector General has every reason to hope that both the registration work and the collection of rates will be satisfactorily performed.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXPENSES OF CROWN PROSECUTIONS—REPAYMENT BY THE TREASURY.

MR. PATRICK MARTIN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, With reference to the Resolution of the House that the expenses of Crown prosecutions in Ireland, paid by counties in the first instance out of their funds, should be recouped to them by the Treasury; and, since there has been no Orders or Resolutions of the House varying the terms of such Resolution, if he would state when the Government will carry it into effect?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps the hon. Member will be good enough to give me the date of the Resolution to which he refers. Judging by the change which he has made in the form of his Question, he appears to have found the Resolution since he gave the Notice; but I have not been able to trace it.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—WATERFORD INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

MR. RICHARD POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received any communication respecting the Waterford Industrial School; whether the number of children in this school is in excess of the number for which a Government grant is allowed; whether the school is capable of accommodating a larger number; whether the Government inspector has spoken in the most

favourable terms of its management; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will consider the propriety of increasing the grant to the school?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have received a resolution of the Corporation of Waterford in favour of increasing the certificate of the industrial school, which, I believe, has now nine inmates in excess of the number for which the Government grant is allowed. As the Estimates for the present year were closed before I received the resolution, I could merely mark the case for submission when next year's Estimates are being prepared. I must not, however, be taken as holding out any hope of an enlarged certificate in this case.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS—BILLINGSGATE MARKET.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will consider the great importance of granting increased facilities for the more rapid delivery of fish from railway and other vans at Billingsgate Market, and giving effect to the suggestion contained in Mr. Spencer Walpole's Report on the inadequate accommodation at Billingsgate Market by the utilisation of the unoccupied quay in front of the Custom House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he was sensible of the evils to which the hon. Member referred; but he thought it was hardly correct to say that Mr. Walpole had suggested the particular remedy. Mr. Walpole said that he had only mentioned the suggestion because it was made seriously, but that he did not suppose there was the least chance of its being adopted. That, he found, was also the view taken by the Custom House authorities.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—CITY OF CORK—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes intend to take evidence in the city of Cork?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The Royal Commission has not held sittings in the Provincial cities of either England or Scotland. The evidence from Liverpool, for example, was taken in London, and that from Glasgow in Edinburgh. Following this practice in Ireland, the Commission will hear the evidence from Cork in Dublin.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can make his promised statement regarding the Secretary for Scotland Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, this Bill is prepared, and will be introduced at once in the House of Lords by Lord Rosebery.

NAVY—TORPEDO, &c. RISKS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, taking into consideration the risk ironclads, troopships, and cruisers may be exposed in case of War from torpedoes and ramming, sufficient provision has been made for saving the whole of the lives of the crews and those embarked, over and beyond the boats usually carried?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The Admiralty are fully impressed with the great risks which must be encountered by ships of war, and all reasonable provision is made for the accommodation of the crews in boats.

POST OFFICE — TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE HEBRIDES.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the want of telegraphic communication between the mainland and some of the outer Hebrides, and to the possible danger arising from such want in the event of war?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The extension of telegraphic communication on the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland might, in certain circumstances, be desirable; but the Admiralty do not consider that the large expenditure necessary for this purpose should be incurred at present.

PUBLIC HEALTH—INOCULATION FOR CHOLERA.

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the remarkable discovery reported to have been made by Dr. Jaime Ferran,

of Valencia, in connection with inoculation for cholera; and, whether, following the precedent adopted in the case of the Reports of the recent French and German Cholera Commissions, he will instruct the British Minister at Madrid to forward for submission to Parliament translations of any Papers of Dr. Ferran's and Reports of the Madrid Academy of Medicine on the subject?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have seen the Reports to which my hon. Friend refers, and Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid will be instructed to send home translations of them.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—DUTIES ON CORPORATE PROPERTY.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Duty of five per cent. on the "Property of Corporations, &c." proposed in Clause 5 of the Resolutions of Ways and Means, is intended to apply to Life Insurance Companies, or to Scientific Societies, such as the Royal Society, Royal Institution, or the Zoological Society?

MR. HIBBERT, in the absence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said: The property of Life Insurance Companies will not be liable to the proposed duty; that of Scientific Societies will also be exempt as a general rule, subject to the liability to making good the claim to exemption.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked whether the hon. Member would lay on the Table a Return of the Societies to be exempted?

MR. HIBBERT suggested that the hon. Member should have waited until he had seen the Bill, which would be in the hands of hon. Members on Monday at latest, and which would give ample explanation.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE BOXLEY RIFLE RANGE.

MR. ALEXANDER ROSS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the continued closing of the Boxley (near Maidstone) Rifle Range, the inconvenience resulting therefrom to the troops quartered in that town, and to the expense and loss of time occasioned to the Volunteers by having to practise at the Milton-next-Gravesend Range?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Boxley Rifle Range was closed last year, as it was considered dangerous. Arrangements have been concluded for the acquisition of a safe range, and it will be opened as soon as possible.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as stated, that the Suez Canal Commission has commenced the discussion of the French proposal for intrusting an international body, similar to the Danube Commission, with the control and supervision of the free navigation of the Canal; and, if so, whether such a proposition falls within the basis laid down in Lord Granville's Despatch?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A similar Question to this was put to me yesterday, and I can only repeat that I am not at liberty to give information at present as to the proceedings of the Commission.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Will the noble Lord say whether the gentleman who is attending on behalf of this country at the Conference has instructions to confine the discussion to the basis laid down in Lord Granville's despatch; and also when it is likely that the sittings of the Commission will terminate?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think it will be desirable that I should at this stage enter into the proceedings and the instructions to the Commissioners who represent Her Majesty's Government at the Conference, nor can I name with any degree of precision the date at which the proceedings will be concluded.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Are we to understand that the basis laid down in Lord Granville's despatch do not form the actual grounds which the Government now take?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I withdraw no statements which were made by the Prime Minister in the course of the debate on this subject.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: There is one Question. Can they go beyond these bases or can they not? The Question requires an answer—"Yes" or "No." Are they to be confined to the bases laid down in Lord Granville's de-

spatch, or are they at liberty to go beyond them?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The right hon. Gentleman is attempting, by what may be called a method of Parliamentary cross-examination, to elicit from me the very answer which, with all respect to the right hon. Gentleman and to the House, I have already stated it is not in my power to give.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I will ask the Question on Monday of the Prime Minister.

MR. PULESTON: I wish to ask whether Questions arising in the discussion before the Commission are referred to the Foreign Office before they are acted upon by the Commissioner?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There are the usual methods of communication which always exist between Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries and the Foreign Office.

AGRICULTURE—THE COMMISSION ON ENSILAGE.

LORD MORETON asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he can inform the House by whom the gentlemen were appointed who form the so-called Commission on Ensilage, which holds its Sessions at the Office of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Commission, or, as it would be more properly styled, the Committee, on Ensilage is a private body and self-appointed. The Commission applied for the use of a room in the Agricultural Department, which the Lord President gave them.

ARMY—CONTRACTS FOR MILITARY CLOTHING.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case that in March last year tenders were invited, according to custom, for the worn-out Military clothing, and that Messrs. Mallett were accepted as contractors; and, whether the contract has been given this year to Mr. S. Moses, of Great Alie Street, without any invitations to tender being issued; and, if so, what is the reason for the omission?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: For some time past Messrs. Mallett and Mr. Moses have been the only contractors whose tenders were at all satisfactory. Each was asked to tender for the contract for 1885-6, and the higher offer was accepted.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL — DISQUALIFICATION OF VOTERS — MEDICAL RELIEF.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON asked Mr. Attorney General, re Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill, Whether a voter who is upon the register, and receives medical relief, is to be disqualified for one year, for the remainder of the Session of the then Parliament, or for life?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The hon. Gentleman appears to be under some misapprehension in this matter. The Redistribution Bill does not touch this question of medical relief at all, nor does any Bill of the Government do so either. The last Statute with respect to it was passed in 1878; and under it, if any person receives medical relief within 12 months before the 15th of July, he is incapable of being included in the Register that will come in force in the next year. Therefore the disqualification is for one year.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON: But if he be upon the Register and receives medical relief, will it affect his right to vote?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The hon. Gentleman has got hold of a moot point, which has given the Judges some trouble. It comes within what is known as the Petersfield case. The Ballot Act says that the Register shall be conclusive; but the question is whether it is a disqualification or a prohibition to vote, and there is great doubt upon the subject. My own opinion is that it is a disqualification merely, and that the voter would be entitled to vote; but I do not give that opinion with any confidence.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—FIGHTING NEAR SUAKIN.

MR. JOHN MORLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is in accordance with the policy announced in presenting the Estimate for the Vote of Credit that the engagement of 5th May took place at the village of Dakhdul, in which an encampment of

Arabs with their women and children and their flocks was attacked by General Graham, and 150 men killed, though it is alleged by eye witnesses that "they never made any serious attempt at a stand?"

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following statements of a "correspondent" in *The Times* of 7th May, dated 6th May:—

"Daylight broke almost imperceptibly. We were nearer the village of Dhakool, when the friendly scouts came running in with the news that the inhabitants were at prayer, and that if we attacked at once we should catch them. General Graham pushed on with a troop of the Bengal Lancers. . . . . The enemy fled on camels in all directions, and the Mounted Infantry and the Camel Corps, coming up, gave chase. Some two hundred attempted to stand, and showed a disposition to come at us, but evidently lost heart and disappeared, not before having at least twenty men killed. . . . . It was curious to witness the desperate efforts of the enemy to drive their flocks up the steep mountain side, turning now and again to fire on the Bengal Lancers. The 'friendlies' tried to cut off the flocks, and succeeded in capturing some hundreds of animals. . . . . The village was looted and burnt. . . . . We also destroyed the well with gun cotton. . . . . But for our being unaware of the existence of some narrow hillock walks, up which the enemy retired, we might have exterminated them. Our loss has hitherto been only two Mounted Infantry men wounded. . . . . We have done the enemy all the harm we could; thus fulfilling the primary object of war;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government approve of this mode of carrying on warfare; and, if not, whether immediate orders will be sent to the commanders of the English forces in the vicinity of Suakin, ordering their immediate cessation?

MR. W. J. CORBET wished, before the noble Lord answered the Questions, to ask whether it was true that Her Majesty had telegraphed to General Graham congratulating him on this massacre?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am afraid I can add but little on this subject to what I stated yesterday. Since Questions were then put I have carefully examined the official despatch, and also all the accounts of the operations which were given by correspondents; and it appears to me that the object of the operations is perfectly clear, and that it is not inconsistent with the declaration made by my right hon. Friend in laying the Vote of Credit on the Table. I have referred to that statement, and I find that it was as I stated yesterday from recollection—namely, that the Suakin Railway would be continued to a point which would be decided on, in consultation with the Military Authorities, as being the best for the troops. Therefore no pledge was given; on the contrary, it was distinctly intimated that the progress of the railway was not to be immediately stopped. It appears from the official despatch that the force at this place was the only organized force of the enemy which seemed to be in existence; and it appears from special correspondents' reports that it is believed that it is this tribe which has been engaged in making constant attacks upon the railway, and upon the troops employed in guarding it. Under these circumstances, it seems to me to have been a perfectly legitimate operation on the part of General Graham to make an expedition against this place, and to disperse this force, and thus, so far as it was in his power, to obviate the necessity of further fighting. I have no knowledge of the telegram spoken of by the hon. Member for Wicklow.

MR. HEALY: May I ask if it is not the fact that the newspaper correspondents are prevented by the Press censorship from forwarding certain details?

MR. MACARTNEY: Is it the case, as stated in the papers this morning, that an attack was made on General Graham's troops when returning with the cattle, which were recaptured by the Arabs and again retaken by the British?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have seen these statements; but they do not appear to me in any degree to affect the answer I have just given. It is perfectly well known that telegrams sent by correspondents are under Press censorship. I have no reason to think that that censorship has been exercised for any other purpose than that of preventing intelligence from being sent, the communication of which would be injurious to the Public Service.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I should like to know whether Her Majesty's Government consider it to be within the operations of legitimate warfare to loot and burn villages and destroy wells?

MR. O'KELLY asked if the noble Lord could state whether the camp at-

tacked was an ordinary camp of Arabs and their families; and whether he was in a position to say how many women and children were killed during the attack?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have no reason to think that any women and children were killed at all. According to the Report of General Graham the number of the enemy killed was 50. As regards the Question of the hon. Member for Northampton, of course it is a great subject of regret that proceedings of this kind should have to be taken; but I apprehend that they are inseparable from warfare. The object of the operations appears to have been to break up a concentration of tribes threatening the security of the line and of the troops guarding it. The object of any measures taken appears to have been to prevent a renewed concentration which it would have been necessary to deal with, thereby involving loss of life, not only to many of our troops, but also to the enemy.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE TUBBERCURRY PRISONERS.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, with reference to the repeated promises of the Government that they would proceed to discharge the costs of the defence in the Tubbercurry cases, and especially with regard to the last assurance in the House that this obligation would be immediately discharged, Whether it is true that the costs have not yet been paid; and, if the Government will fix a day beyond which they will guarantee that this legal debt shall not remain unsettled?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) was understood to say that payment was issued to the solicitor of the prisoners on the 21st of March; and if he had not received it, it was his own fault.

MR. SEXTON: By whom was it issued?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): By order of the Treasury.

THE UNITED STATES—MR. KEELY, THE AMERICAN MINISTER AT VIENNA.

MR. SEXTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any representation hostile to the nomination of Mr. Keely, by the President and Senate of the United States, to act as American Minister at Vienna, has been made on the part of the British Government, by any of its Members or agents?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no such representation has been made.

POOR LAW—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—MARYLEBONE UNION.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Why so many voters, especially Irish voters, entitled to vote at the Poor Law elections have not been furnished with voting papers at the recent elections for Marylebone Union; whether, in some cases, voting papers were given to English and refused to Irish voters living in the same house and having exactly the same qualification; and, if this state of things exists, what official is responsible?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: We have received no complaint as to the conduct of the recent election of Guardians in Marylebone. The Returning Officer, with whom we have communicated about the question, states that no person entitled to vote was refused a voting paper; that he has no knowledge of the nationality of the voters; and that no distinction whatever was made in the issue of the voting papers. He has not heard of any complaint on the subject.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I will give the hon. Member the names of several voters of Irish nationality who did not receive their voting papers.

IRELAND—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE—MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, INSPECTOR OF FISHERIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What decision had been come to by the Irish Government in the case of Mr. William Johnston, Inspector of Fisheries, with regard to his pledge of last year, and his recent public speeches?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I promised the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) that I would answer a Question by him on this subject on Monday next. I do not know whether he is willing to be forestalled;

but I should prefer to wait till the day that has been named.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—CASE OF CONSTABLE DEOLIN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What compensation has been awarded, as promised, to the eleven young men falsely arrested in Kerry for the shooting of the bailiff who was killed by the discharge of the rifle of Constable Deolin, and when and where will the latter be tried?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: If the hon. and learned Member will put his Question as to compensation on Tuesday next, I hope to be then in a position to give him a definite answer. As regards his other point, Ex-Constable Deolin will be tried at the Summer Assizes at Tralee.

RUSSIA—CONSCRIPTION IN THE CAUCASUS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information relative to the substitution by the Russian Government in the Caucasus of a system of conscription for the former system of voluntary enlistment for the Army; and, whether any report has been received on the subject from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg, or any of Her Majesty's Diplomatic or Consular agents in Russia or Turkey?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A Report on the subject was received last year; but Her Majesty's Government have not been informed that any decision on the subject has as yet been arrived at. It is not usual, however, to lay Papers relating to military matters.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE MALT TAX AND BREWERS' LICENCE DUTY.

SIR ARTHUR BASS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the incidence of the Malt Tax and Brewers' Licence was, as settled by Act, 22*s.* 8½*d.* on a quarter of barley, but in effect, owing to the outcast, not more than 22*s.*; whether the payments to the Revenue, under the present Beer Duty, are fully 2*s.* per quarter of barley in excess of those under the Malt Tax and Brewers' Licence Duty; whether, under the proposed increased Duty, this excess of 2*s.* will not be raised to over 6*s.*, or about 27 per cent. more than the old Duties; and, whether this great increase is to be retained in permanence, or is only intended to be imposed as a temporary expedient?

MR. HIBBERT: The Duty on malt and the cost of the brewers' licence amounted nominally to 22*s.* 8½*d.* on a quarter of barley; but the incidence of the Malt Tax, such as the cost of Excise restrictions on the maker of malt and the interest on the duty, raised the burden upon the maltster and the brewer to 24*s.* 6½*d.* There are no means of determining the advantage to the maltster by the outcast above the quantity of malt on which duty was charged; but it varied with the barley season, and with the quality of the barley used. Taking the entire charge for the United Kingdom, the outcast on the malt used by the brewer was inconsiderable. As I have already explained, the payments under the present Beer Duty are not 2*s.* per quarter in excess of those under the Malt Tax and brewers' licence, nor will those at the new rate be 6*s.* in excess. Calculations, based on the Returns made by the brewers themselves, show that the Beer Duty at 6*s.* 3*d.* did not exceed the calculated burden of the old taxes. I am sure that my hon. Friend will not expect me to give a serious reply to the last paragraph of his Question. We all must hope that this, and similar increases of indirect taxation, will not be permanent.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE ALLEGED MASSACRE AT KHARTOUM.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the account, by one of General Gordon's soldiers, in *The Daily News* yesterday, of the general massacre of the loyal inhabitants of Khartoum, and especially to the following passages:—

"And now fearful scenes took place in every house and building. . . . . Men were slain, shrieking for mercy; women and children were carried off, to be sold as slaves to the Bisharin merchants. This fighting and spilling of blood continued till the sun rode high in the sky. . . . . I hear it said there was no massacre at the taking of Khartoum. They lie who say so, and are in league with Mahomet Achmet;"

and, whether he still has any grounds for adhering to his statement that there was no considerable effusion of blood at the fall of Khartoum, and that no very considerable body of the population ever attached themselves to General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have read the paper to which the hon. Gentleman refers—and no doubt it is an interesting one—on the subject. The matter is one which might be noticed in debate; but I have not the least intention of entering upon it in answer to a Question.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that, in view of the answer of the right hon. Gentleman, he would repeat a Question which he put the other day. The Prime Minister had three times stated that there was no considerable effusion of blood at the fall of Khartoum, and that no considerable body of the population attached themselves to General Gordon. Would the Prime Minister lay before the House the evidence or the ground on which he had formed that opinion?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have to repeat the answer I have already given.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question with regard to which there is some interest felt—namely, Whether he is prepared to give us any information as to the Whitsuntide holidays?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already consulted with my noble Friend (Lord Richard Grosvenor); and we have arrived at the conclusion that, if agreeable to the House, the best way would be to continue the Evening Sittings of the House as usual until the Thursday before Whit Sunday, and take a Morning Sitting on Friday, the 22nd, when the adjournment would be moved to the Thursday week following. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Fortnight!"] I may now state also that it has not been possible to print and get out the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, and that it will not be in the hands of Members until the beginning of next week—we hope Monday. We cannot, therefore, expect the House to take it on Thursday, and consequently we will postpone it from Thursday; and I hope my right hon. Friend will be in his place on Monday to make the proper arrangements for bringing it on. With respect to Thursday, we propose to introduce a Resolution necessary as the foundation for the Bill for making the usual provision in conformity with precedent for Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice on the happy occasion of her marriage. After that subject is disposed of—and probably it will not take a long time—my learned Friend the Lord Advocate will ask leave to introduce a Crofters Bill for Scotland, which is a question of great importance.

THE PAPAL SEE—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE VATICAN—MR. ERRINGTON.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, Whether it was true that Mr. Errington had left Rome; whether he had been recalled by the Government; or whether he had been merely directed to repair to the Metropolis?

MR. GLADSTONE: I must express my obligations to the noble Lord for having given me information of which I was not previously aware. I had no idea that Mr. Errington had left Rome; but if he has, I have no doubt that the considerations which induced him to do so have been amply sufficient.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the right hon. Gentleman to say definitely, "Yes" or "No," whether Mr. Errington had been sent to Rome for the purpose of making any representations in favour of or against any particular Bishop for the See of Dublin?

MR. GLADSTONE: I was under the impression that this Question had been definitely answered. ["Never!" *and* "When?"] I believe I have stated everything I know about the subject. Certainly, before I could be in a position to give any further answer, I must make inquiry; and therefore I must ask that the Question should be put on the Paper, to give me an opportunity of communicating with my noble Friend.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I will ask the Question on Monday.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to ask if the only answer given by the noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs was not that no representations were made in favour of any Prelate? He did not say that there were not any representations made against any Prelate.

[No reply.]

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—[BILL 134.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

CONSIDERATION. [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to the Bill [29th April], on Consideration, as amended.

And which Amendment was,

In page 31, column 2, line 43, after the words "Lime Street Ward," to insert the words "excepting that portion bounded by a line drawn from Moss Street through London Road and William Brown Street down to the junction between Byrom Street and Old Haymarket."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. BIGGAR said, the Amendment would serve to equalize the population and to give representation to a considerable minority. It was said that an Irish Catholic would be put forward for this division as it at present stood; but a man might be Irish and Catholic without representing the political views of the Irish people in that division. He had heard that the man to be put forward by the Liberal Party was an undertaker. They would prefer a man belonging to some other position in life. He contended that unless this ward was limited as suggested in the Amendment the labouring class voters would be swamped by the votes of wholesale traders.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, he hoped the Government would not regard the discussion as closed. Very great interest was taken in the matter, not only by the Irish Members but by the Irish people in England, whom the Irish Members in a certain sense represented. He thought the House would admit that they were justified in making this change for the better representation of the Irish in England, when the alteration did not in any sense violate those principles which had been laid down for the guidance of the Commissioners. Whatever proposals in this direction might be accepted, the result would be that the Irish population in England and Scotland would obtain but a scant representation in that House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND observed that under the Bill the 2,000,000 of Irishmen in England would only be able to return one Member to that House, while the few Protestants in Ireland would be able to return 25 Members. He should support the Amendment, because it would do something towards giving some of the Irish residents in England representation.

MR. SEXTON said, the Members for Liverpool were the only opponents of the Amendment, and surely their opposition did not constitute a dissent which ought to govern the intelligence and will of the right hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill. The question was whether the Amendment did or did not improve the Commissioners' scheme. He maintained that it improved the scheme, for it brought together populations of similar pursuits. In Ireland the Government had taken 1,000,000 of people, and in all debates and discussions held them apart as people of a certain creed or of certain opinions, sometimes as Protestants and more times as Loyalists, and to this 1,000,000 of people 25 to 30 Members had been given. To the 2,000,000 of Irish in England, who were far more distinct from the rest of the population than that 1,000,000 in Ireland, only about one Member would be given for one of the divisions of London. He could well understand that neither the Liberals nor the Tories were willing to enable the Irish population in England to return Members to that House, because they could never calculate upon which way such Members would vote.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 32; Noes 224: Majority 192.—(Div. List, No. 160.)

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 37, after line 9, to insert the words,—

Southwark.

Three Members. One Member for each Division.

Names and Contents of Divisions.

No. 1.—The West Division.

"The St. Saviour's District,

and

"No. 1 St. Michael's and No. 2 St. Paul's Wards of the parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark.

No. 2.—The East Division.

"The St. Olave's District.
"The parish of Rotherhithe,
and
"No. 4 Ward of the parish of Bermondsey.

No. 3.—The Bermondsey Division.

"No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3 Wards of Bermondsey parish.
"No. 3 St. George's Ward of the parish of St. George the Martyr, Southwark."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. THOROLD ROGERS, who had an alternative scheme, objected to the proposed division on the ground of the inequality of population between the several divisions. Bermondsey would have upwards of 84,000, whereas the two other divisions would only have between 67,000 and 69,000. This was a departure from the principle on which the Bill was based. He would not, however, press his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment,

In line 1, column 2, by leaving out the word "East," and inserting the word "Rotherhithe," —(*Mr. Edward Clarke,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'East' stand part of the said proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

The word "Rotherhithe" inserted.

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. BRYCE proposed, in page 37, at the end, to insert an Amendment which he said was received with general favour in the Tower Hamlets. He thought that in the case of boroughs it was better to have local names taken from places already known rather than from points of the compass, and the names he now proposed were well-known in East London, while some of them also possessed literary or historical interest.

Amendment proposed,

In Schedule 6, page 37, at end, insert,—
Tower Hamlets.
Seven Members. One Member for each Division.
Names and Contents of Divisions.

No. 1.—The Whitechapel Division.

"The Whitechapel District.

No. 2.—The St. George Division.

"The parish of St. George-in-the-East and the parish of Wapping.

No. 3.—The Limehouse Division.

"The Limehouse District, except the parish of Wapping.

No. 4.—The Mile End Division.

"North Ward and East Ward of the Hamlet of Mile End Old Town.

No. 5.—The Stepney Division.

"Centre Ward, West Ward, and South Ward of the Hamlet of Mile End Old Town.

No. 6.—The Bow and Bromley Division.

"The parish of St. Mary Stratford-le-Bow,
and
"The parish of Bromley St. Leonard, except so much as is comprised in Division No. 7, as herein described.

No. 7.—The Poplar Division.

"The parish of Poplar, and so much of the parish of Bromley St. Leonard as lies to the east and south of a line drawn from the boundary of the parish of All Saints, Poplar, along the centre of the present North London Railway to a point opposite the centre of Bright Street; thence eastward, along the centres of Bright Street and Dewberry Street, to Brunswick Road; thence northward, along the centre of Brunswick Road, to the centre of Lochnager Street; and thence, along the centre of Lochnager Street and the continuation of the centre line of that street, to the parish boundary in Bow Creek."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, the following Amendment was agreed to:—

In Schedule 6, page 38, after line 17, insert,—
Westminster.
Three Members. One Member for each Division.
Names and Contents of Divisions.

No. 1.—The Hanover Square Division.

"The parish of St. George, Hanover Square.

No. 2.—The Abbey Division.

"The parishes of St. Margaret and St. John the Evangelist, Westminster,
and
"The Close of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter.

No. 3.—The Strand Division.

"The Strand District, except the Liberty of the Rolls.
"The parish of St. Martin in the Fields,
and
"The parish of St. James, Westminster."

MR. SEXTON said, that following the course adopted in some English and Scotch cities, he proposed to call the divisions of Dublin City after the his-

toric sites or buildings in those divisions. The Commissioners suggested that they should be called South-West, North-West, &c., but those names conveyed no definite idea, and it should also be remembered that the divisions of Dublin County were named after the points of the compass. He now proposed that "North-West Dublin" should be called "College Green Division," "North-East Dublin," "Dublin Harbour Division," "South-East Dublin," Donnybrook Division," and "South-West Dublin," "St. Patrick's Division.

Amendment proposed, in page 42, line 4, leave out "North West Dublin," and insert "College Green;" in page 42, line 12, leave out "North East Dublin," and insert "Dublin Harbour;" in page 42, line 26, leave out "South East Dublin," and insert "Donnybrook;" in page 42, line 37, leave out "South West Dublin," and insert "St. Patrick's."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendments *agreed to.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

SEVENTH SCHEDULE.

On the Motion of Mr. RAIKES, Amendments made, in page 45, line 22, by leaving out "or Llandeilo;" in page 45, line 29, by leaving out "or St. Clears."

On the Motion of Mr. RATHBONE, Amendments made, in page 46, line 4, after "Southern," by inserting "or Eifion;" in page 46, line 11, after "Northern," by inserting "or "Arfon."

MR. RAIKES said, that the next batch of Amendments which stood in his name referred to the county of Chester. The names of the different points of the compass had been applied in other counties, and he proposed that they should be adopted in the case of the divisions of the county of Chester. He moved that the 1st division, which was now named Wirrall, should be called the North-Western, or Wirrall Division.

Amendment proposed, in page 46, line 18, by inserting, after the word "The," the words "North Western or."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was some difficulty in naming the divisions of Chester according to the points of the compass, and he thought it would be better that the single names should be retained.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. RAIKES said, he did not propose to press the next two Amendments, but he desired that the Northwich Division should be named Mid. He thought that Northwich would very likely be confounded with Norwich, and to prevent confusion he hoped that his Amendment would be agreed to.

Amendment proposed, in page 47, line 10, by leaving out the word "Northwich," and inserting the word "Mid,"—(*Mr. Raikes,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Northwich' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had been requested by his hon. Friend the Member for West Cheshire (Mr. Tollemache), who was not able to be present to-day, to say that, as far as he was concerned, he very strongly objected to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. He himself thought that there was no fear of any confusion of the names mentioned by his right hon. Friend.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 49, line 11, after the word "Eskdale," by leaving out the word "Ward," and inserting the words "or Brampton,"—(*Mr. Waugh,*)—instead thereof.

Question, "That the word 'Ward' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 49, line 11, by leaving out the words "Allerdale Ward below Derwent," and inserting the word "Wigton,"—(*Mr. Waugh,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 49, line 13, by inserting, after the word "described," the words "The parish or

township of Oughterside and Allerby, in the Sessional Division of Derwent."—(*Mr. Waugh.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 49, line 15, by leaving out the word "Mid," and inserting the word "Eastern,"—(*Mr. Raikes,*)—instead thereof.

Question, "That the word "Mid" stand part of the Schedule," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 49, line 19, by leaving out the word "Blencogo."—(*Mr. Waugh.*)

Question, "That the word "Blencogo" stand part part of the Schedule," put, and *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 50, line 10, by leaving out the words "High Peak," and inserting the word "Northern,"—(*Sir Eardley Wilmot,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'High Peak' stand part of the Schedule."

LORD EDWARD CAVENDISH said, the feeling in the division was strongly in favour of the name High Peak.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 50, line 18, by leaving out the word "Chesterfield," and inserting the word "Eastern," — (*Admiral Egerton,*) — instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Chesterfield' stand part of the Schedule."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 50, line 18, by inserting, after the word "The," the words "Eastern or."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question, "That the words 'Eastern or' be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 51, line 19, by inserting, after the word "The," the word "Crediton."—(*Mr. Johnson.*)

Question, "That the word 'Crediton be there inserted" put, and *agreed to.*

Word *inserted* accordingly.

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 56, line 39, by inserting, after the word "The," the words "Western or."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Other Amendments made.

COLONEL KENNARD moved, in page 57, line 38, to leave out the words "New Forest," and insert "South Western or Lymington." He observed that only a part of the forest came into the division, and the most important populous places were not within the forest at all. Lymington, which was the most important place, was quite three miles from the forest.

Amendment proposed, in page 57, line 38, by leaving out the words "New Forest," and inserting the words "South Western or Lymington,"—(*Colonel Kennard,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'New Forest' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH expressed a hope that the right hon. Gentleman would keep the name of New Forest for this division, but he would suggest that Lymington might be adopted as the alternative name.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the feeling of the Committee had been strongly in favour of the name of New Forest without any alternative. As to the adoption of Lymington as an alternative name, he could see no reason in favour of the double name for the division.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 57, line 38, by inserting, after the word "Forest," the words "or Lymington."—(*Colonel Kennard.*)

Question put, "That the words 'or Lymington' be there inserted."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 64; Noes 92: Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 161.)

Other Amendments made.

MR. SLAGG moved to amend the Bill by again changing South-East Lancashire Division of Farnworth-cum-Radcliffe to Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth. In the Bill as originally introduced the name stood as Radcliffe alone, but it was amended after some discussion, and the name of Radcliffe, the most ancient and important place in the district, was placed at the end of the designation. That was not a satisfactory alteration in the opinion of the people of the district, and he would therefore appeal to the hon. Gentleman who was responsible for the change from the original Bill to allow the name to be rechanged.

Amendment proposed, in page 63, line 9, by leaving out the words "Farnworth-cum-Radcliffe," and inserting the words "Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth,"—(*Mr. Slagg,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'Farnworth-cum-Radcliffe' stand part of the Schedule.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, that the Farnworth people desired their name to come first. He should oppose the Amendment unless a general feeling was shown by the House in its favour.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 58; Noes 65: Majority 7.—(Div. List, No. 162.)

Question, "That the words 'Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, they now came to Leicestershire, as to which there was some difficulty locally in coming to an agreement. The matter had been referred to the Boundary Commissioners, and he had placed on the Paper a number of Amendments to carry out their recommendations. These proposed alterations had met with the approval of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners).

On the Motion of SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, the following Amendments made:—Page 64, line 15, after "No. 18," insert "and Division No. 21;" line 24, at end of line, insert "and so much of the parish of Eccleston as is comprised in the Sessional Division of Prescot;" line 41, after "East Norton," insert "except so much as is comprised in Division No. 4, as herein described;" line 43, after "Beeby," insert "Belgrave, Birstall;" line 46, after "Syston," leave out "and;" line 46, after "Thurnby," insert "and Wanlip;" lines 47 and 48, leave out "Barrow on Soar, Burton on Wolds;" line 48, leave out "Cotes, Hoton, Prestwold;" line 49, leave out "Walton on Wolds, and Wimeswould;" line 48, after "Seagrave," insert "and;" page 65, line 8, leave out "Birstall;" line 9, after "Ratby," insert "and;" leave out lines 10 and 11; line 10, leave out "so much of;" line 10, leave out from "Belgrave," to the end of line 11; after line 21, insert as a new line—

"And the parishes in the Sessional Division of East Norton—of Blaston, Bringhurst, Cranoe, Drayton, Glooston, Great Easton, Hallaton, Horninghold, Nevill Holt, Stockerston, and Stoke Dry with Holy Oaks;"

and in page 66, lines 30 and 31, leave out "Holland Fen," and insert—

"Copping Syke, Drainage Marsh, Ferry Corner Plot, Gibbet Hills, Great Beats, Little Beats, Great Brand End Plot, Little Brand End Plot, Hart's Grounds, Mown Rakes, North Fortyfoot Bank, Pelham's Lands, Royalty Farm, Seven Acres, South of the Witham."

On the Motion of MR. FINCH-HATTON, the following Amendment made:—Page 66, line 38, after "Holland," insert "or Spalding."

Amendment proposed, in page 73, line 35, by leaving out the words "and the parish in the Sessional Division of Wells—Binegar."—(*Mr. Richard Paget.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he could not accept the Amendment, because by taking the parish of Binegar out of the division two large parishes, having a population of 5,000, would be thereby isolated from their proper division.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 62; Noes 28; Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 163.)

Amendment proposed, in page 73, line 38, by inserting, after the word "The," the words "North Western or."—(*Mr. Richard Paget.*)

Question, "That the words 'North Western or' be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

[*Third Night.*]

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 77, line 5, by leaving out the words "and the corporate town of Aldeburgh."—(*Mr. Thornhill.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule," put, and *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 84, line 8, by inserting, at the end, the words "Hazlewood with Storiths and Beamsley."—(*Sir Matthew Wilson.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

MR. SERJEANT SIMON, in moving, in page 84, line 29, to leave out "Morley," and insert "Batley," so that the name of the new division should be the "Batley Division," instead of the "Morley Division," said, that when the Bill was in Committee his Amendment came on so suddenly that he was afraid the question had not been properly understood. He should, therefore, have to occupy the House a short time while he stated the case in support of his Motion. The Boundary Commissioners in 1867 subjected Batley to a process of vivisection. They cut it in two. One part of the municipal borough they threw into the Parliamentary borough of Dewsbury; the other part, and the greater portion of the parish of Batley, they threw into the county. Morley was situate in the parish of Batley, and he ventured to say that the good people of Morley were never so astonished as when they arose one fine morning and found their town famous as the head of the new division. Morley had a population of 15,000. Batley, according to the Census of 1881, had between 27,000 and 28,000. According to the Registrar General's Returns, its population was now over 30,000. It was an important manufacturing and commercial town, having a trade with all parts of the world. Batley was a corporate town; Morley was not. Batley had its own separate magistracy; Morley had not. Batley was a postal centre; Morley was not. Batley was also a centre of railway communication; Morley was not. Batley was in a central part of the district; Morley was in a remote part of it. It would, on that account, be out of the question to think of working the election there. Batley had a grammar school, to which the people of Morley sent their children to be educated. Morley, as he had said, was in the parish of Batley, and in a remote part of it. In former times, it was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Vicar of Batley, and a part of it was so still. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had no wish to say a word in disparagement of Morley, or of disrespect to its inhabitants. But in considering the relative claims of the two towns, it was impossible not to see that Morley was altogether inferior to Batley, and in some respects subordinate to it. He ventured to affirm that the claim of Batley to give the name to the division was overwhelming in comparison with that of Morley. But it was said that Batley was in the Parliamentary borough of Dewsbury, and that, therefore, it ought not to give the name to the division. He thought there was no validity in that argument. Was it right, he asked, that because the Commissioners in 1867 thought proper to divide the municipal borough in two, an important corporate and commercial town like Batley, with a population twice that of Morley, should be "snuffed out" as it were, and ignored in favour of a town in all respects inferior to it? If this were done, Batley would be the only corporate town in the Kingdom that would have been so treated. But that was not all. The Instructions to the Commissioners were that they should take into consideration area as well as population. The parish of Batley formed a considerable portion of the area of the new division, and the question arose, should a town situate at an extreme point of the area give the name, or the area itself? Again, he thought that, in a matter of that kind, the wishes of the people whom it concerned should be considered. The population of the new division would be over 60,000. Take away the 15,000 in Morley, and he was in condition to say that of the remaining 45,000, or thereabouts, the great majority were in favour of Batley. He had presented Petitions from, he believed, every place in the district, and from most of the Local Boards and other public bodies, praying that Batley should be the name of the new division. He had presented no less than 10 that day. One Local Board, however, had

petitioned in favour of both places. [*Laughter.*] Yes, the Local Board of Ossett had petitioned in favour both of Batley and Morley. So far as he was concerned, therefore, Ossett was "out of the running," and he could leave the noble Viscount (Viscount Lewisham) in full possession of Ossett and all the good his cause could derive from that quarter. Without Ossett he (Mr. Serjeant Simon) could still say that the great majority of the people of the new division preferred Batley to Morley as the name of the new division, and he thought that the House would have regard to their wishes. One word more and he should conclude. He had spoken of Morley as an inferior town to Batley; but he was bound to admit that Morley had a newspaper, *The Morley Observer*, and, of course, that newspaper upheld the cause of Morley. A copy of it had been sent to him from Morley. It contained an article setting forth the claims of Morley, and upbraiding Batley, giving it a sound rating for its presumption and wickedness in seeking to deprive Morley of its glory. It appealed to Scripture for an illustration of Batley's enormity. It compared it to the bad King who stole his neighbour's vineyard, and his (Mr. Serjeant Simon's) humble self to the "vicious and unscrupulous" woman who was the infamous agent in the transaction. The passage was not long, and with the permission of the House he would read it. It proceeded thus—

"In sacred history there is a record of a mean and covetous king, who set his heart upon a vineyard which belonged to a good and loyal subject, and his wicked designs were aided and abetted by a vicious and unscrupulous woman. Batley's action is somewhat similar in spirit and object. There may not be a Jezebel in the tragedy, but there is an interested Jew, who does not scruple to take a leading part in the shady business of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul.'"

He left it to the judgment of the House to determine upon the merits of a case supported by that species of advocacy.

Amendment proposed, in page 84, line 29, by leaving out the word "Morley," and inserting the word "Batley," —(*Mr. Serjeant Simon,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Morley' stand part of the Schedule."

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, he was sorry to find himself compelled to detain the House again upon this point, after the discussion which had already taken place in Committee, and the action then taken by the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Serjeant Simon) said the people of Morley were very much astonished when they woke up one morning, and found that their name had been given to the division; but he (Viscount Lewisham) could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman that that supposition was entirely unfounded; because, as he was coming up to London by train, he was informed by a deputation, on the day that the Commissioners met, that the people of Morley had no doubt that they would carry their point. He did not propose to go fully into the details of the case of Morley; but its claim was somewhat similar to that which had been advanced on behalf of Batley, namely—on account of population, commercial importance, and historical associations. The hon. and learned Gentleman told the House that the population of Batley was 30,000. That was perfectly true; but the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to have gone a little further and told the House that only 1,900 would be connected with the new division of the county, the other 28,000 being included in the borough of Dewsbury. The hon. Member said Morley was not a post town. He (Viscount Lewisham) always directed his letters to "Morley," and they reached their destination. He regretted very much himself that the editor of the Morley newspaper should have written the paragraph read by the hon. and learned Member, and he certainly found it impossible to approve of it. With regard to geographical position, the House was told that Morley was an out-of-the way town in a corner of the district of which Batley was the centre, and therefore Morley ought not to give its name to the division. But the same argument might also be used against Batley, for it was six of one and half-a-dozen of the other, the boundaries of the two being conterminous. As to the assertion that all the other towns in the district were in favour of Batley, the evidence was exactly to the contrary, and he had numerous representations from the inhabitants, but he would not trouble the House by reading them. Dewsbury was itself a Parliamentary borough, represented by the hon. and learned Member, and had decided to

remain neutral; and he (Viscount Lewisham) had in his possession resolutions, unanimously passed by Local Boards, Liberal Associations, and in one case by a meeting summoned at the instigation of Batley. He had also received letters from the Liberal and Conservative Associations of all the towns of the division in favour of the name of Morley.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he had presented Petitions from every part of the locality which went the other way.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, that he thought it was a somewhat vague statement. He asked the House to consult with the wishes of the inhabitants of the district, and to adhere to the decision of the Commissioners, who, after having all the evidence before them, came to the conclusion that Morley was entitled to give its name to the division. That verdict had already been ratified by the Committee, and he trusted that it would not be disturbed by the House.

SIR ANDREW FAIRBAIRN, in opposing the Amendment, said, that he had received a number of letters showing that the neighbouring district was very anxious that the name of Morley should be retained.

MR. E. A. LEATHAM: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to speak again upon this question; but I feel very strongly that since the debate in Committee was taken upon one day and the decision upon another, the Committee may very easily have arrived at its decision under an imperfect apprehension of the facts. It will be generally admitted that a question like this might very fairly be referred to persons who are not only in a position of impartiality, but in possession of the local knowledge which would lead them to a sound judgment; and, in this connection, I would remind the House that when this question was last under discussion, no single Yorkshire Member spoke against the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon). The opposition came from an hon. and learned Member who opposes many things in this House—the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton). Every Yorkshire Member who spoke, spoke strongly in favour of the Motion. My hon. Friend who has just spoken (Sir Andrew Fairbairn) has spoken in another tone to-night, and I leave the House to judge how much ardour he has thrown into his cause. Passing to those who are the next in impartiality among well-informed persons—I mean the population which belongs to this division—what do we find? As my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon) has conclusively shown, the great preponderance of opinion is in favour of his Motion. The noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Lewisham) has spoken of Petitions. What value is to be set upon Petitions, compared with those deliberate declarations of responsible public bodies to which my hon. and learned Friend has referred? But, passing from impartial people, I should very much like to know why Batley itself is not to be heard upon this question? The noble Viscount has argued as though Batley, being in the borough of Dewsbury, were outside the division; and therefore that the question resolved itself simply into a conflict between the 15,000 persons resident at Morley and the 2,000 persons belonging to Batley who reside outside the Parliamentary borough. I can hardly conceive a more preposterous contention than that is. Not only is Batley not outside the division, but, after Dewsbury—which is out of the running—it is the undisputed centre and capital of the division; and not only so, but it swarms with freeholders whose votes will be given not in the borough of Dewsbury, but, as I hope, in the division of Batley. Now, the only possible reason why such a place should not give its name to the division is that it has already given its name to a constituency. That is why the division is not to be called after Dewsbury. But the noble Viscount carries that argument so far as to say that, because a place is embraced in a Parliamentary borough to which it does not give its name, therefore it is to be struck out of the electoral map altogether, and a remote village, situated in one corner of the division, and in one corner, too, of the parish of Batley, is to usurp the title of capital of the division, and that at the moment when we are endeavouring to give more accurate expression to the relative importance of localities. Sir, I do hope that the House will avail itself of this opportunity of escaping a ridiculous misnomer, and of restoring its political identity to one of the most populous and prosperous places in the Kingdom.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, this point had been fully discussed before, and he hoped it would not be discussed at length again.

MR. JACKSON said, he could not help expressing his surprise that a man who represented a Yorkshire constituency should have declared before the public that in Yorkshire they could obtain signatures to a Petition at a penny per dozen. He (Mr. Jackson) repudiated the insinuation in the strongest possible manner. Anyone who looked at the map would see that Batley and Dewsbury were practically one. There could be no difficulty whatever in working the election at Morley.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he thought it would be well for those doubtful Members who had no special knowledge of these localities to support the recommendations of the Boundary Commissioners.

MR. W. H. LEATHAM said, he thought it a very unusual course to name the division of a county after a portion of an existing borough—namely, Batley, which was represented in the borough of Dewsbury, forming nearly half that borough. That was his objection to the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury's Motion, and his desire was that the name of Morley should be retained.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 38; Noes 55: Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 164.)

The word "Batley" inserted.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY moved to substitute Penistone instead of Holmfirth as the name of the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Penistone, he explained, was the name selected by the Boundary Commissioners. The town was the only railway centre in the district, and 69 passenger trains stopped there every day. Holmfirth, on the other hand, was a kind of *cul de sac*, to which very few trains went. Penistone was a market town, and the hotel accommodation was much superior to that of Holmfirth. The only claim that Holmfirth had to give its name to the district was that its population was greater; but that was not sufficient ground on which to give it priority, inasmuch as there were other places in the district which were still more populous. Penistone was in the centre of the district, while Holmfirth was at its extremity.

Amendment proposed, in page 85, line 10, by leaving out the word "Holmfirth," and inserting the word "Penistone,"—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Holmfirth' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the Committee had decided in favour of the name of Holmfirth, and as that place seemed to have the best of the argument when the rival claims of the two towns were discussed in Committee, he should adhere to the arrangement then come to.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE observed, that the decisions of the House in regard to nomenclature seemed to be of a pendulum character. He thought the safest decision to follow was that of the Boundary Commissioners. He should therefore vote for the name of Penistone. He had received a great many communications from Members of both political Parties with reference to the name to be given to the division, and he gathered from them that the great bulk of the population were in favour of Penistone.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 57; Noes 44: Majority 13.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

Other Amendments made.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he wished to take that opportunity of apologizing to the right hon. Gentleman opposite for having named Government Tellers in the late Division. When he did so the matter had entirely escaped his notice, and he was extremely sorry that it should have occurred.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he was sure it was quite an oversight.

COLONEL GUNTER rose to move to substitute, in page 96, line 39, "Birstall," instead of "Spen Valley," as the name of one of the divisions of the West Riding. He said that Spen Valley was a name comparatively unknown; Birstall, on the other hand, speaking not of the village but of the ancient civil parish, contained 51,000 people, out of the 54,000 in the new district. The old civil parish of Birstall was a very ancient one, and was traced back to the 12th century. He appealed to the right hon. Gentle-

man to uphold the decision of the Commissioners. Birstall was fixed upon, at a large meeting, by the Boundary Commissioners at Leeds, where both parties were heard. It would be agreeable to the majority of the inhabitants that the division should have that name, and the name of Spen Valley had been carried in Committee only by a majority of four. Birstall was a well-known area, while the Spen Valley was an unknown and fancy name. The Spen was a little brook which they would be better without, because it took the whole drainage of the district.

Amendment proposed, in page 86, line 39, by leaving out the words "Spen Valley," and inserting the word "Birstall,"—(*Colonel Gunter,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'Spen Valley' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that though it was true that on the first division, there was only a majority of four in favour of Spen Valley, the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Gunter) ought to have added that a second division was taken and then the majority was between 20 and 30. In point of population Birstall stood only fifth in the division, and in point of ratable value its relative importance was even less. It was in order to avoid jealousy between the different towns, that he proposed that the well-known name of Spen Valley should be recognized as the name of the division. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had said that the Spen was a small stream, and he (Mr. Illingworth) agreed it was so; but it was so important, that there was machinery on the stream of 20,000 horse power. There was a time when Birstall had an important position; but in the new division it was in the extreme east, whereas the Spen ran through the centre of the district. If the stream was small, it was the best the district afforded. He contended that four-fifths of the community in the district would be content with the name of Spen Valley.

MR. JACKSON said, that Spen Valley was not nearly so well known and recognized as Birstall. The latter name was adopted by the Commissioners, and no good reason had been brought forward to alter it. He had in his possession a Petition signed by a very considerable number of the most important ratepayers not only in Birstall, but from towns covering pretty well the whole of the district. He had also a Petition signed by a number of large employers of labour, in favour of the name of Birstall. He hoped the House would agree to the Amendment.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that when this matter was last discussed he supported the name of Spen Valley; but he had since found that the stream which runs through the district could scarcely be said to exist. As to its condition, the less said about it the better. He supported the Amendment. He had been at some pains to discover the motive of the activity of the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), and he had found it was his ancient deep-rooted dislike to everything of an ecclesiastical nature, which in this case, no doubt, he had detected lurking in the parish name of Birstall.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: Nothing could be further from the truth.

MR. GORST said, he should have thought that the Government, having sent Commissioners into the country to ascertain what the feeling of the people was upon these matters, would have supported the opinion of those gentlemen.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, it would be hard in every case to vote for the name adopted by the Commissioners. He might point out to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that, on more than one occasion when he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had supported the recommendations of the Commissioners with regard to the names, he had found himself in a minority. The name of Spen Valley was adopted by the Committee by a small majority; but on a second division the majority was larger, because the Government thought that it would be better to adhere to the opinion which the Committee had expressed upon the question. As a matter of fact, when the subject was being argued on the last occasion, three Commissioners were present, and they informed him that they thought the name of Spen Valley was an improvement upon that of Birstall. The ground for their opinion was that great local jealousies between Cleckheaton and other towns would arise, if they gave the name of Birstall to the division.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 60; Noes 55: Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 166.)

MR. O'DONNELL said, he rose to move the first of a series of Amendments whose object was to give an alternative name to divisions of counties distinguished in the Bill by the points of the compass. This Amendment was to the effect that the North Antrim Division should be known also as the Dunluce Division. The attention of Irish Members had been so much engrossed by their anxiety to counteract the "jerry-mandering" schemes of the Boundary Commissioners, that necessarily less attention was paid to the names of places which should be preserved from historical or ecclesiastical considerations. The name Dunluce carried with it many interesting associations of Irish history, and with it was connected the memory of the great sept of the Mac-donnells, the ruins of whose castle frowning over the Atlantic were still so impressive.

Amendment proposed, in page 90, line 5, by inserting, after the words "North Antrim," the words "or the Dunluce Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that in regard to the Irish divisions almost every name had been altered in Committee without any conflict; and although Dunluce was a very excellent name, he thought it would be a mistake now to re-open the settlement previously arrived at with practical unanimity.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN hoped that the right hon. Baronet would be guided in that matter, to some extent, by the opinion of the Irish Members. ["Hear!" *and a laugh.*] He was quite as well acquainted with Irish history as many hon. Members below the Gangway. He had looked through the list of names which were proposed by the hon. Member for Dungarvan, and he certainly saw no objection to them. He reserved to himself, however, the liberty of opposition to one or two, which he thought had a too recent political signification. The Amendment now proposed was an improvement upon the Bill as it stood.

MR. EWART supported the name of Dunluce as being one that was desired by the people of the county.

MR. SULLIVAN thought it would be a great mistake to adopt double names which were very cumbrous and complicated. It would be better to leave the names to stand as they had been already agreed upon in Committee.

MR. LEAMY said, he saw no great harm in retaining the possession of the old Irish names, and would support the Amendment.

MR. HEALY said, one would think that the names of the Irish counties were not known in history. They were just as old and historical as the names proposed.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 31; Noes 87: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

Amendment proposed, in page 90, line 19, by inserting, after the word "Antrim," the words "or Carrickfergus Division."—(*Mr. Greer.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or Carrickfergus Division,' be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE remarked, that it was a great pity that that question had not been raised in Committee.

MR. GREER said, that he happened to be in Ireland, when the matter was dealt with in Committee, during the time of the Prince and Princess of Wales's visit to that country.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE repeated that all the Irish names were changed in some degree without any expression of dissent; and the discussion extended over three days.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN observed that when the names were gone through, many Irish Members were absent from the House in order to welcome the Prince and Princess. Moreover there was this to be urged in favour of giving the name of Carrickfergus to that division—namely, that that was the name of one of the disfranchised boroughs, and the right hon. Baronet had himself allowed that that was a consideration to be borne in mind in these cases.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Not in regard to an alternative name.

MR. HEALY thought the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman) had begun his efforts too late.

[*Third Night.*]

He should have proposed that the Isle of Thanet should be called the Rockingham Division.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he did not see the advantage of *aliases* in a Bill of this kind.

MR. SEXTON said, that out of 85 county divisions of Ireland, only five were not called after the county.

MR. BIGGAR did not think Carrickfergus was entitled to be excepted from the general rule.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 27; Noes 96: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

SIR RICHARD WALLACE moved to substitute the name of Lisburn as the designation of the South Antrim Division. He said, that Lisburn was an ancient borough and the most important town in the county. It was the cradle of the cambric and damask linen trades in the North of Ireland. It had for centuries returned Members to Parliament, and in his opinion, and in that of the inhabitants of the division, it was entitled to give its name to the Southern Division of the county of Antrim, and not be consigned to political oblivion.

Amendment proposed, in page 91, line 1, by leaving out the words "South Antrim," and inserting "Lisburn,"—(*Sir Richard Wallace,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'South Antrim,' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he should oppose the Amendment on the ground that, geographically speaking, Lisburn, being in the extreme south of the division, had no special claim to give its name to it. Moreover, the town of Antrim was of more importance than Lisburn. Four lines of railway centred at Antrim.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN supported the Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR did not think that Lisburn was entitled to give its name to the division. Lisburn had always been a nomination borough, and the electors had always been either very slavish or very corrupt. Ballymena, in the same division, was a much more important place.

MR. PLUNKET hoped that the right hon. Baronet would accept the Amendment. The town of Antrim was not nearly so large as Lisburn, and on every ground he thought that Lisburn had a fair claim to give its name to the division.

MR. HEALY said, the Tories chose to absent themselves on the occasion when this matter was decided by the Committee. Nothing was gained without fighting for it. The Irish Party had recognized that fact and acted on it. The Tory Party never had, and, he would say, never would.

MR. SMALL thought that Lisburn had no claim whatever to have its name perpetuated in Parliamentary records.

MR. EWART said, that the reason the Irish Tory Members were absent was that they were in Ireland welcoming the Prince of Wales.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE thought that the House had practically decided this question in refusing to give the name of Carrickfergus to the Eastern Division of Antrim, for Carrickfergus had a much better right to give its name to the Eastern than Lisburn had to have the Southern Division of Antrim called after it.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 101; Noes 32: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 169.)

Amendment proposed, in page 91, line 1, by inserting, after the words "South Antrim," the words "or Clandeboy Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought that if the House were disposed to make any change in these names they would rather accept the name proposed by the hon. Baronet opposite. He thought, however, it would be better to adhere to the names as at present arranged.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL proposed that the North Armagh Division should have the alternative name of "Oneilland." The district consisted entirely of the Oneilland baronies, and the designation he proposed would therefore suit the district admirably.

Amendment proposed, in page 91, line 14, by inserting, after the words

"North Armagh," the words "or Oneilland Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

MR. HEALY said, that this was the one case which was considered by the Irish Party as a suitable alternative name. They, however, felt the extreme undesirability of adding alternative names. They discussed the matter for nearly two hours, and finally came to the conclusion that the existing names would be the best and simplest. The old county names were just as historic as any of the names proposed, and were quite as suitable.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 8; Noes 120: Majority 112.—(Div. List, No. 170.)

MR. O'DONNELL moved an Amendment, the object of which was to give the alternative name of "Thomond" to the West Clare Division. He thought the proposal ought to receive the unanimous approval of the House. Clare was in the ancient Kingdom of Thomond, and there was no more ancient name in the whole range of Irish history. It was quite true that owing to the way in which the county of Clare had been cut up this name could not be applied to East Clare as well; but if that division had been awarded the alternative name of Inchiquin, the county would have been worthily divided, and two names which ought to be dear to Irish Nationalists would have been preserved.

Amendment proposed, in page 93, line 8, after "West Clare," insert "or Thomond."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'or Thomond Division' be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in opposing the Amendment, expressed his regret that the hon. Member felt it necessary to press these proposals. He reminded the hon. Member that the names which appeared in the Bill had been adopted in the Committee stage of the measure, in compliances with the wish of the Irish Members themselves.

MR. SEXTON wished to explain why it was that he could not support a proposal to amend any of these names. The matter was one which had been freely discussed in the Irish Press several months ago; at public meetings, and by representatives of the Nationalists and every other political Party who appeared before the Boundary Commissioners, and the result was an agreement to adopt a coherent and consistent plan for all the Irish counties. The county names adopted in Committee had now been before the people for several weeks, and the Members of the Irish Party, who were in close communication with the responsible representatives of public opinion in Ireland, had not received a single communication in favour of an alteration of the names. However admirable, or ancient, or historical, from a sentimental point of view, the name of Thomond might be, he did not think it would be respectful to public opinion in Ireland to make any alteration now.

MR. KENNY said, there was an additional reason why, personally, he could not agree to the Amendment. As applied to West Clare, the name of Thomond would not be historically correct; but if it was to be adopted at all, it ought to have been attached to the Eastern rather than to the Western portion of the county. He had himself appeared before the Boundary Commissioners when these names were discussed, and he had had the advantage of co-operating with the nephew of Lord Inchiquin, who quite agreed with him that the names selected for the two county divisions should be East Clare and West Clare. The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had suggested that the Eastern Division of the county might receive the alternative name of "Inchiquin;" but, as a matter of fact, the barony of Inchiquin was cut in two by the Bill, and a portion placed in each division, so that it would be quite impossible to attach the name to one side more than the other. No doubt, the name of "Thomond" was a name much admired by historical students in Ireland; but it was a name which was not generally known even in the locality with which in olden times it was connected. Under these circumstances, he did not think it was necessary to revive the name of Thomond for the purpose of finding a new name for a county division which was to send a Member to an English Parliament.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, his next Amendment had reference to the county

of Cork, which was divided by the Bill into seven divisions, the names of which were taken from the points of the compass. To him this mode of dividing the county appeared to be very unintelligible, and he might remind the House that even hon. Members who supported names selected from the points of the compass were quite unable to make themselves sure under which point any particular division should be placed. If hon. Members would look at the Paper of Amendments they would find that, later on, the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), whose great labours in connection with the Bill he had no disposition to disparage, had given Notice of Amendments for the purpose of shifting about the South and the East, and so on. In fact, it was perfectly impossible, according to the points of the compass, to settle the divisions. There were at least two North Corks, and to call either of them North-East or North-West was perfectly gratuitous. Mid Cork was, he presumed, called "Mid" from the peculiar reason that it was not Mid Cork at all, but that it was all on one side next the county of Kerry. A division in accordance with the points of the compass in the case of Cork was altogether absurd. In regard to North Cork, it was the most Nationalist portion of the county, and he believed that there was no desire on the part of the people there to have the division known by the name of "North Cork." It could not be forgotten that in '98 the North Cork Militia played by no means a national part, and there was no reason to revere the name. He proposed, therefore, to strike out the name "North Cork," and to substitute that of two baronies included in the division, each of which was an ancient and distinguished name—namely, "Duhallow and Orrery."

Amendment proposed, in page 93, line 19, leave out "North Cork," and insert "Duhallow and Orrery."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'North Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE opposed the Amendment. The names of the points of the compass had been adopted after full consideration; and there certainly could be no difficulty in regard to this one, whatever might be said in regard to the rest. So far as the Amendments of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan were concerned, the only question raised by them was whether No. 4 division should not be called "East Cork" and No. 7 "South-East Cork," the names as they now stood in the Bill being simply reversed. He was of opinion that the compass names were preferable to those suggested by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell).

MR. O'BRIEN said, he thought there was no reason for disturbing the arrangement which had been arrived at. Indeed, it would be inconvenient to adopt the names of baronies in the county of Cork—first, because there was so many of them; and next, because they were only known to the officials of the county, and were unfamiliar to the people. Ninety-nine persons out of 100 would be unable to say where Duhallow or Orrery was, and the only historical association connected with either was that one of them, for a good many years, had possessed a famous pack of hounds. If any district in the county of Cork had a right to have its name retained it was the town of Mallow, which he had the honour to represent, seeing that the Prime Minister had promised that the names of existing constituencies should not be altogether effaced. The people of Mallow, however, were perfectly satisfied to accept the compass names with the alterations about to be proposed by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), feeling that the best course was to derive the generic name from the name of the county. He believed there was not a Nationalist in the county who would not prefer to be known as a Cork man rather than to be designated by the name of a barony.

MR. HEALY said, that, to a certain extent, he had been responsible for changing the names of the Irish counties. He thought one great advantage was in having them selected upon a consistent principle, instead of pock-marking the map of Ireland with a series of names that were comparately unknown. If these Amendments were adopted they would so disturb the geographical ideas of the people that most of them would have to go to school again. As a rule, there had been no difficulty in giving compass names to the Irish counties;

but he confessed that in regard to the county of Cork there was a little difficulty. It was, however, very easily overcome, and in the Amendments which he proposed to move later on he simply reversed the names of two of the divisions, still leaving them compass names, without attaching to them the names of seven local towns and baronies. He believed that everybody was satisfied except the hon. Member for Dungarvan, who had nothing to do with the county at all.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 93, line 23, to include in the North Cork Division "the townland of Ballylofen in the parish of Kilquane." — (*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL moved to amend the name of the 2nd Division by striking out "North-East Cork," and inserting "Fermoy Division." The hon. Member said he did not propose to press the Amendment to a division; but he wished to put on record the fact that he had again sought to "pock-mark" the map of the county of Cork with an ancient Irish historical association.

Amendment proposed, in page 93, line 24, to leave out "North-East Cork," and insert "Fermoy Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'North-East Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. O'BRIEN remarked, that, as a matter of fact, Fermoy was the least ancient and the least historical of the baronies included in this division. There were others that would be much preferable, from their historical associations, to Fermoy. In comparison with Mallow, Fermoy was a place of yesterday. At a time when Fermoy did not even exist as a village, Mallow was the stronghold of the great power of the Esmonds in the South of Ireland, so that the hon. Member was not even historically accurate.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that Fermoy existed in the first or second century of the Christian era, and *The Book of Fermoy* was one of the most ancient manuscripts in Irish literature. As to its history, Fermoy was antiquity itself, compared with Barrymore, Condons, Clangibbon, and Kinnatalloon.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'BRIEN moved an Amendment to include within the North-East Cork Division "so much of the barony of Barretts as comprised the parish of Mourne Abbey."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he certainly felt inclined to press the next Amendment to a division. Its object was to omit the name of "Mid Cork" as the name of the 3rd Division, and to substitute that of "Muskerry." In fact, the division called "Mid Cork" consisted almost entirely of the baronies of East and West Muskerry. The only other barony included was that of Barretts, so that by calling it "Muskerry," they would be selecting a name that was almost completely applicable to the case. In history it was intimately associated with the great Cork race of the Macarthys. [*A laugh.*] He was not surprised that English Members should laugh at this attempt to "pock-mark" the Irish map with ancient Irish associations.

Amendment proposed, in page 94, leave out "Mid Cork," and insert "Muskerry."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'Mid Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that no doubt "Muskerry" was a very good name; but the Commissioners had themselves suggested "Macroom." He thought it would be better not to alter the compass arrangement, but to retain "Mid Cork."

MR. HEALY said, they all knew that the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) since he had entered the House had become an adept at the changing of names. He had shown himself so much of a proficient in that respect that he had even been successful in changing Irish patronymics. Before, however, the hon. Member proposed the name of Muskerry for this division he ought to be able to pronounce it. He (Mr. Healy) thought the change was undesirable.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

[*Third Night.*]

MR. O'BRIEN moved, in line 3, after "the barony of Barretts," to insert "except so much as is comprised in the parish of Mourne Abbey."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL moved another Amendment, to describe the 4th Division as "Cloyne" instead of "South East Cork." Cloyne was another ancient historical name, and he was quite certain that the appellation was vastly superior to the phrase "South East Cork."

Amendment proposed, in page 94, line 4, leave out "South East Cork," and insert "Cloyne."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'South East Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had no objection to strike out the word "South," which, in accordance with a proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan, would describe the division as East instead of South East Cork.

Question, that "South" stand part of the Schedule, put and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "that 'East Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the Commissioners had originally suggested "Youghal," and the hon. Member now proposed "Cloyne." For the reasons he had already given, he thought it would be undesirable to change the name.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL moved to leave out "West Cork," and substitute "Beare and Carbery." Both names were well known in Irish history. The district of Beare was associated with the famous clan of O'Sullivan, and Carbery was also full of glorious associations. He regretted to have to trouble English Members by proposing these names, but he felt himself compelled to do so as a matter of principle. He had fully expected to have been able to propose them when the Bill was in Committee; but he had been prevented by illness from being present. He thought something ought to be done to preserve these names. No country was more rich in historical associations than Ireland, and the very fact that these historical associations had been allowed to be forgotten, ought to impose upon the Irish Nationalists the solemn duty of reviving them.

Amendment proposed, in page 94, line 8, leave out "West Cork" and insert "Beare and Carbery."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'West Cork' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in opposing the Amendment, pointed out that portions of East and West Carbery were included in two other divisions, the South and East.

MR. HEALY remarked that as the Bill was originally drafted, this was called the "Bantry" Division. He had regretted very much to find himself compelled to move the omission of that name, as Bantry was the place in which he was born; but he had sacrificed his affection for Bantry in order to secure consistency in adopting names from the points of the compass. At the present moment the best part of the district included in this division was known as West Cork.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, he simply proposed the next Amendment by way of a protest—namely, to leave out "South Cork," and insert "Ross."

Amendment proposed, in page 94, line 14, leave out "South Cork," and insert "Ross."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That 'South Cork' stand part of the Clause."

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked if there was any practical use in persisting with these Amendments, after the decisions already arrived at by the House? He did not, for a moment, question the good intentions of the hon. Member in the matter; but the hon. Member could make no better case for any future Amendment than he had made for those which had gone before, and he appealed to the hon. Member whether it was courteous or considerate to delay the progress of the Bill by Amendments which were only made for the purpose of being negatived? He trusted that the hon. Member would consent to spare the time of the House.

MR. O'DONNELL said, the only answer he could make to the hon. Member, for whose advice he had a great regard, was that on many other occasions, for much less reason, he had not spared the time of the House. In this case he felt bound to place on record his protest against this wholesale system of dragging down the history of an ancient country to the level of that of a newly-discovered island, which could only be described by points of the compass.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR thought the Irish Members owed a debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) for the interest he had manifested in this matter, and he must say that he entirely sympathized with the hon. Member. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) could not forget that he represented a county which had now entirely dropped, as far as its Parliamentary representation went, the old name of "Queen's County" for those of "Leix" and "Ossory." Nothing had afforded more unbroken satisfaction to the people of the county; but, at the present moment, neither division represented the old Irish divisions of Leix or Ossory; and, therefore, he had hoped that some of the proposals of the hon. Member, although not strictly representing the division marked out in the Schedule, might have been acceptable to the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. O'DONNELL moved, after "North Donegal," to insert "or "Innishowen Division." As a humble member of the clan of O'Donnell, he should be glad to see the name of "Innishowen" adopted. It was a name very dear to the people of the district; but he admitted that in this instance also Her Majesty's Commissioners had somewhat seriously interfered with the proper delimitation of the district. He felt it due to his own sense of the history of the North of Ireland to make this proposal—that the name of Innishowen, the land of the O'Donnells and the O'Dohertys, should be given as an alternative name to that of North Donegal.

Amendment proposed, in page 95, line 4, after "North Donegal," insert "or Innishowen Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought the House ought to agree to the designation adopted in Committee. At the same time, he admitted that much could be said in favour of the name "Innishowen;" and he regretted that the hon. Member was not present to make his proposal when the subject was considered in Committee. It was unfortunate that the matter had not been brought on earlier.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 16; Noes 97: Majority 81.—(Div. List, No. 171.)

On the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Amendment made, in page 95, line 10, before "Glenalla," by inserting "Drumherrive."

MR. O'DONNELL, who intimated that he would not divide the House upon the Amendment, moved to give the alternative name of "Kilmacreenan" to the West Donegal Division.

Amendment proposed, in page 95, line 11, after "West Donegal," insert "or Kilmacreenan Division." — (*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL moved, after "North Down," to insert "or the Ards Division." The Ards was one of the most ancient divisions of Ulster, and, according to the old chroniclers, the heights of Ulster were "the heights of Ards." It would form an admirable name for a division; but he only proposed it by way of protest.

Amendment proposed, in page 96, line 4, after "North Down," insert "or the Ards Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

MR. SMALL moved, in line 7, to leave out the barony of Upper Ards. He explained that his object was to transfer this barony from North Down to East Down, in order to equalize the population of the two divisions. If this Amendment were agreed to, he intended to propose that the parishes of Lambeg, Drumbeg, Blaris, and Drumbo, and so much of the barony of Upper Ards as comprised the parish of Ballywater,

should be added. The result would be to transfer to East Down a population of 3,700, and to bring into North Down a population of 1,295; and the difference between the aggregate populations of the two divisions would then be a little more than 150 instead of more than 2,000, as at present. The proposal of the Government was to place the extreme part of East Down in the Northern Division, whereas his Amendment proposed to take the extreme part of East Down out of the Northern Division. There was also another argument strongly in favour of his proposal—namely, the argument of compactness. The arrangement of the divisions of the county, according to the Bill, gave two long and inconvenient divisions in North Down; but by the adoption of the plan which he proposed there would be two compact and symmetrical divisions. He was aware that between the boundary of Upper Ards and the boundary of East Down there was Lough Strangford, and that the Government had made use of that fact as an argument for refusing to alter the scheme of the Commissioners with regard to the county; but he denied that they were entitled to give that as a reason for objecting to his proposal. When it was a question of joining the people of the North of Donegal for political purposes, they made light of the fact that there was a lake of considerable size between the districts they wanted to join together; they thought nothing of the people having to cross the broad and stormy waters of Lough Swilly; but the circumstance that there was the narrow and particularly calm Lough Strangford to be crossed was now held out as a reason for not agreeing to an arrangement that would give compactness and homogeneity to the divisions of County Down. Then he came to the question of the wishes of the people, which he said were entirely in favour of his proposal as against the scheme of the Commissioners. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the great majority of the people of Upper Ards would prefer to be joined with East Down rather than remain as they were now placed by the Bill in North Down; and that did not rest on his statement alone, because at the inquiry at Downpatrick they had the evidence of a number of respectable inhabitants of Upper Ards, which showed that the people would very much prefer the arrangement which he advocated. As he had several times pointed out, all their business relations and communications were with Downpatrick. For these reasons he was quite unable to see what objection the right hon. Baronet could have to adopt the arrangement; and he therefore trusted that he would now see his way to agree to the Amendment which he begged to move.

Amendment proposed, in page 96, line 7, to leave out "Upper Ards."—(*Mr. Small.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the hon. Member for Wexford had very moderately laid his Amendment before the House. He was, however, obliged to point out that there existed a considerable amount of opposition to the arrangement which the hon. Member proposed. The objections to the Amendment, which had already been stated in Committee, were such that the Government were unable to accept it.

CAPTAIN KER said, he rose to oppose this Amendment. The arrangement of the Commissioners which had been embodied in this Bill had been received with general approval; and he was convinced that there would be a strong feeling of dissatisfaction among both Liberals and Conservatives in the district in question if the boundaries, as they were at present fixed, were in any way interfered with. The hon. Member for Wexford had supported his Amendment by the statement that nearly all the business relations and communications of the people of Upper Ards were with Downpatrick; but he (Captain Ker) denied *in toto* that such was the case, for the very good reason that North Down was separated from East Down by Strangford Lough, a body of water of considerably greater breadth than the hon. Member had stated. The hon. Member named half a mile, but in doing so he had much understated the case. He would point out that there was a regular system of cars between Newtown Ards and Portaferry, and not only that, but a line of railway was in contemplation. He was speaking for both Liberals and Conservatives in opposing this Amendment; and he pointed out that while people of those views constituted the great bulk of the population of County Down, and were in

favour of retaining the boundaries laid down by the Commissioners, the Nationalist Party, who were opposed to that arrangement, were in a very small minority. The Nationalist Party had, indeed, nothing to do with the county; there was no ground for the alteration they proposed; and he trusted that in this case the Government would firmly adhere to the position they had taken up with regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford, otherwise their conduct would be looked upon as a piece of jerrymandering by both Liberals and Conservatives in County Down, who wanted to hold their own against the Nationalists.

MR. HEALY said, he had listened with great attention to the hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down, who, in the course of his observations, spoke of the Nationalist Party in County Down as being a very small one. He could, however, assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that it was large enough for him. Had it not been for the Nationalist Party at the last election, who, declining to vote for a Whig candidate, voted for the hon. and gallant Member, he would not have occupied a seat in that House—it was to the Nationalist Party that he owed his election. He believed that the hon. and gallant Gentleman intended to put up for East Down at the next election; but the people of these districts would be able to appreciate the opposition of the hon. and gallant Member to this Amendment, and when he presented himself as a candidate he would probably find that his opposition would deprive him of the support of the Nationalists, which had been so useful to him on a previous occasion. He thought it would be found that the Tory Party, by its opposition to the alteration of the schemes of the Commissioners, had been absolutely playing into the hands of the Whigs. This was a matter which affected the lives and politics of the population of North Down; and he would say without hesitation that the people of that division would show the hon. and gallant Gentleman at the next election that by their attitude throughout the discussion of all these Amendments he and his Party had been simply giving seats to their Whig opponents. The result of the election would probably be that the Whig Party would carry two seats and the Nationalists one, while the hon. and gallant Gentleman would lose any chance he might previously have had of being returned. ["Order, order!"] They were on the question of the political division of the county, and he was discussing the hon. and gallant Member's opposition to the Amendment in that sense. He would conclude by repeating that the opposition of the hon. and gallant Member would probably lead to this—that, instead of there being three Tories and one Nationalist returned for County Down, there would be one Nationalist, two Whigs, and one Tory, and that the one Tory would not be the hon. and gallant Member.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 84; Noes 25: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 172.)

MR. O'DONNELL said, he wished, after "West Down," to insert the words "or Iveagh." A glance at the Schedule would show that the division of West Down was entirely in Iveagh territory, and, as was well known in Ireland, Iveagh was an ancient Irish designation. Nothing could be more appropriate at the present time, in order, not exactly to reinstate Irish historical names taken from local baronies, but to give a more marked recognition to them, to put them in the Bill in the way he proposed. He would not delay the House by any further observation, but would merely, *pro formâ*, move the Amendment in his name.

Amendment proposed, after the words "West Down," to insert "or Iveagh."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived*.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he wished to add, in page 97, line 20, after "St. Peter's," the words "and of the townland of Cherry Orchard, in the parish of St. Nicholas Without."

Amendment proposed, in page 97, line 20, after "St. Peter's," insert "and of the townland of Cherry Orchard, in the parish of St. Nicholas Without."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, that, before this Question was put, he should like to ask

the right hon. Baronet whether this Amendment would make any change whatever in the Bill, or whether it was simply a consequential Amendment?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: It will make no change whatever.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished, on page 98, line 7, to add words to give North Galway the alternative name of Tuam. He attached considerable importance to this Amendment. It had been pointed out that there were no letters or requisitions asking the House to insert local names to describe county divisions; but that had not been so in this case. He held in his hand a Memorial from the Tuam Town Commissioners in favour of the proposal he was now making. As this alteration had been requested by the locality, and as it was in accordance with the general wish of the people of the district that the alternative name should be given, he felt bound to bring the matter before the House. The question as regarded the town of Tuam stood in a different position to the other questions that had been raised to-night. There was not, so far as he knew, a single case in which a county Member had asked for the name of a constituency to be changed—at any rate, so far as Ireland was concerned. What he was asking for was the addition of a very old name to that of North Galway. No one knew at what period the town of Tuam got its name; it had been so called for 1,400 or 1,500 years, and it had given to Ireland a line of most illustrious Prelates, some of them having been the most illustrious Bishops and Archbishops the country had ever produced. He saw some hon. Gentlemen opposite smile; but he would point out that his observation was not confined to Prelates of the Catholic Church, to which he (Colonel Nolan) belonged, but all Protestant gentlemen, claiming continuity with St. Patrick, must feel the same interest in some of the Bishops they had had in Tuam. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) had made some observations as to inconvenience and confusion arising from having two names attached to these divisions; but the hon. Member himself revelled in two Christian names, and presumably he would not declare that that fact confused his identity and prevented his being well known and deservedly popular in Ireland. If the change which he (Colonel Nolan) proposed were made, he did not believe it would lead to the slightest confusion. Even if only one name were used, in the event of the alternative he proposed being adopted, no difficulty would occur in that regard, because the right hon. Baronet had brought in a clause to prevent any objection being taken on such a technicality. No technical difficulty would arise. None of the county towns, of which there were several in the district, wished to rival Tuam. The name was one very well known in Galway and Mayo, and this case he thought was one which might be allowed to stand upon its own merits. It was one on which the inhabitants had shown far more interest in the question of nomenclature than had been shown in most parts of Ireland. No doubt there were many Irish Members who were wedded to what was called the single-name system; but this appeared to be a case in which legitimate exception could be made, and he trusted the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would gratify the wishes of a considerable portion of his (Colonel Nolan's) present constituency in County Galway by allowing the proposed addition.

Amendment proposed, in page 98, line 7, after "North Galway," insert "or Tuam."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That 'or Tuam' be there inserted."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that if it was the general feeling in Ireland and of the Irish Members that this change should be made, he should be happy to assent to it. He had heard it given as a reason for the hon. and gallant Gentleman's Amendment that the Amendment was intended to show his respect for *meum* and *tuum.*

COLONEL NOLAN: The right hon. Baronet is quite correct; I have both those names in my constituency.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I think, however, the local feeling is in favour of the county name only.

MR. SEXTON said, the general feeling amongst the Irish Members was in favour of the adoption of the county names to the exclusion of town names. There were several places of equal, if not greater importance, than Tuam in

the division; for instance, there was Ballinasloe, which was a most important town connected with the greatest agricultural fair in the county. Then there was the town of Gort, which was also important. That name had been struck out, and it was now proposed to retain Tuam simply because it was an ecclesiastical centre. No doubt the Town Commissioners of Tuam were in favour of the proposed change; but he did not think the majority of the people in the district would support the hon. and gallant Gentleman's view. If divisions were to be named after Archbishoprics, there was every reason, he thought, why another town should lend its name to one of the county divisions, if not on account of its present Archbishop, at any rate on account of a past Archbishop —namely, the town of Cashel.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he would appeal to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, as one of the Members for Galway, not to go to a division on this matter. The hon. and gallant Member seemed to be determined to take the sense of the House upon the question, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was sorry for it, because, though one of the Members for that region, he should be obliged to vote against the proposal. He was sorry to have to go against the town of Tuam, for which he had a very great respect; but it seemed to him that this was, after all, a matter where local feeling should give way to what was, after all, a great national issue. He was sorry that the hon. and gallant Member had put him in the unfortunate position of being compelled to vote against him.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he supported the Amendment, not merely in consequence of the local feeling of the people of the town of Tuam, but in consequence of the historical significance of the town, and because of its being the centre of religion and civilization in the West of Ireland.

MR. CALLAN said, for the very same reason urged by the hon. Member who had just sat down, he (Mr. Callan) should oppose the Amendment. Everyone who had been in Tuam, after a lapse of a considerable period of time, must have noticed that, excellent as the town was from its ecclesiastical and historical associations, it was a town very rapidly decreasing in importance. The only importance he attached to the district of Tuam was that it stood over limestone; a limestone district was good for the raising of sheep, and he always preferred to buy his sheep there. But he had never heard any other reason given for a preference for Tuam, except that, under the Act forbidding the assumption of ecclesiastical titles, it was the only place in Ireland from which an Archbishop could, or rather did with impunity, take his title without subjecting himself to the punishment of the old and effete law to which he referred. He would ask the hon. and gallant Member not to go to a division, because, if he did, he (Mr. Callan) should be obliged to vote against him. If this Amendment were to be accepted, he should regret that he had not voted for the equally impracticable Amendments of his hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), who had introduced much more important names than this of an obscure town in a limestone district like Tuam.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 84: Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 173.)

MR. O'DONNELL said, he preposed to give the South Kerry Division the alternative name of "Desmond." He need not say that Desmond was a name which figured very prominently in Irish history. The country of Desmond extended from the Shannon to the Blackwater; but the special district of Desmond was in Kerry. Desmond was a name well known in the time of James I., and, with the exception of a single barony, the present division of South Kerry covered the space known as Desmond. He did not think any Irishman need be ashamed of being known as the Member for Desmond.

Amendment proposed, in page 99, line 1, after "South Kerry," insert "or Desmond Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, he might remind the hon. Member who proposed to give the name of Desmond to one division of Kerry that Desmond extended over four counties.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that he stated, in moving the Amendment, that the country of Desmond extended from the Shannon to the Blackwater. The cor-

rection of the hon. Member was, therefore, unnecessary.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 3; Noes 91: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 174.)

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he would not propose to give "East Kerry" the alternative name of "Killarney," but would move that the division of "South Kildare" be given the alternative name of "Offaly." Offaly was another of the great historical names of Ireland. He did not intend to carry the Amendment to a division, but merely to enter his protest—he was quite aware that the Gentlemen who sat on the Irish Benches behind him would prevent the Bill being pock-marked with a single historical division.

Amendment proposed, in page 99, line 19, after "South Kildare," insert "or Offaly Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Mr. MARUM proposed to leave out "Fassadinin and Galmoy" in line 31, page 99, and insert "Crannagh, Fassadinin, Galmoy, and Shillelogher." This was not a case of a change of name, but of a change of boundary. The change would conduce to the compactness of the divisions, and would also secure the equalization of the valuation and area of the divisions.

Amendment proposed, in page 99, line 31, leave out "Fassadinin and Galmoy," and insert "Crannagh, Fassadinin, Galmoy, and Shillelogher."—(*Mr. Marum.*)

Question, "That the words Fassadinin and Galmoy" stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 99, lines 32 and 33, leave out "except so much as is comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Kilkenny."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 99, leave out lines 32 and 33.—(*Mr. Marum.*)

Question, "That those lines stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 99, lines 34 and 35, leave out "the Parliamentary borough of Kilkenny, or in."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question, "That those words stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 100, lines 5 and 6, leave out "except so much as is comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Kilkenny."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question, "That those words stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 100, leave out lines 5 and 6.—(*Mr. Marum.*)

Question, "That those lines stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 100, line 7, leave out "parish of Inistioge," and insert "parishes or parts of the parishes of Inistioge, Pleberstown, Famma, Jerpoint Abbey, Jerpoint West, Thomastown, Ballylinch, Kilfane, Columbkille, Graiguenamanagh, and Ullard."—(*Mr. Marum.*)

Question, "That the words 'parish of Inistioge' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Sir Charles W. Dilke, the following Amendments made:—In page 100, line 26, leave out lines 25 and 26, and insert—

"So much of the Barony of Leitrim, as comprises the parish of Kiltubbrid, and in the parish of Kiltoghert the townlands of Acres, Aghagrania, Aghnagollop, Ardcolum, Barnameenagh, Barnameenagh West, Blackrock, Carrickbaun, Carricknabrack, Corlough, Corloughlin, Cormeeltan, Cormongan, Cornamuddagh, Cornashamsoge, Corrachuill, Corryard, Creenagh, Crey, Derrintober, Derrintonny, Derryhallagh, Derrynaseer, Derryteigeroe, Dorrusawillin, Dristernaun, Drumcoora, Drumcroman, Drumderg, Drumhalwy, Drumduff, Drumshanbo, Greaghfarnagh, Greaghnaguillaun, Largan, Largan Mountain, Lavaur, Mahanagh, Moneynure, Murhaun, Roscunnish, Shancurry, and Sheskinacurry;"

line 30, leave out "Leitrim," and insert "Carrigallen;" and in line 31, leave out "Carrigallen," and insert "Leitrim."

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he had now an Amendment to propose which he hoped would unite the Irish Party. He wished to give to the Eastern Division of Limerick the alternative name of Sarsfield. Sarsfield was a name which had rallied the Irish people in times past, and he hoped it would do so again.

Amendment proposed, in page 101, line 10, to insert, after the word "Limerick," the words "or Sarsfield Division."—(*Mr. O'Sullivan.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL proposed in page 101, line 17, to leave out "Londonderry," and insert "Derry." He thought that at the time when the London Companies were despairing of retaining their hold upon Derry this Amendment would be accepted by the House. The Amendment would be welcomed in the North of Ireland, where the county in question was always spoken of as Derry, and not as Londonderry.

Amendment proposed, in page 101, line 17, leave out "Londonderry," and insert "Derry."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Londonderry' stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE thought it would be better to discuss the matter involved upon the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). It must be borne in mind, however, that "Londonderry" was the legal name of the county, and that to change it would cause great confusion.

MR. HEALY said, it would, undoubtedly, give rise to legal difficulty if the name of the county were altered. What he proposed to do was that they should alter the name of the division. Such an alteration would not give rise to any difficulty.

MR. SEXTON said, he hoped the right hon. Baronet would accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). If they adopted the name of "Derry" they would only adopt a name which was universally adopted in Ireland.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he should have great pleasure in supporting the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy); but any inconvenience which might come from the change of the name of the county was to be commended. He would lose no opportunity of stripping "Derry" of a name which was not flattering to it.

Question put.

The House proceeded to a division:—

MR. O'DONNELL was appointed one of the Tellers for the Noes, but, no Member appearing to be a second Teller for the Noes, MR. SPEAKER declared that the Ayes had it.

Amendment *negatived.*

MR. HEALY said, that everyone spoke of the divisions of the county as North Derry and South Derry. They wanted to retain the name of Derry, which, in Irish, referred to the woody nature of the country.

Amendment proposed, in page 101, line 20, leave out "Londonderry," and insert "Derry."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. O'DONNELL said, although it did not seem very logical to say that the proper name of the county was Londonderry, and that the divisions were "North and South Derry," he felt bound to support the Amendment.

MR. PLUNKET begged to say that the City of Londonderry was spoken of both as Derry and Londonderry. The name of Derry was given when it was spoken of as a separate division of the county. There was no doubt that great prosperity had grown up there in olden times owing to its connection with London.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, if any proof were necessary of the desirability of changing the name of Londonderry to that of Derry it would be found in the statement made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket). The reason he had given brought to his mind more than anything else the fact that "Londonderry" was anti-Irish; and he should, therefore, vote against the retention of that name.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was sorry that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin had halted between the

decision of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board and that of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). The right hon. and learned Gentleman had always stated that he was proud to call himself as good an Irishman as any. He would put it to the House whether they ought to be satisfied with the town being called by this hybrid appellation instead of by its good old Irish name; and he felt sure that English Members, if the question went to a division, would not see the necessity of tacking on an English name to the Irish name, seeing that the latter appealed strongly to the feelings and was the wish of the people. He might point out that the Apprentice Boys, who were among the most violent partizans of the right hon. and learned Gentleman and his political Friends, did not call themselves Londonderry apprentices, but Derry apprentices. The wars were "Derry's wars"—they were not spoken of as Londonderry's wars. If there was to be further opposition to this Amendment he was satisfied it would not come from any English Member; and it was a matter of regret to him that the only opposition should come from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, who had spoken in favour of retaining the hybrid name of Londonderry.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he had an excellent authority to cite in support of the Amendment. Thackeray, in his "Peg of Limavaddy," had it:—

> "Riding from Coleraine,
> Famed for lovely Kitty,
> Came a Cockney, bound
> Unto Derry City."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he believed that the Bishop of the diocese was always spoken of as the Bishop of Derry—a fact that was in favour of the Amendment. The only question with him was, whether it was desirable to change the name in the Bill? The advisers of the Government who prepared the Bill saw no objection.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he thought the right hon. Baronet was in error in saying that the style of the Bishop of the diocese was "The Bishop of Derry." He believed that dignitary was always consecrated as "The Bishop of Londonderry." He had not risen, however, to oppose the Amendment, because the Apprentice Boys of Derry were extremely proud of the name of Derry.

MR. LEAMY said, if he was not wrong the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, when he spoke at the Constitutional Club in Dublin, referred to the siege of Derry; and he ventured to say that he would do the same if he spoke of it ten times a day. Derry, as a name, was very popular with the Apprentice Boys, and it was also exceedingly popular with the Nationalists. It was "Derry is our own." He could see no sufficient reason for retaining the name of Londonderry; London had nothing to do with the matter, and he appealed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman not to disagree with the almost unanimously expressed feeling of the House in favour of Derry.

MR. PLUNKET said, he might be permitted by the kindness of the House to say that he could not withdraw the opinion he had expressed; as, however, the general sense of the House seemed to lie the other way, he should express his opposition to the Amendment by saying "No" when it was put from the Chair, and should not put the House to the trouble of dividing.

Question, "That 'Londonderry' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'Derry' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, at the time when the Bill was passing through its earlier stages there had been a good deal of doubt as to whether Londonderry was or was not a county of a city. The Government had since ascertained that Londonderry was a county of a city, but not so for Parliamentary purposes; he had, therefore, put down two Amendments which it would be necessary to introduce into the Schedule, and which he would now move.

Amendment proposed, in page 101, lines 23 and 24, leave out "except so much as is comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Londonderry."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. HEALY said, he wished to put it on record that it was the Irish Mem-

bers on those Benches who had raised the question in Committee on the Bill with regard to the freeholders of Derry, who, had it not been for that fact, would have been entirely disfranchised. He could not but express his surprise that neither the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) nor any Member of the Tory Party had called attention to the matter; so far as they were concerned they would have allowed something like 200 freeholders of the city of Derry to remain unenfranchised. He thought that he and his hon. Friends might claim that the freeholders in question owed the vote they would now have, not to their own Representatives in the House of Commons, but to the Members of the Nationalist Party. He had gathered, from the way in which the right hon. Baronet had conducted the debate on the portion of the Schedule which dealt with the divisions of the county of Londonderry, that the arrangement set forth in the Bill would be reconsidered owing to the fact that one of the Members of the Government (the Solicitor General for Ireland) was a Representative of the county. He was astonished, under the circumstances, that the Government should be content to allow the question of the divisions of the county to remain in its present unsatisfactory position. With the exception of the slight alteration which the right hon. Baronet had just proposed to make, everything, it seemed, was to be left as before.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 101, lines 25 and 26, leave out "except so much as is comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Londonderry."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 102, line 1, leave out "Londonderry," and insert "Derry."—(*Mr Healy.*)

Question, "That the word 'Londonderry' stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, he did not propose to go to a division on the next Amendment standing in his name; but it was due to the district called in the Schedule "South Londonderry" to say that in all historical maps down to a late period it was described as Okaneland. He merely proposed his Amendment to record that fact.

Amendment proposed, in page 102, line 1, after "South Londonderry" insert "or Okaneland Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

MR. O'DONNELL said, he wished to insert the name "Farney" after "South Monaghan." He thought Farney would be a most appropriate name from its historical associations. He did not propose to go to a division on the question if the House was not prepared to accept his proposal.

Amendment proposed, in page 104, line 28, after "South Monaghan," insert "or Farney Division." — (*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, that as the hon. Member had been kind enough to say that he would not go to a division he begged to offer him his sincere thanks for letting his county alone.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 106, line 17, by inserting, after the words "North Tipperary," the words "or Ormond Division."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Other Amendments made.

MR. HEALY said, he wished at this stage to submit a question to the right hon. Baronet with regard to the Bill as it would stand after Report. Since the Bill came into Committee, the maps which had been prepared showing the proposed divisions had been considerably altered, and he wished to ask whether new maps would be issued, containing the changes made, and showing the divisions as finally arranged by the House? For instance, in Kilkenny, great changes had been made, and it would be desirable for those interested

in the district to see exactly what arrangements had been made, and what alterations had been effected.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that perhaps the hon. and learned Member would give a few days' Notice of a Question on this subject, so as to draw attention to the matter, and enable him (Sir Charles W. Dilke) to consult with those who would have entrusted to them the duties of preparing the maps. If the hon. Member would put a Question on Thursday next, he should be happy to give him a full answer.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, he begged to move to leave out from line 15 to line 26, in page 109, in order to insert—

"No. 1. North Wicklow. The baronies of Rathdown, Talbotstown Lower, Ballinacor North, Newcastle, and so much of the barony of Arklow as is comprised in the parishes of Kilpoole and Drumkay. No. 2.—South Wicklow. The baronies of Talbotstown Upper, Ballinacor South, and Shillelagh, and the barony of Arklow, except the parishes of Kilpoole and Drumkay."

He desired to state that this Amendment, if accepted, would completely equalize the area, population, and valuation in both divisions. He had reason to hope that the right hon. Baronet would have accepted this Amendment. The people in the locality felt that the division of North Wicklow and South Wicklow would be a very proper one; and he (Mr. W. J. Corbet) did not see why, under the circumstances, it should not be accepted. The division, as it had been left by the Boundary Commissioners, divided the county into one-third and two-thirds, giving a very great inequality to the divisions; and he could not see how the right hon. Baronet could refuse his consent to the alteration. He was not aware that there was any serious opposition on the part of the Conservative Party. He knew very well that the Commissioners, in the first instance, had decided to have this division he proposed, and that further on they had proposed to take it into their consideration when it was brought before them by Gentlemen representing the county. He trusted, therefore, the right hon. Baronet would accept the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 109, line 17, by leaving out from the words "West Wicklow" to the end of the Schedule, and insert the words,—

"No. 1.—North Wicklow.

"The baronies of Rathdown, Talbotstown Lower, Ballinacor North, Newcastle, and so much of the barony of Arklow as is comprised in the parishes of Kilpoole and Drumkay.

"No. 2.—South Wicklow.

"The baronies of Talbotstown Upper, Ballinacor South, and Shillelagh, and the barony of Arklow, except the parishes of Kilpoole and Drumkay,"

—(*Mr. William Corbet,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had not said a word in cases where the Amendments proposed had the unanimous approval of the Irish Members and of the district affected, and where the Commissioners had decided in favour of that unanimous feeling. He certainly did not think that this question would have any political bearing, and he did not know that it had; but he was bound to say that communications had been made to him indicating that the proposed Amendments would not be acceptable to a not considerable portion of the inhabitants. When he had submitted this proposal to the Commissioners they were not very clear about it. They would have been glad to agree to the Amendment, only that they were conscious of a certain amount of local feeling adverse to the proposed change. Under the circumstances, he could not see his way to accepting the proposal.

MR. SEXTON said, the proposal was to return to the original scheme of the Commissioners, when they acted on the strength of maps and figures, and before they had allowed local influence to bear upon them. The country affected was all mountainous; and he (Mr. Sexton) had looked closely into the maps, and found that the division made by the Commissioners started at the top of one range of mountains and ended at the top of another. If the scheme were closely examined into, he did not think it would be found one which would recommend itself to any impartial authority with equal force to that of his hon. Friend. He (Mr. Sexton) regretted that such a proposal as this should depend upon what the right hon. Baronet called "general assent." Up to the present the right hon. Baronet had yielded to the Irish Members on several occasions in matters of form, but never in connection with matters of substance. He (Mr. Sexton) hoped that now the right hon. Gentleman was

about to complete, so honourably to himself, his protracted and skilful labours in connection with this Bill, which had added to his previous reputation as a skilful politician a new repute as a Parliamentary strategist, he would perform the graceful act of handing the Bill from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, by accepting an Amendment from the Irish Members, containing a little substance in it. The Amendment would have the effect of equalizing the districts, and of getting rid of all the inequalities in the scheme of the Commissioners. He hoped that hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, conscious of the abundance of the victory they had won, would offer the Irish Members below the Gangway this little consolation for the hard season of disasters they had experienced.

MR. PLUNKET said, it was almost impossible to resist the eloquent appeal of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Sexton); but by a great effort of pulling himself together he thought he had succeeded in doing so. He heartily concurred with the hon. Gentleman in the compliment he had paid the right hon. Baronet for his able conduct of this measure through the House. The temptation which had been thrown out by the hon. Member for Sligo to the right hon. Baronet was a very strong one, and the right hon. Gentleman might have thought himself enabled to yield in this region of tranquillity and peace, so different to the stormy scenes of which they had had some experience in past times, but through which the right hon. Gentleman had managed the Bill and kept his temper with most consummate skill. But in the matter at present before the House all the arguments now advanced had been already pressed on the one side and replied to on the other before the Commissioners. There had been an abundance of argument brought forward against this proposal; and the Commissioners, after carefully considering the point, had abandoned their original suggestion, and had decided upon the plan in the Bill. He said emphatically that there was a most decided objection to the Amendment now proposed amongst a large section of the population in the county of Wicklow, a great many of whom had communicated with himself and other Members on the subject. He must therefore urge on the right hon. Baronet to adhere to the decision of the Commissioners.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he hoped the right hon. Baronet would hold to the decision of the Commissioners. He (Colonel King-Harman) had had a great many letters sent to him on this subject; and it would be found that a large section of the population of the county of Wicklow were in favour of the arrangement as it stood in the Bill. If hon. Members below the Gangway desired to have a triumph to finish with, he would propose that it should be done by an alteration in the Bill so as to effect this alteration—that having begun with the Member for Donnybrook they should wind up with a Member for Shillelagh.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that as the appeal of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) to the peaceful sympathies of the House had been unsuccessful, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would now appeal to the bellicose element amongst them generally, and see if he could meet with better success. He thought they should seize the opportunity of proving that they were above the influence of either the President of the Local Government Board, or the more soothing syrup by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket). This was not a matter over which there ought to be any political feeling; and he could not understand why the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin felt so strongly upon it. He would appeal to the two right hon. Gentlemen to answer with frankness—as he was sure they would do—this appeal. There was not the least chance for a Conservative Member getting in for either division, however division was effected; and he would ask them to say frankly whether it was not the fact that however the county was divided two National Members were sure to be returned? ["No, no!"] Well, however hon. Members might seek to deny the fact, it was perfectly notorious that two National Members were sure to be returned, therefore it was from no political feeling that the Amendment was proposed—it was brought forward simply for the sake of convenience. The House should take the division in three most important points —first, in connection with area. The

Commissioners' scheme put the division in this way—334,788 acres in one division and only 167,000 acres in another. They had there the extraordinary disparity of nearly double the number of acres in one division as compared with the other; but the division, according to the scheme of his hon. Friend, would put 232,000 acres in one division, and 247,000 in another, making them practically equal. Then, with regard to valuation, the scheme of the Commissioners would put a valuation of £121,000 in one division, and £151,000 in another, or a difference of £30,000; but the valuation of his hon. Friend would be £134,000 in one division, and £137,000 in another, or a difference of only £3,000. Then, lastly, let them take the question of population. In the Commissioners' scheme one division would contain 35,787, and the other 34,595; whereas the scheme of his hon. Friend would put 35,416 in one division, and 34,917 in the other. His hon. Friend, in fact, had brought the divisions, so far as population was concerned, as nearly alike as any two divisions in the Bill. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought that under these three heads, the difference of acreage, the difference of valuation, and the difference of population, it was evident the scheme of his hon. Friend was by far the more convenient of the two. He was sure that the right hon. Baronet, if he were to consult his own personal inclinations alone, would agree with his hon. Friend's Amendment. He was not sure whether the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board was going to make this a Government division or not; but if he did there could be no doubt it would be on account of the pressure brought to bear upon him by hon. Gentlemen who sat opposite to him. He was sure that if the right hon. Baronet voted against this Amendment his heart would be with the Irish Members.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said, that a very extraordinary phrase fell from the lips of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board, when he was making the announcement that the Government would not accept the alteration in the scheme of the division of the county of Wicklow proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the county (Mr. W. J. Corbet). The right hon. Gentleman said he was favourable to the proposed alteration, and that he would have been disposed to adopt it, but that he found there was not a complete unanimity of feeling in the locality with reference to the matter. Why, in a matter of this kind it was extremely hard to find a complete unanimity of feeling in a locality, and especially in a county wherein there was a great diversity both of religious and political opinion. That being so, what was the duty of the Government? It was to ascertain which proposal the majority of the people were in favour of, and to adopt that proposal. The right hon. Gentleman said there was a certain amount of opposition in the county of Wicklow to this scheme. What did he mean by a certain amount of opposition? He did not say, but it was evident he meant that the landlords and a few of the leading Conservative magnates of the county were opposed to the scheme. Such was the certain amount of opposition which existed in the county of Wicklow to the scheme; and in deference to the opinion of a small class of landed proprietors the Government were going to refuse this newly-proposed scheme, although it was approved of by a great majority of the people of the county. He had not the slightest doubt that if a poll of the county of Wicklow were taken to-morrow, 90 per cent of the people would be found to approve of this scheme, which divided the county in a much better way than the scheme of the Commissioners. The object of the Government had been made plain to-night. The Government hoped, by the division of the county made by the Bill, to be able to return one Conservative, or Liberal, or Loyalist, or whatever a man who belonged to the English Parties was called. They were, however, very much mistaken, because it was quite certain that two Nationalists would be returned. The opposition to this scheme was due to the fact that the landlords of Wicklow, represented by the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), and the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), objected to the proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. J. Corbet).

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the question was not which Party would get an advantage by the way the county was divided, but whether the decision of the Commissioners should be upheld

or the whole matter be re-opened. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had already said there was not a general agreement in regard to the proposal, and, therefore, he felt himself unable to agree to this vast change. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) must remind the House that they had maintained the decisions of the Commissioners, except where, by general agreement, a decision had been come to that an alteration should be made. The Government were not now, on the last Amendment to the Bill, prepared to alter their course of action.

MR. HEALY said, the Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) could not support the Amendment, because it would make such a vast change. Was there anything in that argument? Had they not just agreed to important changes in the cases of Leitrim, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Louth? And was it in this one case, where it was admitted there was a strong feeling in the county against the proposal of the Commissioners, that the Government were to refuse an alteration? He asked any hon. Member, who wished to vote upon the merits of the case, to take the map and notice the way in which the Commissioners had divided the county. The Commissioners had thrown all the seaboard into one division, and all the mountains into another. It was the only case in the Three Kingdoms where this had been done. Had it been done in the case of Antrim, the Nationalists would return a Member. Why was it not done in the case of Antrim? No political question was involved here; but the people themselves complained that all the chief towns on the seaboard, such as Wicklow and Arklow, were thrown into one division, and that nothing but a parcel of mountains had been left in the other division. He appealed to the House to consider this proposal on its merits. Irish Members had supported some English Members on questions on which they felt very strongly; and he asked those hon. Gentlemen to give a vote now—on the last Amendment to the Bill—which would give great satisfaction to the majority of the Irish people.

MR. CALLAN wished the House to mark the conduct of the Commissioners. Of course, there were on the Commission most courteous and considerate officials. Mr. Thomas, the Secretary to the Commission, for instance, had by his courtesy, by his attention, by the care with which he attended to all the objections made, made Irishmen wish to heaven that he would be sent over to clean out Dublin Castle. If there were more officials in Dublin like Mr. Thomas, there would be far more kindly consideration from Irish Members towards Irish officials. He (Mr. Callan) attended the inquiry in Louth, and found that upon the two Amendments he had brought forward with reference to that county Captain Purchas was taking evidence. But what did the Commissioner do? Why, decided in each case against the evidence. The proposal of the hon. Member (Mr. W. J. Corbet) was a most reasonable one, and it would only be a graceful concession if the Government were to accede to it.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY appealed to the Government, who seemed to have no particular aversion to the scheme of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet), to leave the matter entirely open. If they left the question to the unfettered conscience of the House, he was perfectly sure his hon. Friend would be successful.

MR. MARUM said, that this was a very analogous case to that of his own county. The Amendment would produce an equalization of valuation and population, two points upon which the people were greatly concerned. The people of Wicklow were under the impression that the county was very unfairly divided. Of course, Members of the House knew that these divisions were only made for Parliamentary purposes; but the people imagined they were for taxation purposes. As this was not a matter involving a very important point, he appealed to the Government to leave it to the fair judgment of the House.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 49; Noes 44: Majority 5.—(Div. List, No. 175.)

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I have to report that an hon. Member was in the Lobby when the Question was put. I believe the hon. Member was there by mistake.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he believed that it was usual to put the Question again to an hon. Member under such circumstances.

[*Third Night.*]

THE SPEAKER: Was the hon. Member in the House when the Question was put?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: No, Sir.

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

EIGHTH SCHEDULE.

Amendment proposed,

In page 110, line 3, by leaving out lines 3 to 8, both inclusive, and inserting,—

Year and Chapter.	Title.	Extent of Repeal.
30 and 31 Vic. c. 102	The Representation of the People Act, 1867.	Sections thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen.
33 and 34 Vic. c. 21	An Act to disfranchise the boroughs of Bridgwater and Beverley.	Sections two, three, four, and five.
33 and 34 Vic. c. 25	An Act to disfranchise certain voters of the city of Norwich.	The whole Act.
33 and 34 Vic. c. 38	An Act to disfranchise the boroughs of Sligo and Cashel.	Sections two, three, and four.
33 and 34 Vic. c. 54	An Act to disfranchise certain voters of the city of Dublin.	The whole Act.
34 and 35 Vic. c. 77	An Act to disfranchise certain voters for the city of Norwich.	The whole Act.

—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule," put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY said, he regretted very much having to occupy the attention of the House on a question raised by this Schedule. He felt it his duty to resist the proposal of the Government to relieve certain voters in the City of Dublin, whose corrupt conduct had been of so disgraceful a character that they were some years ago struck off the Electoral Roll. The proposal of the Government was to put an end to their period of purgatory and make them voters once more. In 1870 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the corrupt practices alleged to exist in the City of Dublin; it was presided over by the late Lord Chancellor, then Mr. Law, and amongst its Members were Mr. O'Connor Morris and other distinguished Queen's Counsel; the Commissioners reported unanimously to the effect that the Freemen of Dublin were about the most corrupt body that ever existed in Ireland. They were disfranchised; and it was proved also that the conduct of Sir Arthur Guinness had been of such a character that he was compelled to vacate his seat, and a fresh election had to be held. At the time referred to it was found that the Freemen of Dublin were, for the most part, gentlemen who resided continually in the workhouse, who were taken out of the workhouse, had a sovereign given to them, spent the sovereign in drink, and went back to the workhouse. These were the persons whom the Government proposed to reinstate. Who had asked for that? No one whatever. The Government had passed the Corrupt and Illegal Practices at Elections Act, in which there were the most stringent provisions against bribery and corruption. The right hon. Gentleman who, in 1870, was in favour of disfranchising the whole body of Freemen in the City of Dublin, now proposed to enfranchise them—men who had been scheduled by name, whose names had been marked with infamy by a Royal Commission, were now declared worthy of being on the Electoral Roll. He appealed to hon. Gentlemen opposite, in the interest of decency, and in the interest of purity and fair play, not to give their consent to the re-enfranchisement of these gentlemen who, in 1870, Parliament declared to be disfranchised for life. In 1870 the Liberal Party were in favour of disfranchising the whole body of 2,000 voters in the City of Dublin; but now the right hon. Baronet proposed to re-enfranchise the most corrupt section of them—namely, the Freemen of Dublin. He did not want to go into the painful history of Sir Arthur Guinness,

whose connection with those persons would, in the minds of men in Ireland, always associate his name with bribery and corruption. He asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) to read the judgment of Mr. Justice Keogh upon that election; and he would ask whether it was not a fact that Mr. Speaker at the time was obliged to state from the Chair that bribery and corruption had extensively prevailed in the City of Dublin, and that Sir Arthur Guinness was declared to have lost his seat? The inquiry in Dublin lasted for weeks; and so extensive was the corruption that prevailed, owing to the money spent by this great brewer, that the name of Freeman in Dublin was now synonymous with pauperism and corruption. He asked the House whether they would allow this amendment of the law to be placed on the Statute Book, and thereby undo the work which the Royal Commission in 1870 solemnly declared ought to be done? They were told that an Act of that House was to be repealed, and that, too, without a single person in Ireland asking for this amendment of the law. He repeated that no one in Ireland had asked for it. These men were to be again taken out of the poor-houses, given a guinea to spend in drink, and then taken back to the poor-house. That was the proposal of Her Majesty's Government, and it was one which he viewed with indignation and horror. He admitted that the proposal of the Government did not affect more than 70 or 80 persons; that a considerable number of the electors of the time, and of this particular body of persons, had passed away; but still he said that Her Majesty's Government were relieving men of the stigma justly cast upon them by a Royal Commission, and that they were trying to remove the brand that would rest upon the brow of Sir Arthur Guinness, let his coronet cover it as it might.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he did not propose to go into the personal matter with which the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had dealt in his speech; he had risen to explain why the provision of which the hon. and learned Member complained had been inserted in the Schedule. It would be in the recollection of the House that, as the Corrupt Practices Bill was originally drawn, all those persons returned as guilty of corrupt practices in 1880 were to be disfranchised for life; but when the matter was considered in the Committee a strong and universal opinion was expressed that their disfranchisement should be limited to a period of seven years. That was carried; and at the time it was done the Attorney General pointed out that the result would necessarily be the reconsideration of the case of those persons who had been disfranchised at previous dates. He (the Solicitor General) regretted very much that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General was not able to be present at that moment to put the matter before the House; but he would point out that there were certain boroughs in England with respect to which the Commissioners reported, and upon those Reports Acts of disfranchisement were passed many years ago. Well, it was quite allowed that it would be extremely unfair that in respect of those who in 1880 were found guilty of corrupt practices the punishment should only be a period of seven years' disfranchisement, whilst those who had already suffered 15 years' disfranchisement were to remain in exactly the same situation for the rest of their lives; it was felt at the time that it was not even-handed justice—that it would be extremely unjust. It followed, then, that they had to consider what should be done in the case of Ireland. In the case of Ireland there had been two similar Disfranchisement Acts; but it was only to one of them that the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan had alluded; the hon. and learned Member took no notice of the Act which dealt with Sligo and Cashel. There had been an Act passed in respect of those places in the same year as the Act relating to Dublin; it dealt with the same class of offences; and it was proposed to deal with the persons who were disfranchised under those Acts in precisely the same way as it was proposed to deal with those persons who were disfranchised under the Acts relating to Sandwich, Bridgwater, and other English boroughs. He believed that the suggestion came from the Benches below the Gangway opposite that Sligo and Cashel should be dealt with in that way. [Mr. SEXTON: I said so.]

[*Third Night.*]

Exactly. Why, then, should not Dublin be so dealt with? How could any person deal with this matter in consonance with justice and equity if, having limited the period of disfranchisement in the case of the electors of the English boroughs, he should not do the same with regard to persons guilty of precisely the same acts in Dublin? It seemed to him impossible for the Government to take any other course than they had taken, because if they were to treat this case exceptionally they would not be dealing out even-handed justice. If they dealt with Sligo and Cashel in a particular way they must deal in the same way with Dublin. At the time when the Royal Commission reported there were 93 persons named in the Schedule, and he need not say that that was 15 years ago. Of those 93 persons a great many had since left the place, and passed away by death; and probably the proposal of the Government did not now concern more than 40 or 50 persons at the outside. Finally, he repeated that it would be impossible in any spirit of fairness not to deal with Dublin on grounds similar to those on which they had dealt with Sligo and Cashel; and therefore it appeared to him that the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan had no foundation on which to rest his case.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he believed there was a great distinction between the re-enfranchisement of the Freemen of Dublin and the re-enfranchisement of the electors of Sligo and Cashel. The latter had certain qualifications as householders and ratepayers, and as such they had to prove their right to the franchise. That was not the case with the Freemen of Dublin; they had in the past a prescriptive right to vote for Members of Parliament; and they having been disfranchised for grave and criminal excesses, he ventured to say there was not a mere distinction, but the greatest possible difference, between the case of Dublin and the case of Sligo and Cashel. The Government proposal was to set up as voters again men who had forfeited a prescriptive right because they had been convicted as participators in a gross system of corruption, and as personal recipients of bribery—a system than which no grosser was on record as having come before the House of Commons or any of the Judges.

MR. PLUNKET said, he did not wish to add anything to the argument of his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General, who by his speech, he believed, had entirely convinced the House that there was no reason why they should depart, in the case of the Freemen of Dublin, from the way in which it was proposed in the Bill to deal with other persons who had been disqualified. He asked the House to allow him to make a brief statement in reply to the attack which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Healy) who introduced this subject had made upon a gentleman who had been for many years a Member of that House, long after all the circumstances stated by the hon. Member were alleged to have occurred; who had been returned without opposition as Member for Dublin City, and who was held in as much respect and honour in Ireland as any gentleman at the present day. The hon. and learned Gentleman who introduced this Amendment had thought fit to make, in most bitter and offensive language, an utterly unfounded attack upon the Gentleman in question in his absence. He did not intend to enter into that kind of controversy with the hon. and learned Gentleman. He would content himself with quoting what the learned Judge, whose opinion and judgment had been appealed to, said on that occasion, and would then ask the House to say what amount of truth and fairness there was in the language now used by the hon. Member. Judge Keogh said—

> "Sir Arthur Guinness was called on the table, and he gave his evidence—a high-minded and honourable gentleman—in a manner creditable to himself, and equally creditable to those who had selected him to succeed his esteemed and respected father. Let me say that there is not a particle of foundation for the most remote shadow of suspicion of any act of bribery having been committed with the personal knowledge of Sir Arthur Guinness; therefore, so far as his personal position and personal character and personal acts are concerned, he is entitled to, and shall have from me, the most unqualified testimony that his hands are clean and his character unaspersed by these proceedings."

He (Mr. Plunket) would now leave it to the honour of the House to judge of the justice of the attack which had been made on Lord Ardilaun.

MR. SEXTON said, that the cases of Sligo and Cashel had been referred to; but the corruption in these places was not to be

compared with that which had been discovered in some English constituencies—constituencies which had been proved to be absolute sinks of corruption. Seeing that only a small number of people in Sligo and Cashel had fallen victims to the seductions of the lawyers and others who had gone amongst them for purposes of bribery, and seeing that they had already suffered 14 years' disfranchisement, which was double the amount of punishment proposed to be inflicted upon sinners in England of double the guilt, he thought the disfranchised voters of these places should be included in the measure of amnesty. The English Attorney General had acknowledged the fairness of the claim by acceding to it in the case of English constituencies. With regard to the claims made in this respect by the City of Dublin, he submitted that the voters there were in an entirely different position. The corruption in Dublin was brought about by a body of persons who were imposed upon the electorate as an excrescence, and were the result of a fancy franchise. The persons who possessed this fancy franchise should have been the last to yield to corrupt influences—they should have recognized their position; they should have known that their conduct ought to be exemplary, and should have felt that any evil-doing on their part would be punished with greater severity than offences on the part of any other class of electors. The incidents of the election were at the time so notorious, and were even now so well remembered, that he felt it unnecessary to resort to invective in referring to them. The corruption which took place was vast, and afforded an excellent example of the virtue of the governing classes in dealing with the Irish electors. It was unquestionable that at that election bribery was carried on at the Hole-in-the-Wall with a total absence of concealment, and in a manner which argued for all concerned, but particularly for those who supplied the money, a cynicism and shamelessness which no amount of excuse and explanation could overcome. No language could too strongly condemn the conduct of those who had engaged themselves in the corruption of this poverty-stricken class of men in Dublin. The corruption was so bad that, as a matter of fact, small as was the number of persons scheduled, it would be a good thing to sweep them off the Electoral Roll for ever.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, there was an enormous difference between the disfranchised electors of Sligo and Cashel and the disfranchised Freemen of Dublin. The former were ratepayers; they were a class of persons who continued to pay their rates, and whose qualification, therefore, remained good. In the case of the Freemen of Dublin, however, their qualification, as had been pointed out, was merely a fancy affair. It had no right whatever to exist; the qualification was a thing in the air; and he contended that even if this charge was not laid against them, or proved against them, the franchise was one that should be now abolished; indeed, which ought to have been abolished long since. These Freemen of Dublin had been a notoriously corrupt body for a long series of years. Corruption was no new thing with them, and the Dublin Election now referred to was an especial case. Corruption was the well-known and established character of this body of men; they were in the market; their votes were always to be had for a consideration, and for a very small consideration too. Their ill-doing simply culminated in this notorious election of Sir Arthur Guinness for the City of Dublin. They then and there, so to speak, filled up the measure of iniquity until it overflowed. Why, it was notorious that some of the men who voted at the election were brought over from England, clothes being provided for them to enable them to make a decent appearance when they arrived in Dublin. Others were brought out of the workhouses; others from the Marshalsea Prison in Dublin; and all, he believed, got this money before they came to vote. In fact, one of the attendants in the prison he had named had had something to do with the bribery. Well, it was proposed to introduce these Freemen into an electoral body which the Government, who were introducing them, hoped would be a pure one. Was that the way the Government would deal with cattle coming from countries in which diseases were known to exist? No; in such a case they would refuse to allow the cattle to be introduced into the country lest they should bring with them diseases

which would infect the sound herds. It seemed to him that the Government had no defence at all to make in this matter. He protested against this franchise altogether, no matter whether those who possessed it exercised it purely or otherwise. It was an absurd franchise, and should not be allowed to exist. He protested against its continuance for the sake of a mere handful of men who had proved themselves to be a most corrupt body, not at one election but at every election. So far as they were concerned, the more elections there were the better; if an election came once every twelve months the better for them—the more they would gain by it. It was proposed to bring this rotten lot back into the electorate of Dublin. As a citizen of Dublin he protested against it both in the interests of electoral purity and for the sake of common sense and propriety.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, it must be recollected that a large number of the persons who had been disqualified at this election had been brought out of the poor-house. The mere fact of their having been in the poor-house should have disqualified them. The Government disqualified one man because he got relief to the extent of a shilling; and yet these men, who made a practice of living on the ratepayers in Dublin, were to be allowed to vote. That should be made a reason for their disqualification.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE wished to point out that the Act of 1870, which disfranchised certain voters in the City of Dublin, did not deprive them of the Freeman's franchise, but operated as a personal disfranchising measure, disfranchising certain individuals reported on by the Commissioners. It might be that certain of these persons had since become respectable voters and ratepayers in the City of Dublin. If that were so, they would be entitled to the franchise under the Act of 1870. To keep that Act unrepealed, and to allow the people in Sligo to vote whilst those in Dublin were disqualified, would be an injustice.

Mr. SEXTON thought that the people of Sligo and Cashel and of Dublin should be treated in a different spirit. In the case of Sligo and Cashel, the electors were the victims of lawyers who came down from Dublin, whilst those who had committed the same offence in Dublin had been guilty of the most shameless corruption.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that some hon. Members thought that these Dublin electors were disfranchised as Freemen, but could vote as householders. Was it not a fact that the men were disfranchised altogether, so that, however much they might become ratepayers, they could not vote as such? Whilst sympathizing with the spirit of the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), he was afraid he could not support a perpetual disfranchisement of that kind.

Mr. DAWSON said, that, having been Lord Mayor of Dublin, and having admitted people to the Roll, he was familiar with the point under discussion. He could state that when these Freemen were disfranchised they lost their position as voters altogether. The Freedom franchise could not now be obtained from that House. It was obtained from the City of Dublin and was given at the Court of the Lord Mayor. If people were deprived of the Freedom they could not get it given to them again by the House.

Mr. HEALY said, he proposed to leave out of the Amendment lines 12 and 13. He had not intended to trouble the House with any reference to Judge Keogh's judgment, nor yet with the elaborate details of the Commission; but as he had been challenged by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) who represented Trinity College as to Sir Arthur Guinness's conduct, he would read, for the right hon. and learned Gentleman's satisfaction, two or three lines of Judge Keogh's judgment. The learned Judge said Sir Arthur Guinness had not been asked whether he had intimated that there was a limit at which he would stop; he had not been asked whether he had intimated to his agents that they were not to draw upon his purse to any amount. Fortunately for himself and those depending on him, his resources, said the Judge, appeared to be very great. His Lordship had gone on to refer to the cheques signed by Sir Arthur Guinness. It was very well for the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket), who was a relative of Sir Arthur Guinness,

or Lord Ardilaun as he was now—Lord Cruiskeen Lawn as he was called in Ireland——

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. and learned Member that Members of the other branch of the Legislature must be spoken of with respect in this House. Besides, the conduct of Lord Ardilaun is not now under consideration.

MR. HEALY said, he had only quoted the words of the learned Judge, who had said to Sir Arthur Guinness's counsel that it was extraordinary that he had never asked his client's agents what this large amount of money was paid for. He had asked whether they had allowed this money to be taken out of their pockets wholesale without putting questions to these people? He (Mr. Healy) was bound to speak with respect of Members of the Upper House. He was only sorry he was not able to speak as plainly as Judge Keogh had done of the conduct of certain gentlemen he had disqualified. These men were Freemen, and because they were Freemen they were not subjected to disqualification for ordinary relief or workhouse relief. They remained in the workhouse from one end of the year to the other, and the clerk never objected to the retention of their names on the Register of Voters. He hoped the House would not assent to men possessing the franchise whom the Judges of the land had over and over again declared unworthy to possess it.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to leave out lines 12 and 13.—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE was under the impression that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Healy) was wrong in supposing that a Freeman was not disqualified for parochial relief. [MR. HEALY: Not in Dublin.] Did the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to say that if an objection were made to a Freeman on the ground that he had received parochial relief he would not be struck off the Register? A man might come out of the workhouse and vote if he was on the Register; but that did not affect his right; he ought to be struck off.

MR. HEALY said, that as the right hon. Baronet had appealed to him, the House, no doubt, would permit him to say that the Clerk of the Union did not deal with the Freeman Roll at all. The Clerk of the Union only dealt with the Ratepayers Roll, and no one but the Clerk to the Union could object to anybody for getting medical relief. Would the right hon. Baronet support his Amendment to provide that——

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE understood that Poor Law Relief did disqualify; he was not speaking of medical relief.

MR. DAWSON asked if the House could restore Freemen?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) imagined it could not. The Act did not disqualify men as Freemen, but individually. If, therefore, this Amendment were carried every one of these men, even if they became respectable ratepayers, paying rent and taxes, would be disfranchised.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 58; Noes 28: Majority 30.—(Div. List, No. 176.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that in thanking the House for the long Sitting that night, he wished to say he did not propose to take the third reading of the Bill then. He would put the third reading down as second Order for Monday, when he did not apprehend there would be any opposition.

MR. HEALY said, that on the question that the third reading be fixed for Monday, he wished to express his personal sense of the great courtesy and distinguished ability which the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had displayed in conducting the Bill through the House. He would also refer to the services of Mr. Howel Thomas, Secretary of the Boundary Commission, as deserving of the highest praise. He (Mr. Healy) had been bound to criticize the action of the Irish Commissioners; but he could only wish that so painstaking and courteous an official had to deal with the Irish boundaries. As he (Mr. Healy) and his hon. Friends regarded the Bill from first to last as a bad Bill, they would divide against the third reading.

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.—[Bill 152.]

(*Mr. Daniel Grant, Mr. Torrens, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. William Lawrence, Baron Henry De Worms.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 1 (Explanation of s. 68. of Act 10 & 11 Vict. c. 17).

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 16, leave out "in the parishes and unions subject to valuation."—(*Mr. Torrens.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, that this was an Amendment he suggested to his hon. Friend when the Bill was in Committee. It was to make two areas coincide; it only made a difference with regard to two hamlets.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. WILLS proposed in page 2, line 1, after the word "shall," to insert the words "so far as relates to the Metropolitan area." His object in moving this Amendment was to make it more clear than it was at present that the Bill was confined to the Metropolis.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 1, after the word "shall," insert the words "so far as relates to the Metropolitan areas."—(*Mr. Wills.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE understood the hon. Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck) proposed to insert the words "for the purposes of this Act" after the word "shall." Those words were simple words, and those who advised him (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in these matters thought they were preferable words.

Mr. WILLS said, that under the circumstances he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 1, after the word "shall," insert the words "for the purposes of this Act."—(*Mr. Birkbeck.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Friday* next.

WATER COMPANIES (REGULATION OF POWERS) BILL [*Lords.*]—[Bill 161.]

(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Mr. BRYCE said, he did not intend to oppose the second reading, though he disapproved of the Bill in its present form. When the Bill was introduced in the House of Lords it was a very good little Bill in two clauses. The Water Companies got hold of it and knocked it about; indeed, they had piled up 12 additional clauses, and at the same time had whittled down towards a vanishing point most of what was valuable in the measure. The Bill was now conceived more in the interests of the London Water Companies than in those of the public; it seemed to promise much, but it performed little, and would be of little service to the poor. In Committee he should endeavour to bring the Bill back nearer to its original character, by moving a series of Amendments.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE did not think the Bill was as bad as the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Bryce) imagined. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had objections to one or two points; but he did not go so far as his hon. and learned Friend.

Mr. RITCHIE said, that so far as he had examined the Bill it would be of great value, especially to the poor, for one of the provisions of the Bill was that the Water Companies could, under no circumstances, cut off the water in cases where the owner of the property was liable to pay the water rates.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

WAYS AND MEANS.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 3) BILL.

Resolution [March 7] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Hibbert.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time.

MOTIONS.

—o—

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HOLMS, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Dudley and Kingswinford Tramways, Llwynpoid (Carmarthen) Tramways, Paisley Tramways, and Salford Corporation Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 166.]

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HOLMS, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Tramways Act, 1870," relating to Birmingham and Western Districts Tramways, Birmingham Central Tramways (Extension), and Birmingham Corporation Tramways, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 167.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Bangor, the Local Government Districts of Blaenavon and Brynmawr, the Borough of Burnley, the Local Government District of Great Driffield, the Boroughs of Haverfordwest and Leeds, the Improvement Act District of Leek, the Borough of Pwllheli, and the Local Government District of Widnes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 168.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 4) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Rural Sanitary District of the Atherstone Union, the Local Government District of Festiniog, the Rural Sanitary District of the Leyburn Union, the Boroughs of Newport (Monmouthshire) and Preston, the Local Government District of Rawden, and the Rural Sanitary Districts of the Tadcaster and Wangford Unions, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 169.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (GAS) PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board, under the provisions of "The Gas and Water Works Facilities Act 1870," and "The Public Health Act, 1875," relating to the Local Government Districts of East Dereham, Ellesmere, and Haverhill, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 170.]

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE.

Ordered, That it be a further Instruction to the Select Committee on Turnpike Acts Continuance, to take into consideration the Acts relating to the Roads under the management of the Commissioners of Highways of the Isle of Wight, and to report to the House whether any step should be taken in regard to the continuance or discontinuance of the arrangements under which these roads are now partly maintained out of tolls levied thereon.—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Bill to suspend for a period certain payments on annuities created under the National Debt Act, 1883, and to reduce for a like period the permanent annual charge of the National Debt, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 172.]

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Three o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 11*th May*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1)* (108).

Second Reading—Highways* (98).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2)* (89); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5)* (90); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6)* (94); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7)* (91), and *passed*.

CART NAVIGATION BILL.

(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, its object was to enable the Trustees of the River to widen and deepen it. It was proposed that the Town Council of Paisley, which had the nomination of a certain number of the Trustees, should be empowered to levy an assessment of not more than 3*d.* in the pound, to be called "The Cart Guarantee Fund." A meeting of 3,000 ratepayers had been called to consider the matter last October, and only 100 or 150 were opposed to the scheme. Other towns had benefited very largely by the

improvement of the rivers on which they were built. The population of Newcastle and other Tyneside towns, for example, had been more than doubled since the improvements on the Tyne had been carried out; and only the other day their Lordships had sanctioned the gigantic scheme of the Manchester Ship Canal. He hoped their Lordships would not deny to Paisley a privilege that had been accorded to other towns.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Duke of Abercorn.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he would ask their Lordships not to allow the Bill to be proceeded with in the usual manner as a Private Bill. He objected to it on the ground that at the present moment the financial condition of the place did not justify the concession of the powers sought by the Town Council to be laid out on the Cart Navigation. There was a debt of £10,000 raised for the improvement of the River Cart, the interest of which had not been paid. One portion of the Bill provided that this debt should be paid off at the rate of 7*s.* 6*d.* per £1, and he did not think that this was a mode of proceeding which it was proper to allow. Another objection was the guarantee fund of 3*d.* in the pound on the whole borough for navigation purposes only. It appeared to him that the House could not properly allow the Town Council to borrow £100,000, when, at the same time, they found it necessary to ask for power to pay off a debt of £10,000 at a discount, not having been hitherto able to pay the interest on that smaller sum.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, the points referred to by the noble Earl were exactly those which a Select Committee should be appointed to deal with. He hoped the noble Earl would waive his objection to the Bill, and allow a Select Committee to be appointed to deal with the matters referred to, which were simply points of detail.

EARL GRANVILLE said, the points raised were those upon which a Select Committee should judge and report upon.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that this seemed to him to be distinctly a case to be referred to a Select Committee.

On Question? *agreed to:* Bill read 2ª, and *referred* to a Select Committee.

The Duke of Abercorn

INDIA—THE AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN —THE RAWUL PINDI CONFERENCE.—QUESTION.

EARL DE LA WARR: I wish to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the speech of the Earl of Dufferin at the recent Durbar was rightly given by the newspapers; and, if not, whether the noble Earl will put your Lordships in possession of the correct version of it?

EARL GRANVILLE: In this case I can give full information to my noble Friend. It appears that the Earl of Dufferin never made any speech at all. The words attributed to him were spoken by the Ameer.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish to ask, as the noble Marquess at the head of the War Department is going to make a statement in the other House on the policy of the Government— I may be wrong, but that is the impression abroad—whether, if that is so, the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) has anything to communicate to this House with respect to the policy to be pursued in the Soudan, or in regard to the Afghan Frontier?

EARL GRANVILLE: I am not aware of what is going on in the other House; but certainly it would not be my intention to make any statement to your Lordships with regard to the Soudan. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches. (the Earl of Wemyss) has given Notice of a Motion on that subject, and he has postponed it from to-day. Therefore, I am not now in a position, without preparation, to make any statement to your Lordships. But it may be satisfactory, with regard to another question, that I should make a short statement—it does not go far, but as far as it does go it is satisfactory—with regard to the Afghan boundary. A reference having been agreed to by this country and Russia to the judgment of the Sovereign of a friendly State as to a point of honour that has arisen, and as we do not anticipate any difficulty in the details of that agreement, Her Majesty's Government thought it right that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) and myself should meet M.

de Staal and M. Lessar, and go over with them the question of the delimitation of the frontier. I can only state now that we have arrived substantially at an agreement, which is perfectly satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, to the Earl of Dufferin, and to the Council of India. That agreement has been transmitted to the Government of Russia by the Russian Representatives in this country.

AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS ACT, 1883—COUNTY COURTS—POWER OF BAILIFFS.—QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord Chancellor, If he has noticed the decision of the York Bankruptcy Court, by which the action of a bailiff under the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883, is limited to the district of the Judge who gave him an authorization, a decision which will cause great inconvenience to those bailiffs who usually do business in more than one County Court district; whether the noble and learned Earl would recommend County Court Judges to give their authorization to any bailiff who has already got the authorization of another County Court Judge and who has not misconducted himself since receiving the first authorization; whether the revocation of the authority of a bailiff by one County Court Judge should not carry with it the revocation of an authorization given by any other County Court Judge; and, if it is true that the decision of the York Bankruptcy Court has been reversed on appeal?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, it was true that the decision to which the noble Lord referred had been reversed on appeal; and, this being so, there was no occasion for any suggestion on his part to the County Court Judges, even if such a suggestion would be otherwise proper.

RUSSIA — CIRCULAR DESPATCH OF PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF, 1864.

RESOLUTION.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, who had given Notice to call the attention of the House to the Circular Despatch addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, dated 21st November 1864, said: My Lords, I rise for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to a document of very great and curious interest which is much too little known generally in this country. Indeed, I find upon inquiry that there are a great many noble Lords who do not know where to see it or where to find it; and, therefore, with the permission of the House, I shall change my Notice to one moving that the document be reprinted and circulated among the Members of the House. It was printed in the Indian Blue Book, No. 2, Central Asia, 1873. Very few persons appear to take any notice of it, and when it was taken notice of in publications of great authority, it was, in my opinion, entirely misrepresented. And yet, so important is that document, that I will venture to say that, within the four corners of that one Paper, you will find laid down by the Russian Government every one of the principles and axioms of policy on which they have acted during the last 15 or 20 years, and which have now brought us to the present circumstances of grave importance. Before calling your attention to this Paper, I wish to say a few words to explain my purpose in doing so. It is only a fortnight to-day since the Prime Minister addressed to the other House of Parliament a speech which was universally taken as portending a very grave event—namely, the suspension of amicable relations with one of the greatest Powers of Europe. When I read that speech I confess I could not help saying to myself — Here we are once more in the rapids of another Crimean War, and this time without a single ally in Europe, and with a great many European faces turned towards us with an expression of angry suspicion. I rejoice most sincerely that by the efforts of my noble Friend (Earl Granville) and his Colleagues that danger at least appears for the present to be turned away. I hope we may take the announcement made by my noble Friend to-night as portending, on the contrary, that, so far as that particular incident is concerned, which was the immediate danger a fortnight ago, the danger is greatly mitigated, if not averted; but my noble Friend will fully admit that the grave differences which were in question between England and Russia three weeks ago still weigh and press on the public mind. Well, my Lords, that is not the only point on which

anxiety as to foreign affairs exists. The question of Egypt is full of danger for the pacific relations of the Great Powers of the world; but my noble Friend promised in a few days a statement on that question. What I wish to point out to the House is that there is in the country generally, on all sides of politics, a sense of dissatisfaction, if not of alarm. We are not sure how far peace has been secured by the concessions which have been made. What, then, is the condition of our affairs at home, when such is the state of the public mind about foreign affairs? We are about to enter upon a great General Election under entirely new conditions as regards the constituencies of this country. I do not wish to make any forecast as to the effect of the new democracy upon the foreign policy of this country; but this I must say—that democracies are not generally of an eminently pacific character. They are not, perhaps, so inclined to undertake wars for ambition as great conquering Sovereigns; but, on the other hand, they are more apt to get into war out of mere sentiment and emotion. My Lords, I cannot help pointing out to the House how rapidly this element of emotion is increasing in its influence upon our foreign affairs. It is impossible to have followed the course which has been taken by my noble Friend below me (Earl Granville) on the Egyptian Question—he will pardon me for saying so—without feeling that it has been largely influenced by the Press, and by the predominant feeling expressed in the Press of the popular mind. They have advanced with the wave of passion, and they have retreated when there has been a loud and popular agitation; and I am afraid from what I have heard that I shall have to express my deep regret at the further retreat which they are now about to make in their Egyptian policy. There are, my Lords, many more instances of this emotional effect on the foreign policy of this country, the increasing influence of the Press and of the electric telegraph. We feel it in our private life, the electric telegraph makes us sit by the beds of our dying friends, in war we hear the groans of the wounded, we see the vultures feeding on the dead, and in diplomacy, so great is the power of the Press in interviewing prominent men in different countries of the world that we hear the irritated wranglings of the most secret diplomacy. My Lords, under these circumstances, going to new constituencies, it seems to be the duty of public men that they should keep their heads cool, and give to the public of their best, in respect of their superior knowledge and information upon the facts of history which are telling on the present. That is the reason why I desire to direct the attention of your Lordships to this most important public document, as bearing in a most important degree upon our understanding of the motives and policy of the Russian Government. Let me look, in the first place, to the speeches which have been made on behalf of the Conservative Party. I look to some of the most powerful and able speeches made by my noble Friend the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) upon the condition in which we now are; and I rejoice to see that my noble Friend gave no indication of any approval of a war for the mere sake of a strip of desert on the confines of Afghanistan, or of a war against one of the greatest Powers of Europe on account of an accidental affair of outposts. On the contrary, the gist and tenour of his speech was this—that the dangers of a war arising from these comparatively small points was a danger due to the mismanagement of Her Majesty's Advisers. That is an argument which is perfectly fair to maintain, and on which I am not going to express any opinion now. We have not got the Papers before us. We do not know how it is that it is an affair of outposts, neither do we know from what train of circumstances it rose to such a dangerous point. I now pass, my Lords, from my noble Friend the noble Marquess opposite, who is the Leader of the Conservative Party, to look to another quarter. I would remind your Lordships of an anecdote which is told of the late Earl of Beaconsfield. On one occasion he was met going up to the Gallery of the House of Commons, and was asked by a friend—"What brings your Lordship here to-night?" He said—"I have come to look at the Fourth Party." I hope I may be allowed, now and then, to go and listen to and look at the Fourth Party; and I am bound to say that some speeches lately made by the Leader of that Party are speeches of great eloquence and of very considerable power, and I, for one, rejoice to see any addition to the eloquence and power which

we have in Parliament. Well, my Lords, he made a speech the other day with regard to our situation as to public affairs, in which there was a very strong opinion expressed with regard to the conduct of Russia in her advance in Central Asia. I rejoice that he also, in unison with the noble Marquess opposite, expressed not not only indifference, but positive ridicule and contempt, at the idea of a war which was to be waged for the mere sake of a strip of territory between Herat and Merv, or for a mere affair of outposts between two Armies. But then he proceeded to draw a tremendous arraignment against Russia for her deceit and treachery in connection with her advance in Central Asia. Now, in his narrative, my firm conviction is that the noble Lord did not draw his information from first sources. The literature on the subject is enormous. Books and pamphlets without number have been written representing the treachery of Russia in her course throughout Asia, some of them by persons of eminence and distinction, and those are, no doubt, the sources from which the noble Lord has drawn his information. The gist of the noble Lord's observations was that all the advances of Russia in Asia had been in violation of the most solemn promises given over and over again to the Great Powers of Europe, and especially to ourselves. Well, my Lords, I do not know that I should have noticed these observations at all in your Lordships' House had it not been that the noble Marquess opposite alluded to them, and said that he believed that the noble Lord's representation of facts could not be controverted.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The precise words I used were, that they were historically unimpeachable.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: That is not my opinion. The fact of Russia having advanced by these steps is, of course, an historical fact within the knowledge of all of us; but these facts are strung together by relative statements with regard to the assurances of Russia; and if my noble Friend means that those statements are unimpeachable then I cannot agree with him, for I think that I shall prove they are not only not unimpeachable, but wrong from beginning to end. I rest my case almost entirely on the particular document for which I have moved. I direct attention to this subject on account of the very strong language that has been used, because I think when we are appealing to the public of this country at the time of a General Election, whatever may be our dangers from Russia, public opinion should not be excited by language clearly exaggerated. After all, we shall have to live with Russia as one of the great family of European nations. I do not suppose that anyone will be so extravagant as to affirm that we are never, under any circumstances, to make Treaties with that country. The noble Lord talks of deceit and treachery. These are his words—

> "He did not hesitate to say that of all the treachery and duplicity of which examples could be found in the annals of diplomacy and international intercourse none could exceed theirs for blackness and perfidy."

I wish to prove to your Lordships that this is a completely erroneous interpretation of the facts of the case in regard to the advances of Russia in Central Asia. I think I shall show that I do not disavow the special doctrine which is held by my noble Friend opposite and the head of the Fourth Party—namely, that we ought not to trust for the safety of India to the promises of Russia. With that I entirely agree; but I support the doctrine, as I shall show, upon other grounds and for other reasons. In the meantime, I shall strive to prove that Russia cannot be justly charged with the perfidy and bad faith laid to her door. Let me remind the House of the occasion when this document was issued. Your Lordships will remember that during the first half of the present century the advances of Russia, which were very great and very formidable, were advances chiefly against Persia and Turkey. During the middle of the century there was a pause; but in 1863 Russia resumed her great march in Central Asia. That was the occasion when she issued this document. I believe it was intended to be a secret document. It was an instruction to her Ambassadors at all the Courts of Europe as to the language which they should hold in the event of questions being asked of them or erroneous ideas being spread in regard to her Asiatic policy. I believe the publication of the document was, in the first instance, due to accident. However, it was published. It lays down the doctrine that—

"That Russia in Central Asia is in the same position as all civilized States in contact with savage and nomad tribes, with no fixed social organization."

The writers illustrate what they mean by examples, which I do not think are, all of them, very pertinent. They call attention to the relations of the United States towards the American tribes, to the case of Holland and her Colonies, to the case of France in Algeria, and, with a touch of irony, to the case of England and India. The second doctrine laid down is this—

"That in all such cases the civilized State is forced to exercise a certain ascendancy."

I hope your Lordships will observe the beautiful delicacy of this expression; and then it goes on to a little broader language, and explains—

"That when these tribes commit raids or pillage, they must be reduced to more or less perfect subjugation."

That is a considerable advance on the previous paragraph. The next proposition is this—

"That these tribes, when civilized, become, in their turn, exposed to the depredations of robber tribes further on, who must then be subjected to the same process."

The fifth proposition is this, and it is a very important one—namely—

"That when robber tribes have been punished, and the expedition has been withdrawn, the lesson which they have been taught is soon forgotten, and the withdrawal is by them ascribed to weakness."

I need not point out the conclusion drawn from that, that where the robber tribes are punished the expedition should take hold of their country and should not be withdrawn. The secret is this—

"That all nomad tribes are bad neighbours, and that agricultural and commercial populations attached to the soil are more advanced social organizations, and are more capable of being dealt with in peaceful relations."

This is a description which takes in every one of the Khanates of Central Asia. Then I come to No. 7, and I especially beg attention to a proposition so many years ago announced to the Powers of Europe—

"That, consequently, our frontier line ought to swallow up the former, and stop short of the limits of the latter."

Thus, the States to be swallowed up are all those that are comparatively unorganized; and it is left to the Russian Chancellerie to say what States are or are not sufficiently organized. All these Khanates, then, were to be swallowed up. The document proceeds to lay down that these general statements are to be used by way of explanation if questions are asked or credence is given to erroneous ideas. That is important, because it shows that these propositions were provided for the purpose of being given as information, and not as promises or pledges. The document only contained the language that was to be held by the Russian Ambassadors if they were asked inconvenient questions. And, lastly, the ninth proposition is this—

"That in the pursuit of this policy, and in the fulfilment of these principles, and putting into practice these axioms, the Imperial Government, in pursuing this task, takes as its guide the interest of Russia

—not the sentiment of tenderness or jealousy of other States—

"believing at the same time that it is promoting the interests of humanity and civilization."

I confess that when I read this Paper it was inconceivable to me how all these accusations could be brought against Russia with regard to her subsequent advances; and yet I find that so distinguished a man as Sir Henry Rawlinson has originated this charge of perfidy and bad faith, and I have very little doubt that Lord Randolph Churchill took his information from that source. But there is nothing like going to first authorities, and one seldom does so without finding that they have been wrongly represented. The blindness of European statesmen in misrepresenting this document as they have done reminds me of an anecdote which was told, I think, in the *Memoirs of Lord Cockburn*, when the Scottish Judges were famous for their curious sayings, uttered in the broadest vernacular. A lawyer was pleading on behalf of his client that he was an uneducated and stupid man, and the Judge interrupted him with the remark—"The law takes no cogneesance o' stupeedity." Now, on this occasion I cannot either propound the doctrine of stupidity to account for the blindness to which I have referred, because it has been shared by the ablest men. Well, this document pretends that in the Khanate of Khokand had been found the conditions necessary to enable the Russians to stop at the point which they had then reached. The document says that the

advance which had been made put the Russians in the immediate neighbourhood of Khokand, and continues—

"We find ourselves there in the presence of of a more solid, more compact, and better organized social State, fixing for us a geographical position at which we must stop."

Now, that is the sentence which is alone quoted by those who differ from me upon this question; but what follows? Why, the document goes on to explain what this "must" means, and it means only that to go further would involve serious sacrifices and contests with more important Powers. Having shown your Lordships that this document laid down principles applying to all these Central Asian Dependencies, I now wish to call attention to the completeness with which those principles apply to the more recent advances of Russia on Khiva and Merv. My Lords, there is no denying that the tribes of the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara are essentially robber tribes. If your Lordships look at one of the works of Sir Henry Rawlinson, you will see that he mentions especially that one of the most vital blows given to Khiva was that, by the subjection of certain tribes outside the Border, they lost the large revenue hitherto derived from their slave market. The same observation applies to Merv. The Correspondent of *The Standard* with the Staff of Sir Peter Lumsden gives the most distinct and emphatic testimony that the country, until the Russian conquests, had been wholly deserted because the peasantry had been unable to cultivate the fields, and that already—the Russian conquest of Merv not having been accomplished for much more than 12 months—cultivation is rapidly extending wherever it is possible to have irrigation along those desert sands. The principles laid down in the despatch of 1864 apply closely to every one of the advances made by Russia from her position at that time. Those advances have been very remarkable. Between 1864 and 1869 Russia seized first of all Tchemkend, then Tashkend, then Khokand, all in the upper valley of the Jaxartes, and very soon she crossed the mountain range which separates the head waters of the Jaxartes from the rivers beyond. She got hold of Samarkand. She had Bokhara at her feet, and once this happened, she became, what the French call, *limi trophe* with the Afghan people. It was in the middle of this great course of conquest, which brought Russia from the shores of the Sea of Aral to the head waters of the Jaxartes, and the rivers which flow from Samarkand and Bokhara, that I had the honour of going to the India Office. One of the first things I did was to ask for the last expression of opinion given by my Predecessor in Office—Sir Stafford Northcote—in which I found the following words, which I quote, not for polemical, but for historical purposes. In answer to a despatch from the Government of Sir John Lawrence, directing the attention of the India Office to these advances on the part of Russia, Sir Stafford Northcote replied in these terms:—

"On this point Her Majesty's Governmen see no reason for any uneasiness or any jealousy. The conquests which Russia has made, and apparently is still making, in Central Asia appear to be the natural result of the situation in which she finds herself placed."

My Lords, nothing is more remarkable than the fact that circumstances happening at one moment will excite the whole country, and the same circumstances happening at another moment will produce no impression whatever. What I want to point out is that Conservatives and Liberals both, up to the year of which I now speak—up to the outbreak of the Eastern War in Europe—were comparatively indifferent, and expressed themselves indifferent, to those advances of Russia through the deserts of Central Asia. I believe that it is entirely owing to accidental circumstances that the agitation has become so great. But now that Russia has advanced — as I think, on the whole, by legitimate steps—to Merv, we are in a new political position, and we must take a new departure. We must look round to our new position; and without making unjust accusations against Russia, we must remember that we are responsible for the safety of India against a possible quarrel with one of the greatest Powers in the world; and, whether we can trust her or not, we are bound to consider the case of war, and to defend India by every means in our power. There is one great comfort I find with regard to these advances of Russia—namely, that our own annexations during that period have been far larger, far richer, far more important, far more warlike, in

the populations we have subdued. About five years ago I took the trouble to go closely into the question, and I will tell the House the result at which I then arrived, though recently I had not the opportunity of verifying it. Within the last 45 years we have annexed and included in our Indian Empire territories and populations representing 13,000,000 of human souls. Some of the people so included are among the most warlike of the populations of India; they are the very core now of our Native Army; and, through the genius and influence mainly of the two Lawrences, they are among the most faithful of all the tributary races. Compare this series of annexation with the annexations of Russia. Her advance has, indeed, been enormous; but it has been over enormous wastes of deserts and sand, sand with here and there an occasional oasis. When you hear a man like Sir Henry Rawlinson, and others who have travelled in the East, talking of the extraordinary fertility and resources of this, that, and the other small oasis, you can only account for the impression they have partly by the historical memory of time long past, when these places were the seats of a teeming population and a great military Empire, and partly because these men have almost all travelled on camels and on horseback through long stretches of desert sand, and having suddenly come on an oasis, they see a long tract of country full of gardens and wonderful melons—pumpkins as big as this House—and they exclaim—"There never was such a country as this." Just think of that one Province of India called Oude, with its 40,000,000 of people, and containing a great deal of the richest soil in the world. Think also that of all our annexations in India we have the riches in the South, and the martial populations in the North. If we cannot show a good face against Russia under these conditions, the sceptre will have deserved to have passed from us. The received estimate of the total population between the Caspian and Merv, annexed by Russia, is less than 1,000,000; and I very much doubt whether, including the tribes of the rich and well-watered valleys of the head waters of the Jaxartes, and those of Samarkand and Khokand, the whole Russian population in Central Asia comes to 10,000,000, which is less than the population of a Province of Lower Bengal. That is a comforting consideration, and one that ought to be soothing to the public mind, and prevent——

At this point His Grace's speech was interrupted by the sudden and startling illness of Lord Dormer.

Further debate immediately adjourned till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 11th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [May 7] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading*—Greenwich and Millwall Subway.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order *; Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order *; Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order.*

Second Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 2) * [155]; Consolidated Fund (No. 3).

Third Reading—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * [123]; Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) [134], and *passed;* East India Unclaimed Stocks [125], [House counted out].

MOTIONS.

—o—

COMMONS REGULATION (ASHDOWN FOREST) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the Regulation of Ashdown Forest, situate in the Parishes of East Grinstead, Hartfield, Withyham, Baxted, Maresfield, and Fletching, in the County of Sussex, in pursuance of a Report of the Land Commissioners for England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

COMMONS REGULATION (DRUMBURGH) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the Regulation of Drumburgh Common and Moss, situate in the Township of Drumburgh, in the parish of Bowness, in the County of Cumberland, in pursuance of a Report of the Land Commissioners for England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

INCLOSURE (LLANYBYTHER) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Bill to confirm the Provisional Order for the Inclosure of Llanybyther Common, situate in the Parish of Llanybyther, in pursuance of a Report of the Land Commissioners for England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

ARMY—THE BRIGADE OF GUARDS.

MR. GABBETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he could advise the augmentation of the Brigade of Guards by the addition of a regiment to be called the "Irish Guards," England and Scotland being already represented by the Grenadier, Coldstream, and Scots Guards?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON in reply, said, that several questions had been under consideration affecting the establishment of the regiments of the Guards. No official decision had yet been come to as to what would be done, nor would be till next year's Estimates were under consideration. At that time the suggestion would be considered; but he was not at present able to say whether it would be possible to take a different view on the Question of the hon. Gentleman from that taken by several of his Predecessors.

BURIALS — NONCONFORMIST BURIAL AT HOLMBEACH.

MR. RUSTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that at the recent burial with a Nonconformist service of Mr. M. F. Peet, a parishioner of Holmbeach, after a fee had been paid for the tolling of the bell, and it had been tolled for several minutes, the Rev. J. Hemmans, the vicar, ordered the ringing to be stopped; whether this was done without the knowledge of the churchwardens, who have expressed regret at the occurrence; whether the vicar has stated that he has acted in accordance with a resolution of several of the neighbouring clergy; whether an application to the Bishop of Lincoln, to use his influence to prevent the recurrence of such a proceeding, has been ineffectual; and, whether the Government will take any steps to protect parishioners in connection with the burial of the dead?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that although he had no knowledge of this matter he had received a letter respecting it. If the facts were as stated by the hon. Member, all he could say was that they were deplorable, and very much to be condemned; but it was not a matter in which he had any authority to interfere.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — DONEGAL WORKHOUSE—CATHOLIC ASSISTANT TEACHER.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the decision arrived at by the majority of the Donegal Guardians, at their meeting on the 2nd instant, refusing the appointment of a Catholic assistant teacher for the workhouse; whether he is aware that the Protestant majority of the same Board have, for the past two years, repeatedly refused the appointment of any Catholic teacher for the spiritual instruction and training of the Catholic children; whether 90 per cent of the inmates are Catholics, and not even one Catholic official allowed in the house; whether, when there was a vacancy for schoolmistress, the Catholic chaplain applied to the Guardians to have a Catholic teacher appointed, on the ground that almost all the pauper children were Catholics and all the officials Protestants, there being no one to teach the children their prayers or catechism; whether, when the application for a Catholic teacher was refused, the chaplain applied for a catechist for the Catholic children, and whether this appointment also was refused repeatedly by the Protestant Guardians; whether the Local Government Board and the late Chief Secretary, Mr. Trevelyan, approved of the applications of the Catholic chaplain, and termed them "reasonable;" whether, "as a settlement of the question," the late Chief Secretary and the Local Government Board suggested that a Catholic assistant teacher should be appointed, an arrangement they thought "that would satisfy all parties;" whether, previous to their last refusal to appoint a Catholic assistant teacher, the Protestant Guardians have several times already rejected the Motion; whether, in consequence of the action of the Protestant Guardians, and their hostile attitude to Catholic claims

in respect of the workhouse paupers, the parish priest, the Very Rev. Hugh M'Fadden, resigned the chaplaincy of the workhouse; whether, in consequence, the Donegal Workhouse is without a Catholic chaplain for two years, and the great majority of the Catholic inmates deprived of Divine Service on Sundays and holidays, and the ministrations of their religion at Easter and other times of the year, only comparatively few being able to attend the church in Donegal town; whether the Local Government Board will allow this state of things to be continued, and permit such spiritual destitution to exist in the Donegal Workhouse, and whether a remedy will be provided by setting aside the present Board, and appointing Vice-Guardians; and, whether it is the fact that the present teacher of the workhouse, whom the Protestant Guardians persisted in appointing, was found on examination by the National Board two years successively to be incompetent for his position?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Beyond the fact that the Guardians have again passed a resolution declining to appoint an assistant teacher, there is nothing new in the position of this case, which has been the subject of repeated Questions. The views and powers of the Local Government Board in the matter have been frequently explained, and I can add nothing to the answers already given.

MR. HEALY: Would the Government consider the propriety of dissolving the Board of Guardians for constantly and repeatedly refusing to carry out the orders of the Local Government Board?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think the hon. Member will find that, too, was answered in reply to the Questions referred to.

MR. HEALY: No; it was not. I asked the Question 20 times, and it was not answered.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government will consider the advisability of granting additional powers to the Senate of the Royal University, with a view to facilitating the obtaining of degrees by medical men qualified before the passing of the Royal University Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A power such as that referred to was granted to the Senate in their original charter, but lasting for three years only. It expired in November last, and the Senate have not sought to have it renewed. There was an obvious reason for giving it in the first instance which does not now hold good, and I am not aware of any intention to revive it.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE SPIRIT DUTIES.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he has considered the probability that the proposed increase of the Spirit Duties will lead to the increased consumption of newly distilled spirit of a quality likely to be deleterious to the health of the consumer; and, if he can see his way to propose such a graduated increase on spirits as will favour the consumption of those over twelve months in bond?

MR. HIBBERT: This is a point which has already been considered. Experience shows that a larger portion of matured whisky is consumed now than previous to 1860, in spite of the increase of duties; and looking to the present facilities for bonding, and the probable improvement in the consumer's taste, there seems no reason to fear that this increased proportion will not be maintained. The suggested sliding scale is considered by the Revenue Authorities to be impracticable. Apart from the action of the consumers, the only feasible way of securing what we all desire—a check on the consumption of new and unwholesome spirits—seems to be that all spirits should be required to be kept in bond for the period of at least a year. This is hardly a Revenue question; but I may observe that the adoption of such a plan would throw a very heavy burden on the several branches of the spirit trade, who would doubtless have a good deal to say on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—DISCHARGED PRISONERS.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Lord Advocate, Whether, in the case of persons apprehended on suspicion, taken to prisons, often, since the number of

prisons was reduced, a long distance from their home, and subsequently liberated without trial, presumably innocent, any regulation exists for assisting them if impecunious to return home?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The Prisons Commissioners are empowered by Act of Parliament, the 36th section of the Prisons Act, 1877, to provide a prisoner "with the means of returning to his home by causing his fare to be paid by railway, or in any other convenient manner." When a prisoner is taken to a distant prison and discharged without being brought up for trial, his railway fare to his home or the place from which he was brought is in practice paid under the authority of this enactment.

HARBOUR ACCOMMODATION—PUBLIC WORKS LOAN COMMISSIONERS.

MR. MARJORIBANKS asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can now state the means Government have resolved on as the best way of assisting harbour works by a judicious system of loans; whether the grant of such loans is intended to be dependent on the security which localities applying for them are able to offer rather than on the special suitability with regard to site and other considerations which any given locality may present; whether it is intended to leave to the decision of the Public Works Loan Commissioners the policy of the construction of a harbour at any given place, as well as the adequacy of the security which is offered for a loan; and, whether he will not recommend the appointment of a small Royal Commission, consisting of experts (for instance, a distinguished naval officer and two engineers of eminence), to complete the work of the Select Committee on Harbour Accommodation by reporting, after thorough local inquiry: (1) as to the correctness of the conclusions arrived at by the Select Committee as to the districts in which additional harbour accommodation is most urgently needed; (2) what are the places within such districts where the grant of public money by way of loan for harbour works would be productive of the greatest amount of public advantage?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Government proposed to assist harbour works as follows:—By reducing the rate of interest on loans. The Treasury have agreed to the following rates—namely, for a loan of thirty years with collateral security, three and a-quarter per cent; for a loan for forty years, three and a-half per cent; and for a loan for fifty years, three and three-quarters per cent. That is in every case a half per cent less than the present rate of interest. Secondly, by enabling Local Authorities, including the Governing Bodies of neighbouring counties or districts, to guarantee the security. The Government are of opinion that the repayment should be a fixed annuity, instead of a varying sum, consisting of instalments of principal with interest on the sum remaining due. The effect of that will be to lessen the charge in the earlier years of the loan. The Government are also of opinion that the decision on the policy of making a loan for constructing harbours should rest with the Board of Trade, leaving the consideration of the adequacy of the security to the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The Government do not propose to make any absolute grants of public money for harbours; but neither do they propose to limit the advance of public money in the shape of loans by selecting only a few special sites as suitable for the purpose. It will not, therefore, be necessary to appoint a Committee to perform this duty. Any place which fulfils the requisite conditions will be able to apply, and an inquiry would then take place as to such application.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked if the new conditions as to loans for harbours would apply to Ireland?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Certainly.

EGYPT—COLONEL DE COETLOGON.

MR. MARUM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, when Colonel de Coetlogon was appointed on the staff of Hicks Pasha it was stipulated that he should receive six months pay as a gratuity; whether he was placed in command of Khartoum by Hicks Pasha, and whether he did defend and take charge of that town till the arrival of General Gordon; whether General Gordon by the power vested in him raised Colonel de Coetlogon to the rank of Pasha, and ordered him to be paid £100 monthly; whether General Gordon requested the Egyptian

authorities to confirm the rank of Pasha, and to further reward Colonel de Coetlogon by giving him employment and certain decorations; whether it is true that the Egyptian Government have declined to confirm the rank of Pasha, or to bestow upon Colonel de Coetlogon any decorations, or to give him the six months gratuity promised; and, whether they have offered him employment inferior to that which he had when he first left for the Soudan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General at Cairo has been requested to report upon this case, to which the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called by Colonel de Coetlogon. The reply has not yet been received.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE ROYAL IRISH RIFLES—DISTURBANCE AT DOWNPATRICK.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for War, with regard to complaints from Downpatrick on the subject of the billeting of men of the 5th Battalion in a number of houses in the town, Whether he is aware that, on the night of the 30th ult., a number of men, about forty, of the Battalion, accompanied by a few privates of the Devonshire Regiment, marched through the town yelling, and making use of provocative party cries, breaking the windows of houses occupied by Catholics along the line of route, and finally rushing into the licensed premises of Mr. John Gilmore, a Catholic, made a deadly attack with their waist-belts on the waiters and other persons there, knocked down and trampled on some persons, and broke the glass of the windows before retiring; whether the commander, Colonel Waring, has recently taken part as a prominent member of the Orange Society in party demonstrations in the North of Ireland; and, what steps will now be taken to re-establish Military discipline in the 5th Battalion?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The training of the 5th Battalion Royal Irish Rifles has not yet commenced; but the recruits have been up at Downpatrick for preliminary drill. They are stated generally to have behaved well. I have called for, but have not yet received, detailed Reports of the events on the 30th of April; but I have had telegrams on the subject, in which the particular outrages cited in the Question are categorically denied. It appears that on the previous day two civilians had been arrested by the police for unprovoked assault on the soldiers and militiamen. Hence, I have no doubt, arose ill-feeling between the civilian and military elements. As to what followed, I will read the telegram from the General Officer commanding at Belfast:—

"About 8.30 evening of the 30th some Militia and men of Devonshire Regiment walking about town were hooted by civilians, who used threatening, abusive, and seditious language. Shortly afterwards, by request of police, extra picket was despatched, but everyone had rapidly disappeared. All present at 8.45 roll call. During evening pickets were frequently abused by civilians. There was no disorderly marching by soldiers or Militia, nor were party cries raised by them; no windows appear to have been broken, nor can Gilmore identify anybody, though facilities offered him to do so. It is known that Colonel Waring recently attended Orange meetings. Pickets patrol town nightly. Militia encamped now one mile from town."

From this it would appear that the information regarding the attendance of Colonel Waring at Orange meetings is contradictory.

MR. HEALY: It is notorious.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: As I have stated, the regiment is not at present in training, and if Mr. Waring attends meetings I am not aware that any notice can be taken of it.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—SCHOOL BOARD EXAMINATIONS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether it is true, as stated by a correspondent in *The Scotsman* of May 1st, that the following questions were set by the Inspector of the Department to Standard VI. children in some of the schools in Perthshire in March last:—

"Hay for five hundred mules cost £77 per week. If hay rises in price so that three tons cost as much as five now do, find the price of hay for sixty horses during sixty days, allowing to three horses as much as to five mules; if five boxes of coffee are equal in weight to seven boxes of tea, but two boxes of tea are equal in value to five boxes of coffee, what will be the price of a box of coffee if a box of tea cost £10;"

whether it is true as stated that the questions at inspections in Perthshire have been of a similar description for years past; whether it is intended that

Standard VI. should be passed by children of twelve; and, whether, in view of the fact that the extremely low percentage of passes in Standard VI. in Perthshire as compared with other counties in Scotland is due to the exceptional number of failures in arithmetic, he will suggest that the arithmetical test as applied by the departmental inspector should be of a less puzzling character?

MR MUNDELLA: We have communicated with the Inspector for Perthshire, and it appears that of the two questions the second was not set in the terms quoted. The first question was set together with three others which were much simpler, and of the four only two were required to secure a pass. The questions set were on a separate card; it was not, therefore, expected that the same scholar should attempt both. It is not intended that Standard VI. should be passed by children of 12; and, in fact, out of 49,660 children of that age, only 19,742 were examined in the Sixth Standard. The reason why the Sixth Standard passes in Perthshire are below the average is because in many of the rural schools of that county children are qualified for examination by 150 attendances; but in the general passes in arithmetic there are many counties in which the percentage of passes is lower than in Perth. I may add, however, that the Department has already taken steps to secure greater uniformity in the examination papers in Scotland, so as to prevent a different Standard for passes being applied by different Inspectors.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—EXPLOSIVE OUTRAGE AT LONDONDERRY—GEORGE M'GARRIGLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Orange apprentice boy, George M'Carrigle, charged with the explosive outrage in Londonderry on the 17th March, has been returned for trial to the assizes; whether he has been liberated on bail, himself in £50, and two sureties in £25 each; whether there is any particular reason for extending this clemency in cases of outrage in the North; whether according to the evidence of Sergeant Kirby three or more persons must have had share in the outrage; and, will he explain why no Crimes Act inquiry has been instituted?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: M'Garrigle has been returned for trial at the Assizes, and the magistrates, in the exercise of their discretion, have admitted him to bail as stated; but there has been no extension of clemency in the case. Sergeant Kirby heard two other persons running away at the time of the explosion, but did not see them. He did see M'Garrigle. An inquiry under the Crimes Act will be held if it should be considered that this would further the ends of justice.

MR. O'BRIEN: Can the right hon. Gentleman give an instance of where a Nationalist was released on bail on as easy terms?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware.

POST OFFICE—THE PARCEL POST—TEMPORARY CLERKS.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consider the possibility of granting to the clerks "temporarily" employed in the Parcel Post the same rights as regards (1) annual increment of pay, (2) superannuation allowance, (3) sick pay and sick leave, (4) compensation for dismissal, (5) leave of absence for holidays, as those enjoyed by the clerks provisionally appointed to the Telegraph Department in anticipation of the increase of business expected to arise out of the sixpenny telegram scheme; and, if not, in what event and how soon he expects to be able to dispense with the so-called temporary services of the Parcel Post clerks?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The temporary force employed at the Post Office was engaged on terms which, generally speaking, excluded the rights specified by the hon. Member. I cannot hold out hopes that the conditions of their employment will be altered, or that more than a limited number will be appointed to the establishment. The case of those employed in the Telegraph Service is different, and the terms of their engagement were different.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: Does the right hon. Gentleman suggest that the Parcel Post will be of a temporary nature?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No; but no promise was given that their employment would not be of a temporary character.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE—TEA.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true that tea consigned under bond from London to Dublin is often delivered direct into the premises of consignees, instead of to the bonding warehouses in Dublin; whether such teas often lie there, or are redelivered into consumption several days before the Duty is paid at the Dublin Custom House; and, whether this system brings a loss to the Revenue?

MR. HIBBERT (for Mr. CHILDERS): The facts are as stated in the first paragraph of the Question. The practice is not peculiar to Dublin, but is allowed at all chief bonding ports. Goods so delivered may go into consumption immediately on receipt by the consignee; but in that case the Revenue is secured against loss by the regulations under which such removals are allowed.

THE MAURITIUS—REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE FRANCHISE.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, At what date was the Report of the Commission on the Franchise to the people of Mauritius received at the Colonial Office; and, can he fix a date when Lord Derby's decision on the Report will be ready, so as to relieve the anxiety of the people of Mauritius on the question?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Report of the Commission on the Franchise was received from Mauritius the end of last January. The views of the Secretary of State upon that Report have been conveyed in a despatch to the Governor, which was sent off about a week ago. As soon as this has been received and considered in the Colony, there will be no objection to giving the Papers.

NAVY—TORPEDO NETS—H.M.S. "NORTHAMPTON."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether H.M.S. *Northampton* is provided with torpedo nettings; whether the other ships of the North American Squadron are so provided; and, if they are so provided, when the torpedo nettings were received by the ships?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The nets for the *Northampton* are in the Dockyard at Bermuda. When she left England ships were not fitted with iron nets. But on the occasion of torpedo exercise at Bermuda, the ship under the command of Captain Fisher was so effectually protected by her nets and improvized appliances that she could not be attacked successfully with the torpedo. The ship which relieves the *Northampton* will be completely fitted.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE SUCCESSION DUTIES—EXEMPTION OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

MR. GIBSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Will Universities, Colleges, and Heads or Provosts of Colleges be liable to the tax on Corporate Property proposed in the Budget Resolutions, or are they intended to come within the exemptions?

MR. HIBBERT (for Mr. CHILDERS): The property of Universities and Colleges, and also of the Heads and Provosts of Colleges, so far as it is legally appropriated and applied exclusively for the promotion of education, will be exempt under the Bill before the House.

CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—THE CROSSMAGLEN PRISONERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it the fact that the Government have refused to allow the Crossmaglen prisoners to read the memorial addressed to the Viceroy, setting forth facts in reference to their trial; and, that their friends consider it necessary that the prisoners should have an opportunity of seeing the memorial in order that they may supplement it by facts within their knowledge?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: What has happened is this. Mr. Alfred Webb memorialized the Lord Lieutenant in favour of these prisoners, and His Excellency, on full consideration, was unable to accede to his request. Mr. Webb then applied to the Prisons Board for permission to send a copy of the Memorial to each of the prisoners, in order that they might see what had been urged on their behalf; but the Board considered that to grant such a request would be contrary to prison

rules, and they so replied. The Board point out that prisoners can at certain periods see their friends, and urge any points which they may desire to lay before the Government. They can also memorialize the Lord Lieutenant at any time.

MR. HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether it is the practice in England in the case where there is a belief in the innocence of prisoners, and where there is a doubt as to whether the facts are fully stated in a Memorial for their release, for objection to be taken to laying that Memorial before the prisoners in order, where necessary, to supplement it by facts within their own knowledge?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should not like to answer that Question off-hand.

MR. HEALY: I will ask the Question to-morrow.

IRELAND—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE—MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, INSPECTOR OF FISHERIES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Johnston, Inspector of Fisheries, has been called on to deny the statement in *The Northern Whig* of April 29th, that he attended the meeting of the Orange Lodge in Sanday Row, Belfast, and personally consented to his being named as a candidate for one of the divisions of the borough; have the Government had before them his Letter, dated 24th March, to *The Belfast Newsletter*, which concludes, "if Ulster desires it, I may yet be able to say so in the House of Commons;" and, do the Irish Executive still consider that the Order in Council has not been infringed, and what is their decision as to the charge that Mr. Johnston's recent speeches is a breach of his written engagement to abstain from political discussions?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In answer to the hon. and learned Member, I have to say that, in consequence of the language lately publicly used by Mr. Johnston, Lord Spencer has been obliged to intimate to him that His Excellency considers his further retention of his office inconsistent with the interests of the Public Service.

MR. SEXTON: Can the right hon. Gentleman state what was the language referred to, and what was the date of the communication?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think it unnecessary now to go into that.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. HAMILTON, R.M., ARMAGH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why Mr. Hamilton, resident magistrate, Armagh, receives £125 a-year more than the maximum fixed allowance for a resident magistrate of the first class in Ireland?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In 1881 it was found necessary to increase the staff of the Crime Department in the Castle, and Mr. Hamilton, who was then a Resident Magistrate, was brought in on a salary of £800 a-year, the Treasury stipulating that, should his services at any time cease to be required in the Chief Secretary's office, he would not be entitled to compensation, provided he were offered another appointment imposing duties analogous to those which he previously discharged, and were allowed to hold it with a salary of not less than £800 a-year. Consequent on a general reorganization of the staff of the office at the latter end of 1882, the appointment held by Mr. Hamilton was abolished, and he was re-appointed a Resident Magistrate with a personal salary of £800 a-year under the stipulation referred to.

"THE SYNOD OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND."

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Did he officially authorise the letter, published on the 22nd inst., signed by his secretary, apologising for having addressed the Protestant Synod as "the Synod of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland," and consenting to address that body as "the Synod of the Church of Ireland," if so can he state under what circumstances the latter title has been officially given, is he aware that the Government have always hitherto refused to the Disestablished Church the title it claims, that in the draft charter which the Government was asked to

sanction they struck out the words "Church of Ireland," inserted by the representative body, that as in the Marriage Act of 1870, members and clergymen of this church are designated "Protestant Episcopalians," the Irish Registrar General, acting under the advice of the Law Adviser, Dublin Castle, directed clergymen of the disestablished religion to enter their church in the marriage register as the "Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland;" that the Lord Lieutenant, in the recent order as to precedence, published in *The Dublin Gazette* of April 3rd, styles its bishops "Protestant Episcopalians;" that at the last census members of this denomination numbered only 639,574 as against 3,960,891 Catholics, 470,734 Presbyterians, and 103,107 persons of other persuasions, and do the Home Office intend officially to style the Disestablished Church by a title calculated to give offence to other religious bodies in Ireland, while the Irish Government avoids the title complained of?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am unable to say any more on this subject beyond what I said the other day, when I said I wrote officially to the Irish Government to ask what they considered the proper designation, in order that the same course may be pursued in England and Ireland in this matter. When I get the answer I will inform the hon. Member. I can assure the hon. Member that I will take care that the practice which, so far as I can learn, has not been inconsistent hitherto, will be the same, and that a consistent rule will be laid down.

MR. GIBSON: I have given the right hon. Gentleman private Notice of a Question on this subject as follows:—Whether the name "Church of Ireland" was the name uniformly given by the Irish and Imperial Legislatures to the Church of Ireland, and whether that does not appear in 28 *Henry* VIII. c. 5; 17 & 18 *Charles* II. c. 6; 6 *Geo.* I. c. 3; 14 & 15 *Vict.* c. 72; the Act of Union, the Irish Church Act, 1869, &c., &c.; whether, on May 1, 1882, he did not himself, in an official letter to the Archbishop of Armagh, use the words in reference to the said Church, "the Archbishops, Bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church of Ireland in Synod assembled;" and, whether Mr. Godfrey Lushington's letter of April, 1885, now objected to, did not merely follow the usual practice of the Department?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir; I do not think any settled practice existed, and I think it is very desirable that the matter should be settled. It is clearly a matter in which the same practice should be pursued in the Home Office as by the Irish Government, and therefore I have addressed an official letter, and I have not yet received an answer to it.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay on the Table a copy of the letter from the Irish Government and his letter, as they are official documents?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am not sure that that would be the most convenient course to pursue.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—RIOTOUS BEHAVIOUR — GEORGE NAPIER, OF ROSCREA.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that on the 20th ultimo, a young man named George Napier, of Roscrea, was charged before the magistrates at Nenagh with having, on the 6th of the same month, "presented a revolver at a number of children;" whether several witnesses deposed to his having gone through the streets of Nenagh shouting "for the north," and calling the people "papists and rebels," and saying that he would "put a bullet through a Catholic or a rebel;" whether he was discharged without punishment on the occasion, and on what grounds; whether Major Waring, R.M., in giving the decision of the Bench said—

> "The magistrates who gave the defendant license to carry arms did not use discretion in doing so, and that he handled the weapon in a manner he ought not to have done;"

whether it is the custom with the magistrates of Roscrea to grant largely licenses to carry arms to persons of the same class as George Napier; and, whether the Government will make inquiry into the manner in which these licenses have been granted as well as into the decision of the magistrates in this case?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The charge in this case was "riotous behaviour." The evidence was very conflicting, and the magistrates unani-

mously decided to dismiss the case. Mr. Waring informs me that he did not say there had been a want of discretion on the part of any magistrate. He made the remark with regard to the defendant. He also states that he fully concurs in the decision of the Bench, and does not consider any action called for as regards Napier's arms licence. In this view I concur.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: Has the right hon. Gentleman made any inquiry as to the licences granted in this town by the Resident Magistrate?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps the hon. Member would put down a Question to that effect.

MR. O'BRIEN: Is it not a fact that there is not a single Catholic magistrate in this district?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware.

OFFICE OF THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS.

MR. BRYCE asked the Junior Lord of the Treasury, the Member for Leeds, as representing the Office of Works, When the Office of the City of London Parochial Charities Commissioners, established under the Act of 1883, is to be transferred from Craig's Court to Gwydyr House, in pursuance of the undertaking given last Session that this means of accelerating the progress of the inquiry under that Act would be adopted?

MR. HERBERT GLADSTONE: The branch of the Charity Commissioners office, at present located in Craig's Court, will vacate those premises as soon as certain minor alterations on the basement of Gwydyr House are completed.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRAWLING—THE REPORT—LEGISLATION.

COLONEL STEBLE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If any Bill will be introduced this Session giving effect to the recommendations of the Trawling Commission; and, if so, will such Bill affect the whole of the United Kingdom or only portions?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. and gallant Member must be aware that a Bill on this subject relating to Scotland had been introduced into the House of Lords; but he feared there would not be time this Session to deal with the matter except in that manner.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-PERSIAN FRONTIER.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Her Majesty's Government has information whether the north-east corner of Persia, in the direction of Sarakhs, has been delimited; and, if so, whether Persia has surrendered her claims to any of the cultivated tracts about Sarakhs, or to any portion of the right bank of the Harirud, thence upwards towards Phul-i-Khatum, or of the left bank downwards towards the Tejend swamp?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: According to the information in the possession of Her Majesty's Government, the delimitation of the frontier between Russia and Persia, in the direction mentioned by the hon. Member, has not taken place. The Russians have occupied Old Sarakhs, on the right bank of the Heri Rud. I do not think it would be advisable for me to make any statement as to the claims of Persia in the districts referred to in the last part of the hon. Member's Question.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked whether the noble Lord proposed to lay on the Table the Correspondence with reference to the subject of delimitation?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had no present intention of laying it on the Table; but he would communicate with the Foreign Secretary on the subject.

EGYPT (THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE COOLIES AT SUAKIN.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is true, as reported by the Suakin correspondent of *The Times*, that the *Jumna* arrived at Suakin with coolies, was then sent back without disembarking them, then told to come back and disembark them; if so, if he would state the dates and places at which the several orders were given; and, whether the expense of the maintenance and manœuvring of the coolies is a charge upon the Admiralty, the War Office, or the Indian Government?

MR. CAINE (for Sir THOMAS BRASSEY): It is the fact that the *Jumna* arrived at Suakin with coolies on the 25th of April. She left for Aden on the 28th with the coolies on board. On arriving at Aden on the 1st of May, she

was ordered to return to Suakin. All transport charges are borne by the Admiralty.

NAVY—THE RATING OF NAVAL PENSIONERS.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, to state, having reference to the notification calling on Naval Pensioners to serve, Whether the C. S. pay of the rating in which they are borne and actually doing duty, means that a man who has been a petty officer, but is now to be employed in a lower grade, will be borne and paid in a lower rank than that which he held when retired on pension, or whether, even if he is employed in a lower rank, he will still receive the pay to which he was formerly entitled; and, is an outfit to be given to pensioners who may return to service?

MR. CAINE (for Sir THOMAS BRASSEY): If a man is employed in a lower rating than that he held at the time he was pensioned, he would receive the pay of the lower rating in addition to his pension. So far as is practicable, these men will occupy ratings not inferior to those they formerly held; but it is, of course, impossible to guarantee such ratings. Naval pensioners will, on re-entry, be granted a gratuity of £2 10*s.* for clothing and £1 for bedding. This is a new arrangement, and a considerable advantage to the pensioners.

SCOTLAND—REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—PRINTING THE REGISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS.

MR. PRESTON BRUCE asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Law existing in the burghs regulating the printing of the register of voters, and the sale to the public of copies of the register, or parts of it, at certain prices, has been applied to and is now in force in the counties, by section 8, subsection 6, of "The Representation of the People Act, 1884?"

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): By Section 8, Sub-section 6, of "The Representation of the People Act, 1884," all enactments of the Registration Acts which relate to the registration of persons "entitled to vote in burghs" are made to extend and apply to counties as well as to burghs. The enactments regulating the printing of the register of voters in burghs, and the sale to the public of copies of the register or parts of it, at certain prices, are portions, and by no means unimportant portions, of the Act 19 & 20 *Vict.*, c. 58, which deals exclusively with the registration of voters in burghs. I think, therefore, that these enactments will now apply to counties. If I had thought that doubtful, I should willingly have accepted a clause in the Registration Bill such as my hon. Friend put upon the Paper. But if the necessity for such a clause were admitted, it would obviously throw doubt upon the universality of the application of the Burgh Registration Act, and any doubt on that subject would be unfortunate.

THE CONSULAR SERVICE—THE CONSULATE AT TIFLIS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state the date at which Her Majesty's Consulate at Tiflis was created, and the date at which it was abolished?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The post was created on the 24th of April, 1876, and abolished on the 31st of December, 1881.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Would the noble Lord say why the post was abolished?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It was not found that the objects for which it was established were accomplished—namely, that information was not obtained with ease. It was found that the establishment of a Consular officer at Batoum as a port of observation would be much more useful.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE SPIRIT DUTY.

MR. ORR-EWING asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his estimate of £900,000, being the yearly increased revenue from spirits by the increased Duty of two shillings per gallon, is accurate, as the estimated reduced consumption of 32,000,000 of gallons will yield an increase of £3,200,000?

MR. HIBBERT (for Mr. CHILDERS): The hon. Member has misunderstood the basis of my right hon. Friend's Estimate. The comparison was between the yield of the Spirit Duty at the old rate on the quantity which would have been consumed at that rate, and

the yield of the increased duty on the reduced consumption expected to occur under the new rate. The figure of £900,000 was arrived at by setting the gain due to the increased duty against the loss arising from the reduction of the quantity paying duty, allowance being made for the fact that the change did not come into force until May 1.

NAVY—ARMAMENT OF SHIPS—H.M.S. "DRYAD."

SIR DONALD CURRIE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the case that in 1883, when H.M.S. *Dryad* was stationed at Tamatave, and when difficulties arose between the British Consul, Captain Johnstone of H.M.S. *Dryad*, and Admiral Pierre in command of the French Fleet, all practice with the whole of the nine guns on board of the *Dryad* had been suspended in accordance with telegraphic orders from the Admiralty consequent upon the bursting previously of a gun of the same type on board of H.M.S. *Daring;* whether the *Dryad's* guns were mounted on the old truck carriages; whether it is the case that there were at that time guns of the same description on board of several of Her Majesty's ships on the North American, China, Mediterranean, Pacific, and Australian stations; and whether similar telegraphic orders were issued to them; whether it is the case that all these guns, or the greater part of them, were ordered to be returned to England, and were altered and improved, and to be used with reduced powder charges; whether it is the case that the *Dryad* was brought to England with her nine guns and carriages in the same state as when at Tamatave; and, whether this vessel has been since condemned as unfit for Her Majesty's service?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: I have to answer all the Questions put by the hon. Member in the affirmative. With reference to the armaments, I may explain that the guns with which the *Dryad* was armed in 1883 were lined with iron tubes. All guns so constructed have been withdrawn and replaced with guns lined with steel tubes. The *Dryad* being an old ship the new guns which had been supplied have been landed at Bombay, and the ship has been brought home. It is not likely that she will again be brought forward for commission.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAMS—INSUFFICIENT ADDRESSES.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE asked the Postmaster General, Whether, in the event of a telegram being unable to be delivered in consequence of insufficient or inaccurate address, the sender would be informed of the same by telegram or by post; and, what time would elapse before the sender would receive the information?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that there is no intention to alter the present practice, which is that, when a message cannot be delivered owing to the insufficiency or inaccuracy of the address, the office of destination sends an official telegram to the office of origin, and that office forwards a written intimation to the sender of the message. If the sender resides within the free delivery of the office of origin the notice of non-delivery is sent to him by special messenger, and if he does not reside within the free delivery the notice is sent to him by the earliest post.

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—PEMBROKE DOCK—THE CLERICAL STAFF.

MR. H. G. ALLEN asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he will recommend that the mechanic writers of Pembroke Dockyard should be placed on the same footing, as to leave and overtime, as the draughtsmen; and that their work should be lessened by increasing their number, or, at least, that they should be paid for the overtime which they have worked, especially during the latter weeks of last year?

MR. CAINE: The leave of absence granted annually to mechanic writers is the same in amount as is granted to the draughtsmen on day pay. By the terms under which they serve writers are not entitled to additional pay for casual overtime work. I may add that no application for an addition to the staff at Pembroke Dock has been received from the Captain Superintendent, and under the circumstances I am unable to recommend that any change be made in the present arrangements.

ARMY—THE 5TH DRAGOON GUARDS.

MR. LEAHY asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has inquired about the danger of introducing small-pox into

Ireland by the proposed move of the 5th Dragoon Guards from Manchester, where the disease is prevalent and on the increase, to the Curragh Camp; and what is the result?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: According to the last Report the regiment is free from small-pox. There is, therefore, no reason on that account why it should not be moved. It does not appear that during the last 19 weeks there has been any case among either officers or men.

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS—THE PROPOSED CONFEDERATION.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will present to the House the Papers relating to the proposed Confederation of the Windward Islands?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir, I will give the Papers referred to. I may say that the proposal for a Confederation of the Windward Islands is for the moment in abeyance owing to the general objection to it expressed in all the Islands.

EGYPT—SEIZURE OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN."

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the payment of a sum of £4,000, or of any such sum, forms any part of the reparation made, or to be made, by the Egyptian Government to the proprietor or editor of *The Bosphore Egyptien;* and, whether Her Majesty's Government have associated themselves with or concurred in the said payment?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The answer to both the hon. Member's Questions is in the negative.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE (IRELAND) ACT—INSTRUCTIONS TO CLERKS OF UNIONS AND POOR RATE COLLECTORS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any instructions have been issued by the Local Government Board for the guidance of clerks of unions and rate collectors in reference to their duties under the Representation of the People Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Local Government Board consider that it does not devolve upon them to advise on questions which arise as to the construction of the Acts relating to the representation of the people, or to give general instructions as to their administration. They have, however, communicated to Boards of Guardians a letter which I thought it advisable to address to them with the view of removing a very general uncertainty which was found to exist among Clerks of Unions as to the date when they should serve the notices required of them by the Act of 1884. The Board have also addressed a Circular to Boards of Guardians calling attention to the duties of Poor Rate collectors under Sub-section 7 of the 9th section of that Act, and forwarding the form of notice which they are advised should be used.

MR. HARRINGTON asked whether it was not the fact that the letter to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred promised that "further instructions on the subject would be given in a few days;" whether a month had since elapsed, and the officials of the Poor Law were waiting for these "further instructions;" and, whether the Local Government Board did not hold themselves responsible for the issue of proper instructions?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that the instructions had been issued in the form originally intended, and the officials otherwise had the Act before them.

MR. HARRINGTON asked if any instructions had followed the promise given a month ago, and if no instructions had followed, whether he would take an immediate opportunity of undeceiving them and recommending them to take action themselves; or if Poor Law officials took instructions from the National League; and whether he would take steps to protect such officials as took such instructions and acted upon them?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Final instructions cannot be issued until after the passing of the Seats Bill. Meanwhile, I will see whether there is any misunderstanding.

MR. HARRINGTON said, that as this was a very important matter, perhaps the House would allow him to make an explanation. [*Cries of* "No!" "Oh!" *and* "Order!"] Then he would ask whether, as the Clerks of Poor Law Unions in Ireland believed that they might not issue

these notices to persons under £10 rating, whether in other districts requisition forms had not been issued at all; whether in other cases requisition forms were issued by the Guardians or Clerks of Unions intended sometimes to omit the £10 ratings, and for want of requisition forms there was no specification as to whether some of these ratings applied to new and different ratings; and whether the right hon. Gentleman would apply a remedy to this state of confusion?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I cannot go any further than to say that I think the position is this—that the Local Government Board is quite ready to give any instructions of a general kind that are absolutely necessary. They would, however, be instructions of a very general kind, for it would at once be an improper and a dangerous thing for the Local Government Board to decide upon matters of doubt for the Local Authorities, or assist them in the interpretation of the Act. They have the Act before them, and can apply to the Act for instructions.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask is it not not the business of the Local Government Board to issue proper instructions, and also it is not a fact that they have a legal adviser, who can answer any questions as to the legal interpretation of the Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S reply was inaudible.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—THE CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—DEVOLUTION.

MR. BAXTER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, looking to the great amount of time spent every Session in discussing Civil Service Estimates and the very small and wholly inadequate and disproportionate result of these discussions, it would be desirable or at all events well worthy of consideration to apply to these Estimates the principle of devolution, by referring them at least in the first instance to a strong Financial Committee, which could examine them in a much more satisfactory manner than a Committee of the whole House?

MR. ONSLOW rose to Order. He submitted that the Question of the hon. Member was full of the deepest argument, the subject of which might give rise to several nights' debate. He desired particularly to draw attention to the preamble and to the latter part of the Question. He begged to ask the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair whether the Question was not out of Order?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question, as I read it, certainly does contain statements which are liable to be disputed. I am always glad, with the sanction of the House, to take every opportunity of eliminating from Questions all matters of a contentious nature. However, the substance of the Question when, such disputatious matter has been eliminated, can be put.

MR. ONSLOW said, that after the ruling of the Speaker, he presumed that the Question could not be put?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question will remain—to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether any devolution will take place in the case of the Civil Service Estimates?

MR. GLADSTONE: No doubt this is a Question of a kind coming very much into favour, it being in the nature of a scrutiny into the minds and intentions of Her Majesty's Ministers for the time being. Undoubtedly I have great sympathy with the views of my right hon. Friend, and I hope that a time may come when the House will consider what can be done in this direction. I do not think that anything can be done by going the whole length that my right hon. Friend indicated; but still I think progress may be made with great advantage in that direction. I think, however, the House and my right hon. Friend will agree with me that no steps can be taken of that nature during the present Session.

THE LICENSING LAWS—CLUBS.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is aware of the many complaints which have been made in several towns in the United Kingdom regarding the practice of gambling, drinking, and betting carried on at different clubs during the last four or five years; and, if so, whether he intends taking any steps to bring those clubs under the jurisdiction of the Licensing Laws?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have been requested to answer this Question. As I stated a few days ago in reply to a Question upon this subject, we have come to the conclusion after very careful

inquiry that sufficient ground has not been shown at present for interfering with the clubs.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—LEGISLATION.

MR. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government has yet decided as to the renewal of the Crimes Act this Session?

MR. GLADSTONE: Not later than Friday next I will make a statement with regard to the Bills that the Government propose to introduce, and that will include a statement of their intentions with respect to the Act now about to expire.

CENTRAL ASIA—ENGLAND AND RUSSIA—THE PROPOSED ARBITRATION.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in the semi-official *Moscow Gazette*, with regard to the proposed arbitration between England and Russia:—

> "There was only one thing to do, and that was to permit the correctness of our action to be certified to by a third party. This is not an arbitration in the proper sense of the term, which would be accompanied by some kind of practical result;"

whether the basis of the proposed arbitration is correctly described in the above paragraph; whether the arbitration includes a reference to the counter statements, as well as to counter contentions, with regard to the alleged breach of the covenant of 16th March; and, whether it is agreed that the Power which the arbitrator may decide to have been at fault shall make an amende?

MR. GLADSTONE: It would be very difficult to explain comments in newspapers, even though they are semi-official, about proceedings going on between two Governments as to matters of importance not yet made known. Therefore, I must be excused from referring to other matters in the Question, and also in that of the hon. Member for Derry (Mr. Lewis), which follows, because I shall have something to say on the subject to-day, and because the time is now close at hand when the hon. Gentleman will have all the documents in his hands, and therefore will be able to form a judgment for himself upon a much better and surer basis than an answer from me upon this subject would afford him.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR EDWARD J. REED asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will now name a day upon which the Motion expressive of anxiety respecting the state of the Navy, standing in his name, can be made?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not prepared to name a day for the discussion of my hon. Friend's Motion after what I have already stated with reference to the other Business before the House, including the Vote of Censure with reference to the Budget Resolutions.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Will the right hon. Gentleman state when the Budget proposals are likely to be taken? This is the first time I ever heard an Amendment to the Budget proposals described as a Vote of Censure.

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps I ought not to have said that the Motion is a Vote of Censure, but to have called it a Vote of Confidence. It is a Motion of very great importance, involving several wide and complex questions of taxation, and requiring considerable time in order to dispose of them. As the Budget proposals cannot come on until next week, which would be immediately on the verge of the Whitsuntide Holidays, the Government have concluded that, on the whole, it would be more fair to the House and more advantageous to postpone, at any rate, the Committee on the Budget proposals till after the Recess. I should think, therefore, that the best place for the Motion will be in the Committee after Whitsuntide.

In reply to MR. BOURKE,

MR. GLADSTONE said: The Papers in regard to Afghanistan and the negotiations with Russia will, I hope, be laid upon the Table on Friday next, with the view of their being circulated on Saturday.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the English Representatives at the Suez Canal Commission have been instructed to limit their assent to Propositions falling within the basis laid down

in Lord Granville's Despatch, and to abstain from taking part in the discussion of any Proposition which does not fall within such basis?

MR. GLADSTONE: There has been no such direction as is implied in this Question. It would be extremely difficult to say what regulations are beyond the basis that is laid down. The state of the case is this. Proposals may, of course, be made by the Representatives of the Powers at Paris. Nothing will be assented to by the British Representative if it appears to be, what I think the right hon. Gentleman means, beyond that basis. In no case will that be assented to without reference home, and I think the right hon. Gentleman will agree with me that this question is really deprived of all difficulty in present circumstances by the engagement into which the Government has freely entered, that the House shall have full opportunity of considering the provisions of any arrangement which may be made before it becomes binding.

THE PAPAL SEE—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE VATICAN —MR. ERRINGTON.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which I have given him private Notice, Whether Her Majesty's Government had caused any representations to be made at Rome against the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Walsh to the vacant Catholic see of Dublin?

MR. SEXTON: I would also wish to ask the Prime Minister as to whether the statement which appeared in one of the newspapers with regard to Mr. Errington's visit to Rome was correct. The correspondent said—

"I had shown to me Mr. Errington's credentials for the mission which he had undertaken. They are signed by Lord Granville, and are in the form of letters recommending him to the secretary to His Holiness. The recommendation reads like a letter of introduction from a State Department to the Pope, and has been so acted upon by Mr. Errington?"

MR. GLADSTONE: I gather that the nature of the paragraph to which the hon. Member refers is much more to express the colour which the writer of that paragraph puts upon some particular communication from Lord Granville than any matter of fact contained in it. When Mr. Errington went to Rome he was regarded as a gentleman who was very well acquainted with the views generally of Her Majesty's Government, and qualified to give information with respect to Irish affairs. That is all I can undertake to say at present. I cannot give any information of my own knowledge beyond the recollection of what I have said.

MR. SEXTON: I will repeat my Question to-morrow.

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), I refer him to the reply which I gave some short time ago on this subject, to the effect that—

"The Cabinet have never, as far as I am aware, had any cognizance of any communication between Mr. Errington and His Holiness the Pope, and certainly not upon the occasion to which the Question refers. If I am asked whether any individual Member of the Government has used any such representations, as distinct from the Cabinet, my reply is that I am not aware of it."—(3 *Hansard*, [297] 823.)

For myself, I have nothing to add to that answer. I have referred to Lord Granville, who refers me to a statement previously made by himself, and says he has nothing to add to the statement made two years ago as to the position of Mr. Errington at Rome. I can easily obtain from Lord Granville a reference to that statement. Lord Granville added that he could not go beyond the answers lately given by his noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for War with respect to Mr. Errington's position at Rome. He says he was spontaneously informed a few days ago by Mr. Errington that he should resume his Parliamentary attendance this week.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, that after the very elaborate but not very very explicit answer of the Prime Minister, the meaning of which the House however, would have no difficulty in divining, he begged to say that on the first available occasion, either on going into Committee of Supply or in Committee of Supply, he would call attention to the very unsatisfactory relations that the Foreign Office kept up with the Vatican, and move that the interference of the Government of this country in the selection of Bishops of the Catholic Church was inconvenient and injudicious.

MR. HEALY asked whether, when Mr. Errington resumed his seat in the House, it would be possible, as he was

now the recognized Agent of the Government at the Papal Court, for Members of the House to address to him Questions with regard to his official doings in Rome?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not said a single word which would lead to or justify the statement that Mr. Errington is the accredited Agent of this country in Rome.

MR. HEALY said, that, in order to test the matter, he would place on the Paper a Question addressed to Mr. Errington as the accredited Agent of Her Majesty at the Roman Court.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN — THE PENJDEH INCIDENT.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very desirous to answer a Question put to me some days ago with respect to which I asked for time to refer, and which has not been revived or put on the Paper. It referred to a matter of some importance. The hon. Member who put the Question assumed that the Viceroy of India had described the proceedings near Penjdeh in terms different from those used by us in this House. We described it as an apparent act of unprovoked aggression, and the hon. Gentleman assumed that Lord Dufferin had undertaken to decide the fact. I have now before me a report—which I presume is accurate, as it is given in inverted commas in *The Times of India*—of the speech made by the Viceroy at the Lahore Railway Station in reference to the Penjdeh incident, and in reply to an address from the Lahore Municipality. The Viceroy is reported to have said—

"Coming as I do from an important interview with a neighbouring and friendly Ruler whose frontiers have been assailed by what seems to have been a most unprovoked attack."

Lord Dufferin, therefore, adopts substantially the same form of speech as was adopted by us in this House.

CENTRAL ASIA — RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN — THE ARRANGEMENT OF APRIL 27.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that to give the Prime Minister an opportunity of making an explanation in view of the coming debate, he would ask him whether on March 16 he described the "sacred covenant with Russia" as follows:—

"The word 'agreement' is a little fallacious; arrangement we might call it, perhaps. and one which will only last so long as there is occasion for it;"

and whether on April 27 he described the same agreement as—

"A binding covenant, a very solemn covenant, one of the most sacred covenants ever made between two nations;"

and whether, in view of the debate that night, he would inform Parliament what communications with Russia in the interval had led him to form so different an estimate?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no intention of making any statement of the kind suggested by the hon. Member.

EGYPT — THE SOUDAN.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I said on Thursday last that I would endeavour to-day to make a statement to the House, such as has been on several occasions asked for, with regard to the decisions which have been arrived at by Her Majesty's Government, and the orders which have been given to our officers in the Soudan, in consequence of statements recently made in this House. I will endeavour to do so as shortly as I can. I need scarcely say, Sir, before any decision was arrived at by Her Majesty's Government, or before any announcement was made to the House, confidential communications passed between us and Lord Wolseley as to the possibility in any circumstances, having regard to the safety of our troops, of withdrawing the Nile Force, or any portion of that Force, from the positions which they at present occupy. We satisfied ourselves before any statement was made to the House that such an operation would be possible with due consideration for the health and safety of our troops. On April 20, the day previous to the announcement made in the House, the substance of that announcement was communicated to Lord Wolseley, with instructions that he should prepare at once to act in conformity with that announcement. The House will recollect the nature of the statement made by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, and it is unnecessary on this occasion for me to

repeat it. I may, however, say what, in our opinion, the instructions then given involved. They did not, in my opinion, at that time involve the absolute abandonment of the intention to advance on Khartoum. What they did involve was a cessation of active preparations for such an advance, the cessation of offensive operations upon any considerable scale, and the adoption of measures which would enable us, on as short notice as possible, to concentrate the troops now in the Soudan for service in any part of the world where they might be required. Since that time a good deal of communication has taken place between the Government and Lord Wolseley. Several courses appeared to be open to us, which I will shortly state. The troops might either remain in their present positions, which extend from Merawi, the most advanced position up the Nile, including Korti and other places, whose names I need not mention, to Dongola, where the head-quarters of the Army are now established. This disposition of the troops would also have required the maintenance of a considerable number of posts between Assouan and Dongola for keeping up communication and supplying the troops. There are at present along that line, extending from Merawi to Dongola, about 9,000 British troops, and the result of our communications is that, if we decided to continue the occupation of those positions, the number of troops could not be materially reduced. Another alternative would have been to withdraw the troops from the most advanced positions up the Nile and to concentrate them at other positions, such as Dongola and places below Dongola, there to wait for the course of events in the Soudan, and in Asia and Europe. The third alternative was to revert to the line of Wady Halfa or Assouan as the actual frontier of Egypt, and to withdraw the troops as soon as possible from the positions which they now occupy, holding those positions which I have named as the most advanced permanent positions for the defence of Egypt. The last is the course which the Government has in substance decided to adopt. I say in substance, because there are at present reasons, both of a military and political character, which, while it would be possible, make it undesirable that such a course should be very rapidly adopted. At the present time the River Nile is at its very lowest, and there are a considerable number of stores which have been accumulated at the various positions now occupied by our troops which ought to be removed; and arrangements will also have to be made for bringing down the Native officials and troops, and possibly a certain number of Natives who might not wish to remain after the positions have been evacuated. There are strong objections of a military and sanitary character against any attempt at concentration at Dongola and Abu Fatmeh, or other similar positions. The troops are now, in the position which they now occupy, for the most part under some temporary protection or cover, such as huts, and I am happy to take this opportunity of stating that although the heat is very great, and the inconvenience and even suffering which in some cases they have to undergo are very considerable, yet neither the official nor the private reports which I have received tend to show that the condition of the troops is nearly so bad, or their sufferings so great, as might be inferred from some of the statements which have appeared in the newspapers. But what I have to point out is that in the stations which they now occupy some accommodation, perhaps not of the very best description, but some shelter from the heat, has been provided; and any temporary concentration, such as has been suggested, at Dongola or other places, would involve the encampment of a considerable part of the Force, there being no means of providing shelter at these places, and it is considered that the health of the troops would materially suffer. It is, therefore, considered best for the troops that they should remain where they are at present until the river rises, which it will begin to do at the end of this month, and then withdraw from their most advanced positions, with their stores and with such Natives as it may be necessary to bring away. They will be withdrawn first from the most advanced positions, with their stores, straight down the Nile by successive detachments. That decision, I need hardly say, involves the practical abandonment of any intention to advance on Khartoum; but by the process which I am describing a considerable time will elapse before the

troops can be withdrawn from such positions as Dongola and the stations which are lower down the Nile than Dongola. In the meantime, Sir Evelyn Baring has been instructed to consult the Egyptian Government as to the possibility or the desirability of establishing any administration at Dongola, or in the Province of Dongola, or a portion of that Province, and whether any assistance can be given to the establishment of such administration. He has also been instructed to consult the Egyptian Government as to whether it would be desirable to endeavour to complete the whole or any portion of the prolongation of the Nile Railway, which has been commenced, and whether it may be possible to find any means by which that railway may be completed and worked, as has often been suggested, as a commercial undertaking. Lord Wolseley has given it as his opinion that if Her Majesty's Government decide that Assouan is to be practically the frontier of Upper Egypt which is to be defended, it will be necessary to maintain there for some considerable time a strong brigade of all arms, with small bodies of troops holding Wady Halfa and Korosko as outposts. He also attaches considerable importance to the sending out of some armed boats, which have been prepared in view of an Expedition up the Nile, so that the river above and below the Second Cataract should be patrolled by some of these boats. That is, briefly, the decision which has been arrived at as regards the Force now upon the Nile. As to Suakin, I am afraid I am at present unable to give the House positive and definite information. Lord Wolseley has only been there a little more than a week. Of course, it is possible to communicate with him only by means of the telegraph. Much communication of that character has taken place between us, but there has scarcely yet been sufficient time for an exhaustive exchange of views between him and Her Majesty's Government. I may say that a long and important telegram from him has been received only this morning. As to the position at Suakin I can, however, say this much. General Graham's Forces were sent to Suakin to co-operate with Lord Wolseley in an advance upon Khartoum, and the railway to Berber was undertaken as a military work in support of that operation, and, indeed, at the time it was considered a necessary part of it. With the relinquishment of the intention to advance upon Khartoum neither of these objects will be prosecuted. There is, however, no intention of evacuating Suakin until an arrangement can be made for holding it by some other civilized Power. [*A laugh.*] I do not know whether the hon. Member wishes us to hold it permanently. At present Suakin cannot be held without fighting. The position of Osman Digna is not, and has not been for a long time past, that of a Chief fighting for his independence of or against aggression upon his own country. He has for many months past been besieging Suakin. He has openly announced his intention of driving the garrison of Suakin, whether Egyptians or English, into the sea. So long, therefore, as we continue to hold Suakin, the questions of the Forces by which it is to be held and of the positions in the neighbourhood which are to be held are rather military than political questions. It is a military rather than a political question whether the posts already occupied by our troops should be retained or whether there are other positions in the neighbourhood which it is desirable to occupy for the protection of Suakin and to prevent its being besieged in the manner it has been during the last few months. On this subject, therefore, we require some further experience, and, at all events, we require a further expression of the views of the General on the spot than we have yet been able to receive. Such further operations, however, as may be taking place, or as may be hereafter undertaken, will be undertaken with no other view than the defence and protection of Suakin itself. There remains, then, the question of the railway. Under the decision I have announced the railway is not required, and there is no intention of pushing it on as a military work. But a very large expenditure has been already incurred. A very general opinion among many of the best authorities on the Soudan Question is that, both as a civilizing influence and as a means of checking the Slave Trade, and further for the defence of Egypt itself, the construction of a line of railway would be a substantial benefit to the country. We have, therefore, been unwilling to abandon the hope that this railway, which has been com-

menced as a military work, may ultimately be prosecuted as a pacific and civilizing work. We are unable to say at present whether it will or will not be possible that this hope may be realized. Although the railway has been attacked by certain portions of the tribes inhabiting that part of the country, there are others which have shown more confidence in what we are doing, and, in fact, they have shown perfect readiness to work upon the railway and to assist in its protection. We do not think that it is possible or that it is desirable to come to a hasty decision upon this subject, but it is probable that within a short time we shall be able to state more definitely to the House what our intentions with regard to this railway are. I am bound, however, to say that Lord Wolseley's opinion, so far as we have yet received it, does not give at all a hopeful prospect of a possibility of either holding the portion of the railway which has been already constructed, or of completing it without the retention of a very considerable portion of the Force which is now there under his command. He also states that he anticipates that if that Force is retained there for a considerable time during the hot weather it may materially suffer in health. In these circumstances, we still desire to take some short time to consider what shall be done as to the railway which has been partly constructed and the materials that have been sent there. We do not pledge ourselves to the opinion that there are at present any means by which the railway can be prosecuted except as a military work, which it is not our intention to do. It is not our desire or intention to continue a railway which can only be continued at the cost of severe fighting, and which we could defend only by a large Military Force. We, however, desire to suspend our judgment whether the expenditure which has already been incurred upon it is to be entirely abandoned, or whether some other course is to be taken with the material which has been accumulated, and which there is some reason to hope may ultimately, if not immediately, be made use of in the continuance of a work which has been long contemplated, and which, in the opinion of many authorities, will still be of great value to the country. I do not think there is anything I need add to the statement I have made. I have endeavoured to confine myself to a bare statement of fact, and I have not attempted to enter into a defence of the course taken by Her Majesty's Government. I do not consider this to be the proper time for such a defence; but, having on several occasions been asked what were the instructions that have been issued to our officers, we have taken the earliest opportunity in our power to give a bare recital of them and to place the House as fully as possible in possession of the views of the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: There is one question which will occur to every Member of the House, although I am not quite sure that I am in Order in putting it to the noble Marquess—it might, perhaps, arise more appropriately in debate—and that is, why in the world they have incurred all this vast expenditure in the Soudan?

MR. SPEAKER: It is my duty to remind the House that there is no Question before it, and that any argument or debate should be deferred until we have reached the Orders of the Day.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Then I will merely ask the noble Marquess a question on the statement he has made. It is, whether he is able to give the House any information as to the views which may have been expressed by Lord Wolseley on the policy Her Majesty's Government have adopted with respect to the Nile Valley, and whether the Egyptian Government have been informed that in the event of their recommending the continuation of the railway in the Nile Valley south of Wady Halfa Her Majesty's Government intend still to recommend that the taxpayers of this country shall pay for the material of that railway, which is, I understand, to be abandoned to those who may live in the country after we have withdrawn from it?

MR. O'KELLY inquired at what period of the year the Nile would commence to rise so as to enable the troops to withdraw, and whether the suffering of the troops would not be greater if they remained until the Nile rose than if they came away now?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I believe the period at which the Nile rises varies, but it is expected it will begin to rise at Merawi and Khorti,

where are the advanced positions of the troops, about the end of this month. The military opinion distinctly is that for the health of the troops it is best that they should remain in their present position until the river begins to rise. They are not suffering materially in their present position, and to withdraw them now, in the present low state of the Nile, would entail a great amount of hard work and probable suffering among the troops. The withdrawal of the troops from these positions will be conducted slowly, and will be regulated solely with reference to the considerations to which I have referred. The right hon. Gentleman asks me whether there is any information to give as to Lord Wolseley's opinion on the political effects of the withdrawal from Dongola. I think it is possible that very shortly I will be able to lay Papers on the Table, and amongst them will be found some despatches from Lord Wolseley bearing on the question. However, I need hardly remind the right hon. Gentleman that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to make themselves responsible for political considerations, and that whilst Lord Wolseley's opinion naturally carries weight on all questions of military consideration, it is not supposed to dictate the political decisions of the Government. With reference to the Nile Railway, we do not yet know what is the result of the negotiations which have passed between Sir Evelyn Baring and the Egyptian Government on the subject of that railway. Until we hear what, or any, proposals may be made, I do not know that I can give any further information.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Will the noble Marquess be able to lay before the House the evidence upon which the Government have come to the conclusion that there is no more danger to be apprehended from the progress of the Mahdi's Army?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: As I have said, if the House desires it, the Papers can very speedily be laid on the Table, and those Papers may, to a certain extent, touch on the question raised by the hon. Member; but the point as to the conclusion we have arrived at will, I submit, be best discussed in the debate.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I beg to ask the noble Marquess whether the Government have decided to maintain at Assouan or Wady Halfa the whole Force at present about Dongola, or whether they consider themselves free to withdraw any of the soldiers altogether from that part of the Nile for service elsewhere, and, if so, which?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The strength of the Force which is required at Suakin and the frontier posts will be a strong brigade—probably about 2,500 men. It may be necessary or desirable to retain, for a time at all events, a larger portion of the Force on the Nile or in Egypt itself, in case of any excitement or disturbance occurring there; but no doubt a very considerable portion of the Force now on the Nile will be available for service elsewhere.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Will the noble Marquess at least remove the corps from Korti, which is the most unhealthy station upon the Nile?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think I stated the other day all the information we have received from the Nile, and I do not know that Korti is more unhealthy than other places. There is no intention of making a concentration at Korti or any other point. When we consider the time has arrived when they may be removed, they will be withdrawn down the Nile in detachments; but there is no intention to concentrate the troops at any given point.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the noble Marquess a question of some importance. The noble Marquess on a previous occasion described the policy which he has just explained to the House as a new departure, a new step of the most momentous and most disgraceful character. I wish to ask the noble Marquess whether he now wishes to withdraw that statement? ["Oh, oh!" *and cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that the question he has put is rather in the nature of argument, and may be used in debate.

MR. RITCHIE: I should like to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether the Government are in negotiation with any Foreign Power for the purpose of taking over Suakin; and, if so, what Foreign Power?

MR. FINCH-HATTON: May I ask the noble Marquess whether it would not be possible, instead of waiting for high

Nile, to remove a portion of the troops by land?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have not stated that the troops will remain where they are till high Nile. What I did say was that the withdrawal will be very much facilitated when the Nile begins to rise, which is in about three weeks time. The removal of the most advanced stations will then commence. Questions about negotiations hardly come within the sphere of my Department to answer; these should be addressed to my right hon. Friend, or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

MR. CHAPLIN: As both the Nile Expeditions are to be practically abandoned, I wish to ask whether it is the intention of the Government still to propose the Vote of £4,500,000 which only a fortnight ago the right hon. Gentleman asked for, on the ground that it would be necessary to be spent on the Nile?

MR. RITCHIE: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman, when he rises, will be good enough to answer the Question I put to the Secretary of State for War a few minutes ago.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not able to state more than this—that the question of the ultimate disposition of Suakin and all the proceedings there is under careful consideration; but there are no negotiations as to which I can at the present moment give any account. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), the Bill relating to the Vote of £4,500,000 for the proceedings in the Soudan stands for second reading to-night, and the hon. Member will hardly ask me at this stage whether it is the intention to abandon that Bill. The best reply which I can give to his Question is to say that a very considerable charge has been incurred, and will have to be met in the Soudan; and, consequently, I am not able to assure the House that there can be any relief from that charge. The question whether there can be any relief from that charge can only be decided when we approach the stage of Committee on the Bill. It is highly probable that there will be no necessity for pressing forward the stages of that Bill at the present moment; but when we come to Committee on the Bill we may be in a position to give further information bearing on the question which may assist the House in discussing the matter.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the House any idea as to how much of that money has been spent?

MR. GLADSTONE: I hope we may be able to have an Estimate prepared before we go into Committee.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Will the safety of the troops of the Mudir of Dongola, which have been of such loyal assistance to us, be assured before the evacuation of the country by the British troops takes place?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Arrangements will be made simultaneously with, or previous to, the withdrawal of our own troops for the withdrawal at the same time of any troops who may think they would be in any danger from our evacuation.

MR. PULESTON: I think it was understood that a statement about Russia would be included in the statement of the noble Lord.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There was no understanding whatever of that kind.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: From expressions used by the Prime Minister, and from what we hear has happened in "another place," I would venture to ask whether it would be convenient, or whether he intended, to make any statement to the House with regard to the Afghan Frontier question before we proceed to the Orders of the Day?

MR. GLADSTONE: What I had to say was not of such importance as to lead me to have asked the House to allow me to make a separate statement; but I will say what I intended to say, as it may be for the convenience of the House, and I assume that I am allowed by their indulgence to proceed. My noble Friend has already told the House the exact condition of affairs as regards the troops in the Soudan and the instructions sent to them, and the intentions of the Government as far as these have been formed. He has told the House what has been decided and what has been reserved. With regard to the important question of the frontier of

Afghanistan and the negotiations with Russia, the case stands in a somewhat different position as regards military matters, because there are no military operations in progress. Happily, matters have not reached that stage, and all that is going on, and has been going on, is in the nature of preparations. The House will not expect me to enter into detail at this time on the subject of those preparations; if it did I should have to refer to the Representatives of the Army and Navy Departments. But what I understand the Question of the right hon. Gentleman to refer to is this—what can be said with regard to the political position as respects the Afghan Frontier and the progress of the negotiations with Russia. The main thing that I have to say, I am afraid, must still be to point to the Papers which are coming, and give the House reasons to believe that by the end of this week the Papers will be in their hands. When the Papers are in their hands my expectation and opinion are, although I cannot yet speak absolutely with regard to every point, that the House will find itself in a condition fully to pass a judgment on the proceedings of Her Majesty's Government. I need not, however, confine myself absolutely to the reference to these Papers. I am able, with Lord Granville's authority, to say as much as this—the reference to the judgment of the Sovereign of a friendly State having been agreed to, as already stated in the House, and no apprehension being felt as to the settlement of the details of this point, several meetings have been held on the subject of fixing the principal points of the frontier. These meetings have been attended by Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley on the part of the British Government, and by M. de Staal and M. Lessar on the part of the Russian Government. The effect of these proceedings has been that they have arrived substantially at an agreement which is satisfactory to Her Majesty's British Government, and, let me add, which is satisfactory also to Lord Dufferin and the Council of India. There has been no time to receive the final ratification of these proceedings on the part of the Russian Government; but that is expected certainly from day to day. The time, the House will observe, has not been very long since the communications were commenced, and I may add with regard to the forms of proceeding that there is no difficulty. We anticipate the formation of a Convention with Russia at the close of the proceedings; but it may be an open question whether a convenient time for forming that Convention will not be when we have concluded, not only the main proceedings between the two Governments, but likewise the proceedings in detail for the delimitation of the frontier. I am not in a position to state at the present moment that the name of the arbitrator has been fixed. I do not speak of that as intending to convey that it is a subject of controversy, but simply because it comes in order after the proceedings with regard to the frontier, and with reference to the proceedings of the arbitration itself. We have not yet reached the point, but we have no reason to believe that there will be any long delay. I am not sure that there is anything else that it might be in the disposition of hon. Gentlemen opposite to ask, or that it may be in my power to reply to. What I have said, I believe, touches the main and essential points of the question. I will not go further—it would be abusing the Forms of the House were I to do so—and make any observations as to the Order of the Day and the intended Motion of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) founded upon it. So far as I am aware, there is really no matter whatever in contest between ourselves and any other portion of the House at the present moment. Of course, I speak now of the production of information, and I do not speak of any question connected with the merits of the proceedings of Her Majesty's Government.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in any form, directly or indirectly, the Ameer has been, is being, or will be consulted with regard to these negotiations?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think I gave a sufficient answer to this Question a few days ago. I have considered carefully the terms of that answer, and I think it gave satisfaction to the House. I do not like to recite them, and I do not wish to vary from them; but, undoubtedly, I think I may say in general terms now that the Ameer has been sufficiently consulted to give us full

assurance that we are acting in harmony with him and for his interest.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SUAKIN.

MR. PERCY WYNDHAM: I should like to ask the Prime Minister, Whether Suakin does not constitute a portion of the Dominions of the Sultan of Turkey; and, if that is so, whether it would not, in his opinion, be a gross breach of public law to invite any other Foreign Power?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is clearly entering upon matter of debate.

MR. GLADSTONE: The external lines of the Egyptian Dominions are not always very nicely formed; but I think there is no doubt that Suakin is conceived to be within the Dominions of the Sultan.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With reference to the answer given by the Prime Minister just now, might I ask him whether any single one of those causes of anxiety which existed at the time when he asked the House to vote £11,000,000 of money is still in existence?

MR. GLADSTONE: It appears to me that that is also a question for debate. Suppose I were able to answer my hon. Friend that none of these causes were in existence—suppose, for argument's sake, I was able to make that answer, and certainly I think it would be highly imprudent for me to go so far—he would still have to face the question that a considerable part of the charge has been spent.

MR. LEWIS: Would the right hon. Gentleman pardon me for asking whether the Papers would contain the exact terms of the reference?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not doubt at all that they will contain the exact terms of the reference.

MR. GREGORY: I beg to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, whether the retention of Suakin and district involves the protection of the friendly Natives?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Of course, the same instructions as I referred to with regard to the friendly Natives on the Nile will hold with regard to those at Suakin.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked as to where the friendly Natives would be brought to?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am afraid I am not in a position yet to say.

MR. ONSLOW: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether Russia has given to Her Majesty's Government any guarantee that when the boundary is once fixed, she will not overstep that boundary? [*Cries of* "No, no!"]

[No reply.]

MR. HENEAGE wished to know whether the noble Lord could give any information as to the disposition of the troops under General Graham; and whether the whole or part would be withdrawn, and when?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I thought I said that I was not able at present to state exactly what would be done at Suakin, what positions would have to be occupied, and whether any position outside Suakin would have to be occupied. I am unable to say how far it will be possible.

MR. O'KELLY: Can the noble Lord undertake to issue instructions to General Graham not to make any more raids in defence of this railway which is now to be abandoned until such times as the Government shall come to a final decision?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I stated the other day the view which I took of the operations of General Graham. I have nothing further to say as to what operations may be considered necessary for the purpose of adequately defending Suakin.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

CONSOLIDATED FUND (No. 3) BILL.

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish to say a few words in moving the second reading of this Bill. This is a Bill to give effect to the decision of the House to vote a sum of money amounting to £11,000,000 on the request of the Government. The decision which the House came to became complete for all practical purposes when that sum had been voted in Committee and had been reported to the House. The question of the time for proceeding with the several stages of

the Bill then became a question of secondary importance; because it was within the power of the Government, with perfect regularity and conformity to practice, to do whatever under their responsibility might seem to them to be necessary in the way of military preparations or of meeting charges which had been already incurred. But I wish to observe to-night that the position of affairs has been changed, and has been changed in a manner which I do not altogether understand. We unfortunately had several divisions in the House in the beginning of last week on the subject of proceeding with the Report of the Vote of Credit on a particular evening. I felt at that time that the effect of those divisions could not but be mischievous abroad. I stated that feeling, and I do not now mean to beg the question in any way as to who was responsible for these consequences. But in order that they might not be enlarged, we suggested a mode of proceeding which was generally acceptable to the House. That mode was that we should postpone the stage of the second reading of the Bill in order to give an opportunity to those Gentlemen who desired to express their views to enter on an expression of them with greater facility and convenience than they could by prolonging the debate that evening. The only point in this matter that I now feel anxious about is that our proceedings should be so regulated that they should not be misunderstood. It will be generally felt that it is more or less to be regretted that we should have had occasion to divide several times upon the Report of the Resolution to the House. It will further be regretted, I think, if we are to have differences of opinion, debate, and division to-night upon another matter that is not a matter of reality and substance. Now, I am entirely at a loss to know what point there is at issue at the present moment between the Government and the Opposition. When the arrangement was made last week for the purpose of postponing the Bill to a convenient opportunity, I stated that I understood that you did not oppose the proposal to vote the money. Nothing could be more distinct than the indications of assent that were given me from the opposite Bench. I admit that a voice from below the Gangway cried "No," and indicated contradiction; but as regards the indications given by Gentlemen opposite they were as clear as possible, and we were under the impression that the proceedings were governed by Gentlemen on the opposite Bench, and not by a voice below the Gangway. We, I think, on Monday last virtually, and on Thursday last finally, appointed this day for proceeding with the second reading of this Bill, and we did so in the full belief that while Gentlemen were to raise any question with regard to further information, or, if they thought fit, with reference to the conduct of the Government upon the Bill, yet that the Bill was not to be contested. [Mr. CHAPLIN: No.] Again, a voice from below the Gangway says "No." [Mr. CHAPLIN: I do not sit below the Gangway.] Now, Sir, in dealing with this question I have contended that the usual practice of the House of Commons, except when a distinct issue of policy was raised, is to pass Votes of Credit demanded under military necessity, and to take other opportunities for questioning the proceedings of the Government with regard to those Votes. I still wish to raise my voice in behalf of that old Parliamentary practice. If at this moment there is a disposition to make a Motion to the effect that this country ought to conquer and occupy the Soudan, or that an expedition to Khartoum ought to go forward, provided that the military necessities of the Empire elsewhere will permit it, I perfectly admit it is within the competence of Gentlemen opposite to make such a Motion. But we have no Motion of policy raised. We have a Motion of opposition raised to the progress of the Bill, in the form of the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex. But what is that Motion? It is to the effect that this House, while perfectly willing to grant such Supplies as may be required for the defence of the Empire, is of opinion that, before proceeding with this Bill, it is entitled to receive adequate information as to the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the purposes to which the money granted by the recent Vote of Credit is to be applied. There is nothing that we contest in that. We have never said that it was essential to our views to proceed with this Bill to-night. The Bill was fixed for to-night, in order to meet the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and to give

them an opportunity of delivering their sentiments upon it as far as they thought fit. It was never fixed by us; as we said upon the Report, we are determined to join issue with you; and, whether you wish it or not, we have determined to challenge the judgment of the House in immediately pressing this Bill. We say that it is most inexpedient and injurious to the public interest to mix up the two questions—one of them the goodness or badness of the proceedings of Her Majesty's Government, the other the willingness of the House of Commons to vote Supply. It is inexpedient to mix up these two questions; but I have this feeling also. Hon. Gentlemen have demanded information. I contend that the House of Commons was proceeding liberally in passing the Vote of Credit without demanding information; but, at the same time, while I think that to be a wise and salutary practice on the part of Parliament, I must say that it is a question upon which I am very loth to join issue with hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is our duty as a Government to avoid any issues except the real issues, and I am aware of no real issue which is before us at this time. As to information, the Papers with respect to Russia and the Afghan Frontier will raise matters of the utmost importance and delicacy, and it will be the duty of the House to exercise a free and unbiassed judgment upon the conduct of the Government. The same thing is to be said with regard to the Soudan; and why in the world are we to have this Bill put into conflict with an Amendment which has, in the first place, an appearance of indicating opposition on the part of a portion of the House of Commons to Supplies demanded by the Government for military necessities, and which, in the second place, does not raise any proposition which we are in the slightest degree obliged to contest? I move the second reading of this Bill in fulfilment of the pledge I gave last week to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and not because I have the slightest disposition to force upon them the progress of the Committee stage, or even the progress of the present stage of the Bill. If they desire that it should be postponed until the Afghan and Russian Papers are in their hands, let that be perfectly understood, because upon it appears to me depend the question whether the House of Commons is, during the course of this evening, to exhibit itself in a reasonable or an unreasonable attitude. I hope I have spoken with perfect clearness. If not, I beg that Gentlemen will signify any feeling they may still have as to a lack of clearness on my part. My object is that we should not raise any false or unreal issue. We cannot tell you what we do not know ourselves; but what we do know in respect of the policy in the Soudan and the measures to be taken as to the Soudan has been told you by my noble Friend. What we have to say with respect to Russia I have given very inadequately, I quite admit, in the few words I have said to-night. But we are placing the information as rapidly as we can in your hands for your consideration. It is part of the same group of considerations which have led us to postpone the Budget. The Budget contains important financial proposals; but what we feel is, that it is hardly fair to ask the House to commit itself upon those proposals until we are further advanced in the knowledge of affairs now rapidly progressing, which will enable the House to form a far better judgment than at present. We shall, as rapidly as we can, clear the situation, and bring matters before you in a state in which, without being embarrassed as to the method in which the Vote of Credit has been drawn, or in any other way, you may raise any question you like of policy or of censure, each of which undoubtedly affords to the House of Commons ample cause for the exercise of its high Constitutional jurisdiction. That being so, I shall move the second reading of the Bill without troubling the House further, except with one word as to what was mentioned in regard to the amount for which we asked. In our opinion, on the one hand, the Forms of the House will not permit any question of that kind to be raised with perfect advantage on the present stage of the Bill; but, on the other hand, before we go to the Committee stage, and with regard to the time of taking that stage, we are disposed to enter into a friendly consideration with various portions of the House. Before the time of taking the Committee we will endeavour to give the best view we can of the degree and extent to which the credit of the Government and the country are already committed under the Vote of Credit. I now

move the second reading of the Bill, and if matters of contest should arise, of course we shall be permitted to have the opportunity of saying something upon the Amendment; but I have endeavoured to keep clear of polemical matters, because I wish that our proceedings should be conducted with reference to sound general rules.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

"That this House, having shown its readiness to grant such supplies as may be required for the defence of the Empire, is of opinion that, before proceeding with this Bill, it is entitled to receive adequate information as to the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the purposes to which the money granted by the recent Vote of Credit is to be applied,"

said: Of course, in any question of procedure in this House the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is a very great authority; but if the House will consider for a moment the alternative course which the right hon. Gentleman proposes, they will at once perceive that it will in no sense whatever meet the objections which the Prime Minister himself states. He says that it is an inconvenient practice to mix up a question of public policy with the discussion of a mere Money Bill; and he proposes, in order to get over that difficulty, that this discussion should practically be postponed for a week, to a subsequent stage of this Bill, in which case exactly the same difficulty will arise with which we are now confronted. If it is unwise to raise a question of policy on the second reading of the Bill, it would be equally unwise to do so on the Committee stage.

MR. GLADSTONE: That is not my proposal. My proposal is to leave Gentlemen opposite their liberty of choice, when they have all the facts before them, as to raising the question of the policy of the Government.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I quite admit that would be a convenient course if we were dealing with an ordinary Government. But the Prime Minister asks us to wait until we are in possession of all the facts. When will that be? We have had three distinct policies enunciated in this House on the last three successive Mondays. The Prime Minister made a bellicose speech a fortnight ago, and swallowed the whole of it on the next Monday. To-night the noble Marquess gets up and makes the most extraordinary statement which, I will undertake to say, ever fell from the mouth of any English Minister. I quite agree that it is inconvenient to raise this question of policy on a Money Bill; but we have no alternative. We do not wish to refuse any Supplies which may be necessary for the defence of the Empire. But we accompany that with the expression of our opinion that no Supplies which this House can vote will be sufficient for the defence of the Empire so long as the present Government have the handling of its affairs. The Prime Minister thinks the Resolution is not strong enough. I agree with him. I say that no Resolution is strong enough to censure the conduct of the Government during the last five months. ["Oh!"] Hon. Members who interrupt me may, perhaps, forget what occurred during the last three months. There was a Vote of Censure moved in this House some two months and a-half ago. In order to secure a victory, and to pander to the belligerent feeling of a certain section of the Liberal Party, the Prime Minister got up and announced the intention of the Government to take Khartoum and smash the Mahdi. You got a majority of 14; it has served its purpose; and to-night, because there was a Vote on the Paper which you might interpret, if you chose, as a Vote of Censure, you retract that policy, and announce the intention of withdrawing those troops and abandoning that enterprize. In the meantime, you have murdered some 6,000 or 10,000 men by the British soldiers under your orders. Now that sufficient people have been killed to give a little reality to the fancy policy you announce, you withdraw your troops, and expect us to acquiesce in silence. It is quite true that we are now in a great maze of difficulty and danger; but in our humble judgment the greatest danger to this country is the incompetence of the men who happen to be in Office. The Prime Minister says there is no point of controversy between us; but I think there is a strong point of controversy. Nobody could have anticipated the startling and

astonishing statement which the noble Marquess made. If we could have anticipated such a statement we should have put stronger language into the Resolution. But you know perfectly well the purpose for which it is moved. We want information from you because we cannot trust you. You have given us full but very unsatisfactory information with regard to the Soudan; you have given us the most inadequate information as regards the Central Asian question; and that being so, it seems to me we have no alternative but to proceed with the Motion that stands in my name, with a view, if possible, of pressing and extracting from the Government some further information with reference to the objects of the policy on behalf of which this money is wanted. Now, Sir, the expenditure which we are asked to sanction is the largest expenditure which has ever yet been asked by any Government from any House of Commons; it amounts to upwards of £101,000,000 sterling; it is an expenditure many millions in excess of that required in the worst days of the Crimean War, and it is an expenditure asked for at the commencement of a financial year. The expenditure at the close of a financial year is very usually much in excess of that estimated for at the commencement. For what purpose is this money now wanted? So far as we can understand, you are facilitating the transfer of territory, which our officers say belongs to our Afghan allies, to the Russian Government. So far as the Soudan is concerned, you admit yourselves that every single farthing you have spent there has been utterly wasted, and you have in addition sown there a crop of hatred to the English name, which for generations will bear evil fruit. As I said before, we have had a succession of policies from Her Majesty's Government. We had the great speech of a fortnight back from the Prime Minister, and since then we have had the statement of the Agreement which has been entered into between Russia and this country. We have since had the advantage of studying the opinion of the Press on the Agreement, and of studying the Agreement itself so far as we can get at it. The closer we study that Agreement the clearer it becomes that the Government have surrendered every single one of the questions that were in dispute between them and Russia, and that the Prime Minister has altogether abandoned the attitude by which alone this Vote of £11,000,000 was obtained. And not only have they abandoned all the questions at issue, but they have practically withdrawn from their protest against the so-called unprovoked aggression of which they believed the Russian Generals to have been guilty. I want the House to understand what will be the effect of that withdrawal. I will ask the House to consider what we believe must be the consequence of ignoring the infraction of the solemn covenant entered into between this country and Russia, in order that Her Majesty's Government may enter into a new and fresh arrangement with Russia, any infraction of which means war. Why, it means surrounding the new arrangement with conditions which are a positive encouragement to any adventurous Russian General hereafter to treat the arrangement about to be entered into as the previous solemn covenant has been treated. So far from the arrangement which the Government are making tending, in our opinion, in any way to produce a durable and peaceable settlement of this question, it militates very much against the chances of a peaceable solution hereafter being possible. When the Prime Minister made his great speech a fortnight back there were certain things which he brought out very clearly. He will, perhaps, allow me to say that of living Parliamentary speakers there is no man who has to a like extent the same power of speech. There is no man who can state facts so lucidly when he wishes to do so as the Prime Minister; there is no man who can clothe the course of action he proposes to take with an appearance of such moral motives; there is no man who can appeal with such a strident voice to the conscience of the world. In all these ways the Prime Minister excelled himself the other night. He made it as clear as daylight to the whole world that there was a covenant of the simplest and most unmistakable character entered into between England and Russia, and that there had been a gross infraction of that covenant; and he demanded in the name of the English nation reparation for the infraction of that covenant. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] If he did not demand repara-

tion there was no meaning in the greater part of his speech. It appears now that the Prime Minister has altogether abandoned that position, for that is the agreement when stripped of the pretentious verbiage in which it is wrapped up—it means a sham arbitration. Every Russian newspaper and the official record of the Russian Government give that account of the arbitration. What is the question to be referred to arbitration? Whether the agreement that was entered into between the English and the Russian Governments that the troops of both were not to advance means that the Russians were to advance. That is the question which the Prime Minister proposes to refer to the arbitration of a friendly Sovereign. The point subjected to arbitration is as clear as daylight, though the Government have deliberately wrapped up the reference in as ambiguous language as possible. The probable result will be that that reference will be the subject of numerous diplomatic notes and probably misapprehension, with the ultimate consequence that the decision will be given after so long a time that we shall be told it is no good taking any further notice of the matter. I ask the Prime Minister whether the course he proposes to take will not do what he said we could not do—close the book? If he says it does not, I shall be obliged if any Member of the Government will explain in what sense it does not. The Prime Minister has made a point of the fact that no officers on either side are to be placed on their trial. Let us consider what that means. There are two sets of officers in Central Asia. One set are alleged to have committed a violation of a solemn understanding, and the other set have reported the offence. The officers who committed the offence remain victorious and decorated, while the officers who reported the offence are recalled. The Prime Minister positively made a point of the fact that the Russian Government had not asked that Sir Peter Lumsden should be put on his trial for reporting the misconduct of the Russian General. What can be the effect of the recall of General Lumsden on the susceptible and quick-witted populations of Central Asia? All they know is that one officer has been recalled and the other promoted and decorated by his superiors. To-night the Prime Minister made one statement which is of some little importance. He stated that the Russian Ambassador and M. Lessar had met Lord Kimberley and Lord Granville, and they had arrived at a satisfactory conclusion. We should like to know whether the conclusion is in accordance with M. Lessar's suggestions, or with those of the officers of our Mission? M. Lessar is at present the only man in this country who possesses the necessary topographical knowledge of the country where the delimitation is to take place. Sir Peter Lumsden and his suite had information of the same character, yet the Prime Minister has agreed to settle this question before our officers who have the necessary local knowledge can come home, while the Russian Ambassador has with him the only man at present in this country who, so far as we know, has full knowledge of the country. There had been a long struggle between the English and Russian Governments as to where the delimitation was to take place, whether in London or on the spot. Now, the English Government have agreed that the delimitation should take place in London. In fact, every single point at issue between the Russian and the English Governments has been conceded by the English Government. No doubt it may be well for a strong nation sometimes to make concessions; but it is different when experience shows that you are now entering into a fresh Treaty or arrangement exactly on the same conditions as you entered into the Treaty with the Boers. There is an extraordinary analogy between the two. On both occasions the Government have made great military preparations, and on both occasions they stopped their military preparations, stating that they had gained all they wanted. The President of the Board of Trade and other Members of the Government maintained that the Convention made with the Boers secured for this country and for the Natives everything the Government wished to secure; but every single detail of that Convention has been broken. The Natives have been pillaged and maltreated; and when the attention of the British Government was called to the infraction of the Treaty, Lord Derby's reply was that the land of the people who were being despoiled was so poor that the fee simple of it would not pay the costs of

an expedition. You are now entering into negotiations under conditions which make it almost certain that the terms which will be the result of those negotiations will not be kept. My noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) the other night did great service by citing all the different occasions on which the Russian Government had given assurances. 'No firm reliance can be placed upon any engagement or promise made by the Russian Government. But has any assurance been given on the present occasion? The reason is pretty obvious. The Emperor of Russia, autocrat as he is, is entirely dependent on the goodwill of the Services. There is no real public opinion in Russia, and if it is a tradition of those Services that they were to advance, there is nothing to oppose to that tradition, except the personal will of the Sovereign, who, I believe, is not a very strong man. Russia cannot be stopped by natural boundaries, for she has surmounted them all She has passed the mountains of the Caucasus, she has traversed the Caspian, and she has passed over the deserts between the Caspian and Afghanistan. Lord Lawrence always held that the Russian advance could only be stopped by negotiations, or by war. I believe that a threat of war in the hands of a resolute man is the most effective means of maintaining peace with Russia; but the Prime Minister, by using a weapon which he does not understand, has blunted its edge for future use. Any Prime Minister, speaking in earnest, and saying "We shall go to war," will not for many years to come be believed in consequence of the events of the last fortnight. In dealing with the Russian Government, the one thing essential for an English Minister is to make people believe that he means what he says. But the present Prime Minister never means what he says, and he can always explain afterwards that he did not exactly intend what was the natural inference from his language. ["Hear!" *and murmurs on the Ministerial side.*] Can hon. Members opposite tell me of one single question of policy on which the Prime Minister's action has in any way been in accord with his election speeches? [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The Prime Minister cheers. The right hon. Gentleman has had so long an experience of swallowing his own words that he positively cheers me when I remind him of that fact. As long as he thus acts on questions affecting merely internal affairs he can, comparatively, do little harm; but when he appeals, in the name of the English people, to the civilized world, and makes use of language which leads everybody to think he meant war, and when, a week afterwards, he recants his views, he does irreparable harm to the national character for integrity of speech and the national honour. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] Honesty of speech may be a matter which has no fascination for the Home Secretary—[*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"]—but it is a natural heritage of his countrymen. Hitherto it has been supposed that, in dealing with foreign nations, although sometimes slow to act, we carried out our announced intentions. As I perceive that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade is going to answer me, I wish to ask him one or two questions. If our position is to be retrieved, and if we are to obtain a peaceable settlement, one thing is essential. We must have some guarantee from the Russian Government that they mean to respect the territory left to the Ameer. Can any Member of the Government say that Russia has given any indication whatever of her willingness so to bind herself? And not only will it be necessary to obtain such an announcement from Russia, but it will also be necessary to take other measures of precaution. What is going to be done with all this money? The Government have already made two railways in Africa, which they admit to be perfectly useless. They are to be worked as commercial enterprizes. All the inhabitants in the neighbourhood are to be driven away by our troops, and then some enterprizing speculator is to be found who will take these railways off the hands of Her Majesty's Government. There was one railway which the Government spent money to destroy—I mean the railway towards Quetta. Are the Government going to apply any money to the reconstruction of the railway to Quetta, or, if necessary, to Candahar? The Prime Minister says that this money is to be devoted to warlike preparations, and he is quite right; but he formerly insisted on the railway

being included in the Afghan War Charges.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not aware of it.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: When the right hon. Gentleman was Chancellor of the Exchequer he, in an interesting speech, included in the expenses of the Afghan War all the money which had been applied to the railways. What I want to know is, whether any portion of this money is to be applied to the more rapid extension of those railways? Perhaps it might be found necessary to go further, and to extend the railway to the fortifications of the Helmund. Unless we now back up our intentions by resolute action, war will ensue in a short time. I daresay I shall be told that in making observations such as these we show that we are in favour of war. ["Hear, hear!"] The Home Secretary says "Hear, hear!" but I do not know from what source the right hon. Gentleman derived his information. If any man supplied the right hon. Gentleman with that information, he supplied him with an unadulterated falsehood.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord has himself supplied the information.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The right hon. Gentleman used to write under the name of "Historicus;" and I shall be glad to know whether he can give us one single instance in the history of this country where a plain speech has produced war between England and Russia? Twice only in the last 30 years have the relations between the two countries been seriously strained—in 1854 and in 1878. In the latter year Lord Beaconsfield secured "peace with honour," and every single act of precaution by means of which he secured peace was opposed by the Peace Party in this House. In 1854 we drifted into war, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite was most responsible for that. Every pacific speech and Motion which landed us in war at that time was supported by the Peace Party in this House. I sympathize very much with the objects which the Peace Party have in view; but it seems that they do not quite understand the character of the nation with which we have to deal. There is a War Party in Russia and there is a Peace Party. The object of those persons in this country who desire to prevent war ought to be to strengthen the hands of the Peace Party in Russia. But the Radical Party here always use language and take action so as to render the Peace Party in Russia powerless for good and the Military Party omnipotent, by removing from the latter the only restraint upon them—namely, a fear of the consequences. I believe there is no political Party in the state which can suffer so much from war as the Conservative Party. The Radical is discontented with the existing state of things, while the Conservative is a man who is more or less contented with things as they are. The Conservative is never so strong as when the country is prosperous, while the Radical is never so weak as when the country is at rest. War must necessarily produce much depression of trade and much distress, which strikes at the very foundation of that prosperity which is the basis on which the Conservative Party rests. I must apologize for having used strong language towards the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary; but he will excuse my saying that it is a little annoying to be constantly interrupted when speaking, and that I think I have given the House good reason to show that I am not actuated by any factious motives, or by any desire to stop Supplies. On the contrary, I am ready to grant any Supplies that may be necessary for the purposes of the Empire; but I have no confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Government as to the manner in which they will be applied. Just let me say a word with regard to our action in the Soudan. Is there anyone in this House who is not ashamed of our policy in the Soudan? The Prime Minister is very fond of resorting to arbitration when he gets into difficulties with a strong Foreign Power; but I ask him whether he would like the question between the Soudanese and ourselves to be referred to arbitration? In such a case, what could the Soudanese not say for themselves? They could point out that the Prime Minister had deliberately allowed his Representative, General Gordon, to be besieged in Khartoum, and, in spite of the most earnest protests from all parts of the House, had delayed to send out an Expedition for his relief until it was too late. To allay the feeling of indignation produced by that line of conduct the Prime Minister came down to this House and made such a

speech as that which he made a fortnight ago, announcing his intention to take Khartoum and to demolish the prestige of the Mahdi; while only a few days before that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, speaking at Liverpool, said that having drawn the sword we could not put up with failure. What I protest against is the new principle which the Prime Minister has introduced into the English Constitution for the regulation of our wars. Wars are not now regulated by the national exigencies, but simply by the vagaries of cliques of hon. Members in this House. If it is necessary to purchase the Whig vote, then a forward policy is announced; while if it is necessary to purchase the Radical vote the orders are countermanded and the troops are withdrawn. And what is the result? The result is that all confidence in our policy has gone, because these wretched Natives find that the only result of being friendly to the English Government and of assisting us is that their homes are burnt and that their children and wives are massacred. War is a brutal pastime. One of the greatest of our English Kings, on being reproached with the brutality with which he made war, said that war had three handmaids ever waiting upon her—fire, famine, and the sword, but that he only used the least terrible of those three. I charge the Prime Minister, however, with having let loose all three of these calamities. Well, we are now going to retire from the Soudan, and what is to happen to our friendlies? They, in their turn, will be subjected to fire, famine, and the sword. The fact is that this wretched, impotent Egyptian Government in its very worst days could do what we cannot do—namely, march any number of men they chose from Suakin to Berber, because the people knew that if they helped them the Egyptian Government would stand by them, while they know that the English Government will not. Another great objection which I feel to the policy of the Prime Minister is that from the day he assumed Office until now he has shown a disposition to sacrifice everybody and everything to save himself. I say that such a policy to us, who have a great Colonial and Indian Empire, means ruin. It does not matter whether it is a Colleague that is to be thrown over, like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), or a great soldier to be betrayed, like General Gordon, or a Commissioner to be recalled, like Sir Peter Lumsden, or a distinguished General, like General Wolseley, who is to swallow the promises that he has been induced to make, and on the faith of which we secured the co-operation of the friendly Natives in the Soudan. Each and all have been thrown over by the Prime Minister. This action of the Government has been followed, not only with regard to individuals, but also with regard to communities. The Native tribes of Bechuanaland, those poor friendlies in the Soudan, and the unfortunate Egyptian garrisons have been mercilessly left to be massacred, and the Afghans—each and all in their turn have been thrown over by the Prime Minister. The Liberal Party are quite as responsible as the Prime Minister for this general abandonment of Allies. Speaking at Manchester in August, 1879, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War then the Leader of the Opposition, said that the Liberal Party of the present time had much to gain and nothing to lose; and he pointed out the great differences of opinion which existed in the Party, but said that any hon. Member would show a want of patriotism if he shut his eyes to the serious and injurious consequences to the country which must result from him allowing his personal opinion to prevail over his Party allegiance. It is a matter of notoriety that in the past Liberals have acted upon that principle, and have time after time voted contrary to their consciences, and that they have suppressed speeches which they would have made for fear of giving offence to the Prime Minister. ["Hear, hear!" *and cries of* "Oh!"] Can hon. Members opposite deny the truth of that statement? Why, one of the most capable Members of the Government, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), after resigning Office, described the Liberal Party as sitting like dumb dogs, and doing nothing but respond to the whip that was applied to them. Now, does anybody suppose that if the different sections of the Liberal Party had freely expressed their opinion, not only in reference to the Soudan, but other questions, there would have been this enormous amount of expenditure and bloodshed—that so many

thousands of these Natives would have been massacred in the Soudan—that thousands of English soldiers would have died or returned home wounded or sick—that £10,000,000 would have been swallowed up—or that the honour of England might not have been saved? All this might have been stopped if the Liberal Party had had the courage of their opinions, and not allowed themselves to be overruled by the Prime Minister. This is a policy the strain of which the resources of the country cannot possibly stand. The result of the Government policy is that in every trumpery frontier war English soldiers have to do the whole of the work themselves; and they find that the Natives, who would otherwise have been disposed to assist them, are opposed to them. In Egypt the population is the most easily governed people on the face of the earth; but you have not a single friend in the country, and you know that if you withdraw the 30,000 English troops any Government you may set up would tumble to pieces in a moment. And in India, if you adopted the Prime Minister's policy, how many hundred thousands of soldiers would be necessary? My noble Friend, I think, has done great service in calling attention to the nature of our tenure of India, and showing how frail it is on the one hand and how strong it is on the other. I believe that the interior difficulties of India have been increased by the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I believe that no internal policy, however sound, can retain for us India, unless it is accompanied by an external policy which conveys to the Natives that we are capable of protecting them against Russian aggression. A great change is now about to take place between the relations of this House and the Government of India. The Government of India is probably the most complicated piece of political mechanism which was ever devised, because we have established on Acts of Parliament an Empire at the other end of the world every iota of authority over which in the Viceroy and Government is derived from an English Act of Parliament. From the necessity of the conditions surrounding the House of Commons this Assembly must necessarily be affected by every change and gust of public feeling. It is as unstable in its opinions as the sands of the sea. On the other hand, you wish to infuse into the Indian policy all that is stable and durable. It has been a task of great difficulty to reconcile those two conflicting elements, and by consent the House has always treated Indian questions as beyond Party. Owing to the advance of Russia in Central Asia the whole control of the foreign relations of India must necessarily be transferred from the Indian Foreign Office to the English Foreign Office, and they must form part of the policy of the Government of the day, subject to all the currents and eddies to which any question of Party is liable. It is a great misfortune that on the very eve of this great change in the relations between this House and India the Government should have adopted a policy which unquestionably seems to be regulated more with a view to the General Election than to the interests of India. If the Government were, in the first instance, of opinion that the points at issue between them and the Russian Government were minor matters upon which it was not necessary to do more than protest, the Prime Minister ought never to have made the speech he did make on this day fortnight. It is because he has abandoned that position that he has struck a blow at the foundation upon which our dominion in India rests. It is awkward, no doubt, that my Resolution is not couched in stronger words; but that is not my fault. I could not anticipate that we should have had the astounding statement of to-day. We did not expect such a declaration of policy, or unquestionably we would have adapted our Resolution to meet it. If we postponed that to this day week we should still be in the same position. I would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they are satisfied with the results of the foreign policy of the last four years? Have the Government in one instance fulfilled the expectations on which alone they received the assent of the House? Has it brought about peace? Has it brought about honour? Has it not promoted dishonour? Has it not been murderous in its operation—merciless to the weak and cowardly to the strong? Is it not a policy which has readily consigned our Native Allies and their families to massacre and their homes to pillage; and has it not squandered the vital resources of this country in useless enterprizes? It is a policy

which has alienated from us every single Ally in Europe—a policy which in Africa has produced anarchy, chaos, and hatred of the English name. And now for the first time this hateful system is to be transferred to the neighbouring Continent of Asia, where it will find a fifty-fold larger field for its baneful operations, and where its withering influences will be applied to our myriad interests, and where it will sap the source of our strength and dry up the origin of our great Indian Empire. An appeal to the country must take place within a few months. I believe if there is one spark of manhood in the people, one glimmer of a sense of justice left, they will put a summary end to this shameful condition of things. But pending that, during the interval irreparable harm may be done; and it is because we are conscious of the imminence, as well as of the magnitude, of the danger which now awaits us, that we ask the House of Commons to intervene before it is too late.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, having shown its readiness to grant such supplies as may be required for the defence of the Empire, is of opinion that, before proceeding with this Bill, it is entitled to receive adequate information as to the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the purposes to which the money granted by the recent Vote of Credit is to be applied,"—(*Lord George Hamilton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think the House will agree that, at all events, the speech we have just listened to is an extremely characteristic one. It has been full of very violent language; but it has not always been so easy to gather from it any intelligible conclusion. In the course of the earlier remarks which the noble Lord made, he used an expression towards the Prime Minister which I think was hardly in accordance with the ordinary courtesy which Members of this House, and especially Members young in age, are wont to treat the Prime Minister of this country. The noble Lord said the Prime Minister never means what he says. Well, I confess that not only do I object to that expression as applied to the Prime Minister, but I object to it as coming from the noble Lord. He, at all events, is the last person to twit us with not meaning what we say, and not knowing how to say what we mean. I should like to call the attention of the House to the Amendment of the noble Lord, of which we have heard nothing whatever. In the course of the speech which he has delivered with so much vehemence and with such admirably simulated indignation the noble Lord says that he cannot find words strong enough to condemn the policy of the Government. He is burning with indignation, and his indignation finds expression in a mild and moderate demand for information. And from whom does he ask this information? He says the Government is absolutely incompetent, and, moreover, that it is absolutely untrustworthy. Then, why do you not treat us as incompetent and untrustworthy? Why do you ask an untrustworthy Government to give you information which you would not believe if you received it because you cannot place any faith in us? Why, if you think us incompetent, do you not refuse the Supplies? That would be consistent. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: We are going to.] Not a bit of it. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) does not intend to refuse Supplies; he said so again and again. He made a speech which, from beginning to end, goes to show that the Government are totally unworthy to get Supplies; but he dare not put on the Paper a Motion for refusing Supplies, because, forsooth, while he taunts us with making our policy to catch votes, the noble Lord makes his Motion and speech to the electors in order to catch votes at the General Election. The noble Lord does not like to go before the country refusing Supplies to the Government when engaged in serious negotiations; but he does not mind embarrassing the Government, although he knows that the Government is engaged in critical negotiations, and that serious evil to the public interest may result from any attempt to discredit it at this moment. He has been challenged by the Prime Minister if he has any definite issue to bring it to book in this House, and he and his Friends have been asked if they have no such issue or purpose to postpone it in the meantime, not to discredit the Government by showing division in the presence of the

complications which have recently arisen. All that the noble Lord puts aside and takes us to task. He is mild in his Resolution, but he takes it out in his speech; and in the course of his *réchauffé* he has gone over every Vote of Censure that has been moved; he goes from the retirement from the Transvaal and brings up the Boers and our conduct towards them and from Bechuanaland he travels to Afghanistan, and from Egypt back to South Africa—he has recapitulated every grievance which he could rake up against the Government. It would be all very well if this were a Vote of Censure. Then, indeed, he would be justified in the course he has pursued. But

> "Pleased with the sound, the King grew vain,
> Fought all his battles o'er again;
> And thrice he routed all his foes,
> And thrice he slew the slain."

That is a line of conduct of which we make absolutely no complaint in its proper place. All we say is that it is not in its place when, as a result of condemning the Government root and branch, and smiting them hip and thigh, you only ask in conclusion for adequate information. The noble Lord went on to deal with the policy of the Government at considerable length—the policy of the Government in connection with Russia. Let me point out in what position it places the House and the Government. The Papers are not yet presented; but they are promised in four or five days. We cannot anticipate what you will find in these Papers. The noble Lord proceeds to construct out of his imagination a series of incidents and circumstances of which I venture to say generally he will find a complete contradiction when the Papers come out, but to which it is impossible that the Government should reply at the present time. The noble Lord complained in particular of the change of policy on the part of the Government with regard to Russia, and especially on the part of the Prime Minister, who, he says, made a very bellicose speech this day fortnight, and subsequently came to the House and swallowed every word he had said. Let us see how far that is the case. What was the central point of my right hon. Friend's speech this day fortnight? It was that a point of honour of great importance and delicacy had arisen between two great countries, and that until that point of honour was settled, it was impossible that we should continue the negotiations which had already been commenced with regard to the delimitation of the frontier, and that in our view what had occurred required explanation, and that the book could not be closed. These were the words of the Prime Minister. The noble Lord most—I was going to say most grossly, but perhaps that is too strong a word—but greatly misrepresented my right hon. Friend. The noble Lord said that the Prime Minister had declared that we should require reparation. There was no such word in my right hon. Friend's speech from beginning to end; and it was a monstrous thing of the noble Lord, who had every opportunity of preparing his speech and for making his attack upon the Government, to make a charge of that character, for which there is no foundation. My right hon. Friend distinctly said that, considering what was then in the knowledge of the Government, he would not pronounce one way or the other. We thought we had a case which required explanation. We had demanded explanation; but we did not presume to say what the result of that explanation would be. I go further, and say the central point of my right hon. Friend's speech was that "the book could not be closed." Has the book been closed—[*Cries of* "Yes!" *and* "No!"]—by a referen to arbitration? Suppose, when the Papers come out, you find that at that moment the offer of arbitration had been made, and we were waiting for the reply, and had reason to fear that the reply would be unsatisfactory? Was not that a state of things which justified us in saying that the book would not be closed? and does it not justify us now if it be concluded, as we hope it may be, by a reference to a great and friendly Power as to what should be done in the matter? And then the book will not have been closed without a satisfactory explanation by which we shall have obtained all that one great country has a right to demand from another. But then the noble Lord says—"Oh, but the arbitration which you refer to is a sham arbitration." How does he know that? Is it a creditable thing to the Opposition—which, after all, ought to have some sense of responsibility as well as the Government—that he should

prejudice the matter and declare this to be a sham arbitration before he knows what it is? Let me ask the noble Lord, when he next speaks, to give some consideration to this point. If it be a sham arbitration, if it be such a triumph for Russia, if everything has been conceded by this country, why does he suppose that so long a time has been allowed to pass, that there has been so much hesitation on the part of those with whom we had to deal? At all events, it was an open question on both sides. There was a concession, if you like the term, on both sides when the settlement was finally made. Then the noble Lord complains that since the prospect of a settlement has improved, the Government have recalled—as he prefers to put it—Sir Peter Lumsden. Now, as has been already stated by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, it is not a recall in any sense injurious to the reputation of Sir Peter Lumsden. But we have thought that the object of his Mission has been, to a considerable extent, accomplished—[*Opposition laughter*]—has been, I say, to a considerable extent accomplished, in the sense that no further advantage can be derived from his continued presence on the spot. The House, perhaps, does not know that when this difficult question was first raised the amount of information in possession of the Government, or of the Departments of the Government, was, unfortunately, very small indeed. I doubt if anyone, either in England or Russia, until within the last few months, knew anything about the country in which we have undertaken to find a frontier. I doubt whether the Afghans themselves knew anything more than the English or Russian Governments. It was an unknown country until M. Lessar, on the part of the Russian Government, and Sir Peter Lumsden, on the part of this country, were sent to survey it. But since Sir Peter Lumsden has been there we have received the very fullest information about the country, its geographical features, its strategical features—all information which has come into our possession recently, and which alone, in my opinion, would justify the Mission of which Sir Peter Lumsden has been the head. But now, having obtained that information, and in the present position of the negotiations, it is desirable that the settlement should be sought for rather in London than on the spot, because Sir Peter Lumsden, after all, has only the information which he has himself obtained, and we have not merely that information, but the criticism furnished us by the Indian Government to check it after the information which has been communicated to it by the Ameer. We are, therefore, in a better position than Sir Peter Lumsden even when he was on the spot, not to speak of the fact that in the position which the matter is now assuming important political considerations can only be weighed by the responsible Members of the two Governments, or by their Representatives, and not by an agent, who, with all respect to Sir Peter Lumsden, is a subordinate. I would first call the attention of the noble Lord in reference to this matter to an observation which I read recently in that very interesting article of Sir Lepel Griffin in *The Fortnightly Review*. I quote him because everyone knows that he does not belong to the backward school of Indian politics. But in this article he argues and urges that Sir Peter Lumsden should now be brought home, as in present circumstances it is quite impossible that his presence on the spot could do anything to secure the solution of the question. I want to ask the House not to be led away by the noble Lord into any unfavourable anticipation as to the final result of the negotiation. It is not for Ministers, until the negotiations are actually completed, to lay before the House any final and detailed information. But I would put the question, what would you have thought if at the outset, before any of the complications which have subsequently arisen had taken place, if at the moment the difference arose between the Russian Government and ourselves on the question, we had come to the House and said—"The policy of England is this—this is a matter of life and death to us, and we intend to stand or fall by it. The frontier conceded by Russia to our demands must be a frontier thoroughly satisfactory to the Indian Government and to the Ameer of Afghanistan—our ally." If we had done that, and had said that that conclusion we were prepared to support by the whole strength of the Empire, I do not believe there is a single man on either side of the House who would not

have thought that that was a tremendous and probably even an unwarrantable declaration for us to make. But if, when the Papers come into your hands, you find that the declaration might have been safely made, and that the result I have indicated has been obtained, then I think that neither the House nor the country will have any cause to consider that we have lost anything, either in honour or in interest, in the course of the difficult negotiations which we have been carrying on. I have asked myself, during the whole of the noble Lord's speech, what policy would you have pursued? We, forsooth, have humbled and humiliated you! There never was a Party in this world so ready to be humiliated as the present Conservative Opposition. You say we have humiliated the country. Well, what would you have done? The noble Lord does not say what he would have done; he says he is a friend of peace. We have an indication in the language which he has uttered to-night of what he and his Friends would have done in our place. He repeats again the old story of the conduct of Russia in times past. He leads us to infer that, in his opinion, at all events, Russia is a Power with which no trustworthy agreement can be made. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: Hear, hear!] "Hear, hear!" says the noble Lord. Very well. Then, what is the good of making Treaties and Conventions? What is the good of negotiating with a Power of which the noble Lord says in advance you can have no faith, and that it is entirely untrustworthy?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: As regards its advance in Central Asia.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: We are only talking about Central Asia. Whenever there is any question between Russia and this country do not treat with her, do not negotiate with her, do not make any Convention with her; but withdraw your Ambassador and go to war. I defy the noble Lord to point to any other alternative. He has spoken in the plainest terms. I am glad to have elicited this from him. He looks upon Russia as a Power in whom no trust is to be reposed. In these circumstances, what is the use of talking about negotiations? The only alternative is to formulate your demands and at once go to war. That is a policy which I am glad to find that the noble Lord advocates in this House. I hope we shall understand how far it is the policy of the Opposition, so that when we go to the General Election, of which the noble Lord reminded us, we may remind him and his Friends of the statements which he has made to-night. We shall see whether the country, as the noble Lord says, has become tired of our foreign policy, which has, at all events, managed, so far as this greatest and latest difficulty is concerned, to preserve the peace—we shall see whether the noble Lord will be able to recommend a policy which would bring war all over the world. The noble Lord said very little with reference to the Egyptian part of the Vote; but he, in pathetic language, compassionated these poor Soudanese, whom, according to him, the British soldiers have been murdering in the Egyptian deserts. I do not quite understand this new-fangled compassion of the noble Lord. Here, again, I ask myself, what is the policy he would have the House of Commons to substitute? As to that, fortunately, we have the most definite information. A Motion was made by the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) on the 23rd of February this year, in which he called upon the House to declare that the course pursued in the Soudan—

> "Has rendered it imperatively necessary, in the interests of the British Empire and of the Egyptian people, that Her Majesty's Government should distinctly recognize, and take decided measures to fulfil, the special responsibility now incumbent on them to assure a good and stable Government to Egypt and to those portions of the Soudan which are necessary to its security."

[*Opposition cheers.*] I am glad to find that the Opposition have not changed their policy in the Soudan; it is to occupy it permanently, and to insure a steady and stable Government. In order to do so, I fancy they must slaughter a still greater number of those poor Natives for whom the noble Lord has suddenly developed so great a compassion. How does he suppose a stable Government is to be assured in the Soudan? Is it to be done without fighting? Does he think that an Expedition to Khartoum, which we have abandoned, and a railway to Berber, which we have abandoned, can be carried through without an expenditure of blood and treasure to which the expenditure which has hitherto taken

place would be as nothing? If he does not, what does he mean by talking about sparing the effusion of blood? The policy he proposes is one that would lead to an infinitely greater effusion of blood than any we have hitherto had. The noble Lord went on to say that the policy of the Government had been changed, and he was kind enough to add that it was changed in order to purchase votes. He said the declaration that we were going to Khartoum was made in order to secure the majority of 14 on the occasion of one of the numerous Votes of Censure that have proceeded from the Front Bench opposite. But the noble Lord was as inaccurate as usual, which is saying a good deal; because, as a matter of fact, the declaration of the policy of the Government with regard to Khartoum had been made a long time before any Vote of Censure was contemplated, and was made without the slightest reference to the debate in this House to which the noble Lord refers. Let the House consider the circumstances under which it was made. Khartoum had just fallen, and a great blow had been struck, as we thought, at English prestige in Egypt. It was feared at that time by all authorities on the subject that the Mahdi, flushed with his success, would be almost certain to make a movement towards Lower Egypt, which we had undertaken to defend. It was impossible to put any limit at that time upon the extent to which the insurrection or movement of the Mahdi might spread. At the same time, there was reason to believe that anything like a sudden or abrupt retirement of the British troops might be attended with great military difficulty, perhaps even with danger. ["No!"] I say yes. There was great reason at that time to anticipate such a result; and it would have been running a most improper risk if the Government had at once declared their intention of abandoning their Expedition to Khartoum. What we did was that, in the light of the circumstances as we then knew them, we said it would be necessary to go to Khartoum, and to destroy the authority of the Mahdi. At that time it was not clear to us that what we proposed to do might not be done immediately. There was no certainty at that time that Lord Wolseley would be unable, with the troops at his disposal, to carry out the Expedition successfully. Now, consider what has happened since then. Every day that has passed has impressed upon us an increasing sense of the magnitude of the Expedition. It has become at last a perfectly gigantic task—a task, indeed, to be undertaken by the country for a sufficient reason; but not to be contemplated for a moment unless we can come to the House with an absolutely clear and convincing statement of the advantages to be obtained by it. Not only has the magnitude of the task increased upon us, but the necessity for undertaking it at all has, at any rate for a time, disappeared. The Mahdi, whom we had expected to be coming down the Nile and to be a danger to Lower Egypt, has had enough to do to take care of himself. He is no longer at Khartoum. We can, if we choose, still continue to carry through the Expedition; but we cannot destroy the authority of the Mahdi at Khartoum, because we should not find him there. Where he is we do not know. He is somewhere in the recesses of the Kordofan, where no man in his senses has proposed that a British Army should follow him. Not only so, but the difficulty contemplated in the withdrawal of the Army has entirely disappeared. It has been brought so near as to be entirely under control, and there is not the least ground for saying that any danger attends its further withdrawal. You accuse us of changing our policy. I admit it; but I say the circumstances have changed first. The change in the circumstances justifies the change in the policy. No Government would escape censure—and, indeed, it would properly deserve blame—if it was to carry through obstinately a policy which circumstances had shown to be entirely inappropriate. The noble Lord made a great point of our supposed intention to abandon the friendly Natives. I do not know whether he is quite clear in his mind as to who the friendly Natives are. There is a good deal of obscurity on that point. I think, in the peroration of his speech, he declared we had no friends anywhere; and, so far as the Egyptian Desert is concerned, I am not certain that he is not quite right. But, at all events, while we are willing to make every arrangement for the withdrawal of any

Egyptian soldiers or officers who may wish to come away, and who would be in danger if they were left, I do not think we are bound to maintain an expenditure both of blood and treasure, which would be called for by a great Expedition, merely in order that we may find somewhere or other friendly Natives whose friendship has not hitherto been of any particular advantage to us. I ask, in conclusion, what do you say is wrong? What is it you wish the House to condemn? In effect, if not in form, this is another Vote of Censure. Do you condemn what we are doing, or the method in which we have done it? If you condemn the method in which we have done it, I admit that is a fair subject for argument, on which we are perfectly prepared to meet you, but which, after all, is not a matter of great interest to the country. What the country really wishes to know is whether what we are doing now is right or wrong; and I do not think the noble Lord will find that the country will care very much for the kind of recrimination in which it is his pleasure to engage us. I ask the noble Lord if he thinks our present policy is wrong? Will he tell us what it is he would do? Is his alternative policy now the policy of his Party in February, 1885? Is he prepared—if we give place to right hon. Gentlemen opposite—are they prepared to continue an Expedition to Khartoum? It is fair to ask the question of the noble Lord.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I never was in favour of going.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The noble Lord says he was never in favour of going; but he and his Friends have never been sparing of Votes of Censure; and why did he not propose a Vote of Censure when we declared our intention of going? The moment, however, we declare our intention of going away, the noble Lord is ready with a Vote of Censure in his pocket. The only point upon which right hon. Gentlemen opposite did differ from us was as to the length of our stay when we got there; and the noble Lord now complains of us that we are coming away again without establishing some elaborate form of Government at Khartoum. The noble Lord cannot have the advantage of blowing hot and cold in this way. He must stand or fall by his Party. As a Party, the only alternative they propose is that they are either going to censure us for something which they really in their hearts approve of, or else in their hearts they believe that the right policy would be to continue the Expedition to Khartoum—a policy about which I will only say I am quite convinced the noble Lord will not find it a very popular one at the General Election, to which he has invited our early consideration.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he thought that no one could have listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) without being thoroughly impressed, first of all with the difficulty of the task which he had undertaken, and, secondly, by the unreality of the defence which he was prepared to offer on the part of Her Majesty's Government. He had listened very attentively to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman; and he was of opinion that they might be summed up in two phrases—a suggestion that the Papers to be produced at some future date would satisfy hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, and that hon. Members should put implicit trust in Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman began his observations by expressing his astonishment that the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) should ask an untrustworthy Government for information. The answer to that remark, he thought, was a simple one—namely, that the noble Lord asked the only Government which existed, a Government, in the opinion of those who sat on the Opposition side of the House, which was untrustworthy. The right hon. Gentleman went on to deduce from that argument that because the Government, in their opinion, was an untrustworthy one, therefore it was extremely illogical on their part to frame a Resolution asking them for information and for a definition of their policy, because he argued if the Opposition did not believe in the Government, what was the use of asking them to define their policy? That argument might have sounded extremely well on a platform—and he thought it was successful in eliciting a feeble cheer from the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings)—but he did not think it was sufficiently cogent or logical to commend itself to the more critical common sense of the House of Commons. It was because

they did not trust the Government, and because they had every reason to distrust it, that the Opposition were exercising their privilege of demanding, before they ratified this large and important Vote, that they should be satisfied, at all events, on some points of the Government policy for which this Vote was intended. He thought that that was a very logical and fair question to put before the House. The right hon. Gentleman had said that this was a Vote of Censure. He differed in that respect; it was not a Vote of Censure, it was a Vote of Want of Confidence. They did not censure the policy of the Government, because up to the present time the Government had had no policy to censure; but they did express a Vote of Want of Confidence, because up to the present time the Government had not vouchsafed any statement to the House. They were inclined to disbelieve the empty promises which were from time to time made by the Government; and, therefore, they had come to the conclusion that the Government had no policy before them. The right hon. Gentleman then said that it was extremely difficult for the House of Commons to form an opinion without being in possession of the Papers. No one, he imagined, was prepared to dispute that proposition; but it seemed to him that the Government took advantage, at every possible turn, of the fact that the House had not those Papers before it. Was the House, therefore, not entitled to ask by whose fault it was they had not those Papers before them? He maintained that it was simply the fault of the Government themselves; and the House ought to refuse to be blinded by simple protests that those Papers, when hon. Members saw them, would contain such an admirable account of the excellent policy of the Government that they would no longer censure, but praise the policy which the Government had pursued. The right hon. Gentleman went on to defend the policy of the Prime Minister. He must say, however, that if the Prime Minister had been present he would have been inclined to say—"Save me from my friends;" because it appeared to him that the argument which the right hon. Gentleman used in defence of the Prime Minister presented, in every sense of the word, the strongest condemnation of the Prime Minister's conduct. He said that the Prime Minister's words were—"A point of honour had arisen, and until that point of honour was settled he could not continue the negotiations." He asked the House whether, as a matter of fact, that point of honour had been settled, and, if it had not been settled, whether it was not a fact that the negotiations had been continued? It appeared to him that the point of honour which the Prime Minister was so jealous of had not been settled, or, if settled at all, it had been given against this country, and in favour of Russia; and, notwithstanding that this point of honour had been so settled, the negotiations were still going on. It appeared to him, therefore, that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman was a particularly unfortunate one to bring forward in defence of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister said that "the book was not yet closed." What interpretation was to be put on that? Was it that while the Prime Minister was anxious to protect the honour of the country the hand of peace was still being held out to Russia; or was it that the Russian Government was willing not to proceed to extremities if England was willing to give up every point? The latter interpretation was, undoubtedly, that one which tallied with the recent action of the Government. The Prime Minister also stated that the recall of Sir Peter Lumsden ought not to be considered in the light of a recall in the ordinary sense of the word, and that he had only been invited to repair to the Metropolis. But the presence of Sir Peter Lumsden in London could only be desired for the purpose of his assisting in the delimitation negotiations; and, as the Prime Minister had told them that those were already substantially settled, there would be nothing for Sir Peter Lumsden to do when he got here. The same observation applied to the recall of Mr. Condie Stephen, who had been directed to come to London with certain maps, but who would arrive long after the negotiations with regard to the frontier were at an end. It was a remarkable coincidence that the arbitration scheme was agreed to by Russia on the 3rd of May, and that Sir Peter Lumsden was recalled on the 4th. He was inclined to think that the common sense of the country would believe that the recall of Sir Peter Lumsden was a condition precedent to the Russian

acquiescence to the arbitration scheme. The Opposition had been taunted with not really meaning this Resolution, and not wishing to convey a Vote of Censure on the Government. But, supposing that to be the case, it was the duty of the Opposition to lay before the country the faults and mistakes of the Government. It was all very well for the Prime Minister to say that it was unpatriotic to stop Supply. The Opposition were not doing that. When the Prime Minister a fortnight ago, in eloquent terms, urged the House to present the spectacle of an united Assembly, there was not a sound of controversy heard, and the £11,000,000 were voted with unanimity. But that was because, for once, the whole House believed in the reality of the Prime Minister's words. The right hon. Gentleman was deeply offended because the noble Lord to-night said that he never meant what he said. But, contrasting his speech of a fortnight ago with that of to-night, that was the natural inference to be drawn. The right hon. Gentleman, on a former occasion, spoke of the unprovoked attack of the Russians; but he now endeavoured to whittle away what he then said. Russia hesitated a short time ago, because she believed that England was in earnest; but that belief had been completely modified, and every point for which Russia struggled had been conceded. Peace had, no doubt, been brought about; but it was a peace with dishonour, a peace with disgrace, a peace at any price, which would inevitably bring about the results of a policy of vacillation and of cowardice. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) showed the other night how the diplomacy of Russia for the past 20 years had been mainly made up of duplicity; and it was to be regretted that Her Majesty's Government should not have been able to draw the inference from the past and from the present conduct of Russia that they were being deceived, as they had been deceived in the past, and would be deceived in the future. In 1881 many Members on that side of the House put Questions to the then Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, now the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), in regard to Merv, and some of the answers which he gave were strikingly disproved by subsequent events. To a Question on the 8th of February, put by himself, the right hon. Baronet said—

> "It is not a 'fact that Russia has declined to give any positive assurance that she will not advance to Merv.' We have reason to think that it is not her intention to do so."—(3 *Hansard*, [258] 343.)

And on the 21st of February the right hon. Baronet practically repeated that answer. Were they to blame the Government now for its crass ignorance shown in those answers, or for not having more carefully looked into the facts before coming to these erroneous conclusions? These Questions were based on facts which were at the time denied by the Government; but the Russians went to Merv, and step by step they had followed up their encroachments, until at the present moment they found themselves at Penjdeh. The Prime Minister was asked whether any representations were made to the Russian Government relative to the advance of troops to Sarakhs; and he answered that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had made a demand for the withdrawal of the troops, upon which a correspondence ensued, and the Russian Government declined to withdraw their troops, founding their refusal upon the belief which they entertained that the territory was theirs. The Prime Minister added that the demand was made on the supposition that the territory occupied was Afghan territory. The right hon. Gentleman was then asked further, by the Leader of the Opposition, whether that demand was withdrawn, to which the Prime Minister replied that the demand was made in the belief that the territory was Afghan territory, but that the Government found that was a matter of contest, which he hoped might be decided on friendly inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that there was no formal withdrawal of the demand; but it was substantially withdrawn. He never knew before that there was a Statute of Limitations in politics; but that claim appeared to have lapsed. But the question was, what was the result of all this? Did the Russians stay at Sarakhs? No; it was the starting-point from which they advanced to the positions which they now occupied; and it appeared to him that if the Mi-

nisters of the Crown had exerted a little more energy and firmness, and had shown a little less trust in the protests of the civilizing influence of Holy Russia, it was probable that the crisis of the last two weeks might have been avoided, and they might have been nearer a pacific solution of the Afghan Question. But this same policy had been repeated over and over again. Step by step the Russians had advanced. The protests of the Government amounted to nothing; and their inroads were fraught with the greatest possible danger to the Indian Empire. Was it possible to believe that the Russians entered Penjdeh simply for the purpose of acquiring a few hundred miles of sandy soil? He was sure that if there were one man on the Treasury Bench who believed that, he was not fit to sit there. The object of the Russian advance was to come within measurable distance of India, and to impress the Afghans with a sense of the power of the great White Czar. The speech of the Viceroy at Rawul Pindi was hardly printed before the news of the Russian defeat of the Afghans was spread all over Afghanistan and India. Naturally the Afghans thought that the great civilizing Power which was governing India would come to their rescue; but nothing of the sort. A great speech, an empty protest, a Vote of £11,000,000, and a disgraceful surrender. If such a policy only reflected disgrace on the Treasury Bench he would care nothing about it; but the impression it would produce in India was a fatal one. He did not wish to excite angry feelings, for he was not any more in favour of war than any hon. Member who sat on the opposite side of the House; but he was in favour of an honourable and lasting peace, and not a disgraceful peace, which, when the time came, and the strife arrived, would place the country in a very dangerous and critical position. He was not against arbitration, which should submit to some friendly Power the whole case; but he declared that the arbitration in the present case was a mockery and a sham. It meant simply nothing. There was no reality in it, and it was simply an excuse to save the honour of General Komaroff by sacrificing the reputation of General Lumsden. That was the position the Government asked the House of Commons to accept, and for that reason he conceived this Motion was particularly opportune. The object of the Motion was not to refuse the Vote of Credit, though, over and over again, that was thrown in the teeth of the Opposition. No case could be cited of a Conservative Opposition refusing a Vote of Credit for patriotic purposes. He wished he could say the same of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They attacked the Vote of Credit of 1878 on all sides, though that was a real and genuine Vote of Credit. The Government had only asked the House for this Vote of £11,000,000 in order to give the Prime Minister an opportunity of making a speech full of empty bluster, and of taking up a position which he had almost immediately abandoned. He considered the Amendment of the noble Lord singularly appropriate to the occasion, and he should, therefore, feel great pleasure in supporting it.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON said, that he would heartily support the Government. As to Afghanistan, he trusted that its boundary would be carefully settled and properly guarded when fixed. Of the policy announced that evening with reference to the Soûdan he cordially approved. He had on former occasions voted with his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr John Morley) against the Government. Now that the Soudan was to be evacuated he could vote with him. It had been said that operations ought to be continued in order that the Slave Trade might be put a stop to. To mitigate the evils of that dreadful trade was a most noble object; but it was scarcely the duty of this nation to undertake hostile operations, which must involve great sacrifices in men and money, in order to prosecute even so honourable an object as that in a foreign country. He hoped that every Englishman at present in the Soudan would be withdrawn. He did not approve the suggestion of establishing a Government at Dongola; but if such a Government were established, he trusted that its only connection with this country would be the receipt of a grant of money. No Native Government in any part of the Soudan ought to receive either moral or material support from Her Majesty's Government; for they could not be responsible for the conduct of the unruly people who inhabited that region of the world.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he thought that upon the question of the Soudan they had had that evening ample information, and information of a character as startling as it was unexpected. In fact, they had information which that side of the House, at any rate, might have been spared to their entire satisfaction; and if he might venture with great humility to give a little advice to the Conservative Front Bench, he would say that he hoped they would not be afraid on any occasion of making their Resolution too strong, because they might be certain that in the interval which would necessarily elapse after they gave Notice of their Amendment before the time of discussion arrived the Government would have amply succeeded in levelling up their folly to any language which might be used. In reply to the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) the President of the Board of Trade had used language of a somewhat familiar kind. He asked what would have been the policy of the noble Lord in regard to the Soudan? He seemed to think that the whole matter was disposed of when he asked the noble Lord whether he would have gone to Khartoum, whether he would or would not have decided to withdraw from the Soudan? But he must take the matter further back. If the Opposition had undertaken the government of Egypt they would have fulfilled their obligations. If they had thought it necessary to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Soudan they would have taken pains not to have proclaimed it to the whole world beforehand. If they had sent General Gordon, they would have supported him before it was too late, and they would not have had to choose at the last moment between forcing on an Expedition, the object of which had been practically sacrificed by the Government, or of withdrawing, at an enormous sacrifice of money and the blood of hundreds and thousands of men, from an Expedition which never ought to have been undertaken. That disposed of the somewhat stale argument of the President of the Board of Trade. But to pass from the question of the Soudan to that which was really occupying the attention of both sides of the House—namely, the crucial point of the stage at which their negotiations had now arrived with Russia. The justification for the Amendment of the noble Lord was, he thought, to be found in the simple fact that there was, rightly or wrongly, not only in the House, but throughout the country and the civilized world, a feeling that the interests of England had been in some way or other betrayed in their negotiations. It was felt that there had been a distinct departure in point of public policy between the course now pursued by the Government and that laid down by the Prime Minister a fortnight ago. The unanimity with which the House of Commons at once, and without a word of contrariety, voted the £11,000,000 for the Public Service was due to the conviction, which forced itself upon the minds of all who listened to the First Lord of the Treasury, that the Government really meant to make a stand. The President of the Board of Trade fell foul of his noble Friend because he used the word "reparation;" but if the concluding words of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman a fortnight ago meant anything they meant reparation. His concluding words were that it was a very solemn covenant, and those who had caused such a covenant to fail ought to be known to their own Government, and he added—"We cannot close this book and say we will look no more into it." If that did not mean reparation it meant nothing at all. If the right hon. Gentleman, as was shrewdly believed in India and in this country, knew when he made the statement that the incident in question was to be withdrawn from arbitration altogether, then the £11,000,000 which were granted were obtained by a gross breach of faith. But what was the real point at issue? It was whether in this matter they were to have a real arbitration or a sham one; whether the arbitration was to go over the whole historical field, or merely to deal with trivial matters about which neither country cared anything. But, as the right hon. Gentleman has changed his attitude, so the Opposition might be said to have changed theirs, in the same way as a house might be said to have changed its attitude with respect to the weathercock. It was not the house that changed, but the weathercock. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had endeavoured to pin his noble Friend to the statement that no reliance must be placed on the

good faith of Russia. But what his noble Friend had done was this—he had pointed out that circumstances might be too strong for Russia, and that it was unsafe to rely upon a Minister or a Czar. The change of attitude on the part of the Goverment amply jusfied the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex in bringing forward, the Amendment. The Government asked for £11,000,000, and received them by an almost unanimous vote; but it did not follow that the Opposition were to honour the cheque which they gave them under circumstances which were now entirely changed. Now, on the matter of the Soudan the House had more information than it bargained for, and certainly a great deal more than it liked; yet upon the great point at issue, whether, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman, the honour of the country was to be safely maintained in the negotiations, they had no information whatever. The speech of the Prime Minister a fortnight ago was a memorable one; because then they had the right hon. Gentleman, for the first time, defending the cause of his own country, instead of the cause of another country. The right hon. Gentleman seemed at the time to be galvanized into a spirit of patriotic fervour. It also seemed as if the spirit of Viscount Palmerston had visited the opposite Benches; but, after the change of attitude of Her Majesty's Government, he thought it would be a long time before that spirit revisited them again. The Opposition had a plain duty to perform. As long as they were satisfied that the honour of England was safe in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, it was their duty to deny no Vote, however large, no Supplies, however enormous; but the moment they saw the compass deviating from the true north then it was time for their suspicions to be aroused. They had a right to ask whether the Government were going to demand any substantial guarantee that Herat should not pass into the hands of Russia, and that if Russia took it the Government should make it a *casus belli*. They had voted £11,000,000 to the Government at a time when the individual taxpayer could ill afford it. Were the Government going to obtain a solitary advantage for the country in return for that money?

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that if he could look at the great question involved in the debate of that evening simply from the standpoint of a political partizan, he should rejoice in the speeches of the Opposition, who had unconsciously made themselves the mouthpiece of those noisy and not uninfluential persons to whom brightening hopes of the maintenance of peace had brought trouble and disappointment. Those persons were not Englishmen only, they were of every nation under Heaven, including Russians. They were persons who fed, some upon the glory and the honours, others upon the losses, the fears, the corruptions, the extravagance of war. On every Exchange in Europe there were men smarting with the bitterness of failure. They had been led to expect war, and now what would they not give for one more day of panic, one more day of gain, at the cost of the timid, the needy, and the improvident. He thought he heard their cries passing through the unsuspicious mouths of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite. Terrible was the rage of the Army contractors of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Odessa. Bitter was the complaint of the brave officers who longed to earn fresh distinction at the cannon's mouth. It appeared to him that there was a certain identity of sentiment, a sameness of origin, in the telegrams and speeches he had lately read as coming from St. Petersburg and India, and as made in London. He was sure that if the expression of opinion were as free in St. Petersburg as it was here, the Czar and M. de Giers would be roundly abused for their pusillanimity in consenting to admit a doubt as to the propriety of any military action of Russia. In England, as in Russia, the great mass of the people were inarticulate. Of both countries he knew something, and he was confident that in both those telegrams and speeches of exasperation found no echo in the hearts and minds of the people at large. He wished they knew a little more of the manufacturers of those taunts and reproaches, gibes, and incitements. When time should have placed recent events in a light undisturbed by the envy of rival politicians, by the cries of gentlemen of the Bourse, of disappointed contractors, and of ambitious soldiers, then would be duly appreciated the firmness of the great Minister who had declined to overlook the

action of the Russian General, and the firmness of the powerful Sovereign who, in an Empire of force and of feeble civilization, consented upon the demand of England to acknowledge that the conduct of his Imperial Government should be a question open to the arbitrament of a third Power. He congratulated the Prime Minister and the Russian Government upon that concession. It was pregnant with a promise extending far beyond the limits of the present question. It was a signal triumph for the principle of arbitration gained in a quarter where allegiance to that policy was most difficult. As to the defence of India, they did not differ in that House. If the safety of India were in question, he believed that all sections of the House would vie with each other only in the vigour of defence. They were at one in policy; they differed only as to the place at which resistance was to be offered. He marked, however, a notable increase in the sense of responsibility. Translations of Persian poetry, such as Professor Vambéry had given, were no longer accepted as matter of fact. The Missionary efforts of that single-minded gentleman had fallen very flat. The common sense of the people had taught them that now they were at close quarters with Russia, they must look, not at Persian poetry, but upon the real intrinsic value of what they were called upon to fight for. As to Afghanistan, there had been errors undoubtedly. In entering Central Asia Russia advanced into an unknown and ill-defined land. Afghanistan had never in our time had a fixed boundary between the Oxus and Persia. When Russia obtained by conquest the country of the Turkomans—and he, for one, agreed with Mr. Disraeli, who did "not see why Russia should not conquer Tartary, as England had India"—no one knew its limits. They were, in fact, as variable as the ebb and flow of the tide. He read with amusement the other day that the policy of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) was to drive Russia to the Caspian. He should not envy the Minister who was committed to such a rash undertaking. If it could be done it would not be worth doing, for Russia would assuredly return to be the near neighbour of British power in India. The presence of Russia on the other side of Afghanistan was one of the most immovable of political facts. Earl Granville was standing that day upon the policy which he urged in 1874, in stating that—

> "The independence of Afghanistan is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as matter of great importance to the welfare and security of British India, and to the tranquillity of Asia."

Recent errors had been due in great part to the fact that two European Powers had been dealing with the rights of semi-barbarian peoples in an unknown quarter of the world. The Czar had the case of the Turkomans, we that of the Afghans, in hand. If both had known all that they knew now, each would have acted more wisely. We should not have wished to press the Afghan boundary into the Turkoman country, for nothing could be so much opposed to our interests as to fix a quarrelsome frontier; and, on the other hand, M. de Giers, if he had known all that we now knew of the views of the Ameer of Afghanistan, would not have suggested, as he did in April, 1882, that the boundary of Afghanistan passed from Khoja Salah to the Persian Frontier near Sarakhs. He regretted that the meeting between the Viceroy and the Ameer did not take place a year ago, so that when the Boundary Commission set out they might have known more of the Ameer's views as to his claim to the north of Herat. That want of foreknowledge had obscured the policy of the Government. He did not regret that the Vote of Credit was presented in one sum, because there was a natural connection between the policy in the Soudan and the naval and military preparations. When Khartoum fell into the hands of the Mahdi, and the Government received Lord Wolseley's most admirable despatch of February 9, declaring the impossibility of a siege of Khartoum, with the force then under his command, it could not be supposed that Ministers of so much sagacity, experience, and common sense as those who composed the present Administration could have felt any real hesitation as to the course which ought to be pursued. They had before them their own resolve, and the advice on which it was founded, to abandon the Soudan; they had Gordon's opinion that the Soudan was, and would ever be, a worthless possession; more than that, they had his last reported words of the 14th of December advising that if the town fell it would not be worth while to

continue the Expedition. They must have known that if it should be necessary for the security of Egypt to overthrow the power of the Mahdi—and he had never been able to agree with those who declared that, under no circumstances, could it be needful—the operation would be much more easily performed in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian Frontier than at Khartoum. It was, he thought, impossible to suppose in February that Her Majesty's Ministers were resolved to go in quest of the Mahdi at Khartoum; and he felt, no doubt, that their military decision was made and communicated to Lord Wolseley in deference to public opinion at home, and perhaps in some degree to incitement by Lord Wolseley himself, who might well feel moved by his great disappointment to urge the Government to undertake another autumn campaign under conditions which would not admit of failure. He believed that the present policy of the Government was entirely in accord with the present public opinion of the country. By that policy he understood one which was prepared to overthrow the power of the Mahdi if it should threaten the safety of Egypt, and which would relax no efforts to establish the security and the solvency of Egypt. That was the policy due to their engagements and to their interests. He believed it to have been throughout the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and that it was abandoned in the instructions to Lord Wolseley in obedience to a more powerful but less well-informed opinion, which would probably at the time have governed a heterogeneous majority in that House. He had made those remarks because he thought it was well to bear in mind that the gusty sentiment which dictated the military decision of the Cabinet in February had involved the waste of nearly £2,000,000. It was, however, likely that the pledge as to Khartoum was a valuable aid to Lord Wolseley's retirement, and it might be that a display of force at Suakin was useful in the same direction. But he declined to believe that the unnecessary pledge to go to Khartoum was the independent judgment of the Government; because such a belief would too severely strain his confidence in Her Majesty's Ministers, who in all their great difficulties as to Egypt had had nothing to complain of from the popular quarter of the House in which he sat, where there had been a handful of Members possessing very high abilities who had consistently—for the last two years, at all events—advocated the policy of an absolute non-intervention in Egypt. Their action must have been of great assistance to the Government, because it had aided by its talents and by the rejection it had met with to display by how great a majority the country desired a firm and vigorous policy in Egypt. He trusted that they had now done with what he might call adventure in Egypt. They had paid £5,000,000 as an ineffectual ransom for General Gordon, whose deathless greatness had been secured by his own noble character, by their efforts, and by their failure. The policy now adopted was just as surely that of common sense in February as it was in April. They had only, it seemed to him, to occupy the strongest position, and to wait. If the Mahdi continued his career as a Mahdi he must advance upon Egypt; if not, he might possibly become the acceptable Chief of some independent Government at Khartoum. He dared say, if they continued in that rational path, that the time was not very far distant when the passage to Khartoum might be, in Gordon's phrase, a "picnic." He should be very glad, indeed, to see a railway made from Suakin to Berber. He had no doubt of its civilizing and commercial advantages. But he was not prepared to advocate the construction as a commercial undertaking, nor did he wish to carry it through a hostile population by military force. Some day, he could not doubt, that railway would be made with the cheerful aid of Native labour; but the trade and traffic to and from Central Africa would then be very different from that of the present time. In passing away from the question of the Soudan and of Khartoum, he wished respectfully to warn their masters, the present and the new electors, against giving way to their impulses. Was it not likely that, if this matter had been left to the calm judgment of the Ministers, they would have saved £2,000,000—say, 1*d.* of the Income Tax—or more than enough to construct the Suakin-Berber Railroad? That gush of sentiment which, on the fall of Khartoum, wished to carry their victorious arms thither with no definite

ulterior object was an impulse which must now stand charged with a sad waste of wealth.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he must congratulate the hon. Member who had just sat down on his allegiance to the Government; because he gathered from it that whether the Government smashed the Mahdi, or whether they did not, nothing would induce him to swerve from supporting them. The President of the Board of Trade complained of the demand made for information; but if ever information was needed it was now, when they learned that the negotiations relative to the Afghan Frontier were to be conducted, not on the spot and by experts, but in London, and by Earl Granville, the very last man, as he thought, to whom this country should delegate such a power. But they found a further right to information in the *dicta* of the Prime Minister in Mid Lothian, whose speeches he had studied with great interest, as they furnished the House with a complete manual of denunciation against himself. In those speeches the right hon. Gentleman had charged the Earl of Beaconsfield's Government with keeping back intelligence from Parliament. In his 18th Mid Lothian speech the Prime Minister had used these words—

"Now I have charged at various times what I think an essential count in this indictment—that intelligence had been kept back from Parliament. Intelligence necessary to full understanding and to competent discussion has been withheld from Parliament at the very time of that discussion. I have shown various instances; I might show more. But I will name now only very briefly that remarkable case of the Afghan War. We were carried into that war, gentlemen, as you will recollect, without any previous notice or preparation. No Papers had been laid upon the Table to enable us to judge of the state of our relations with Afghanistan."

He would now ask the Prime Minister whether he was not falling into the same fault as that with which he had charged the Earl of Beaconsfield's Government? When they had asked for time in order that they might have information the right hon. Gentleman had divided against them again and again, and had insisted that they should go to that Vote without having the information for which they asked. The same reticence had marked the conduct of the Government at every step; they had taken the same course with regard to the bombardment of Alexandria and to affairs in the Soudan, and they were doing it at the present moment with respect to the negotiations which were going on as to the Suez Canal. They were much in the same position as they had been in at the end of 1868. They were again on the eve of an arbitration. In 1868 there had been an arbitration which had cost them £3,500,000 and the Island of San Juan, and now they were being hurried into the same diplomatic process—an arbitration the result of which no man could foresee. What he had to complain of was the diplomatic failure which had marked Her Majesty's Government ever since they had come into Office. The first thing that the Prime Minister had done on coming into Office was to show to Russia how entirely he meant to give in to what she asked. What had happened? The whole *dramatis personæ* of the Alabama Convention had been arrayed to combat Russia. Earl Granville, an unsuccessful Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Marquess of Ripon, who was sent out to India to pull up the rails of the Quetta Railway, and Sir Edward Thornton, who had not been engaged in diplomatic business in Europe for 40 years, were the three gentlemen selected by the Prime Minister to cope with the astute diplomatists of Russia. What had Russia done in the meanwhile? She had shown every desire to prepare herself in the Caucasus so as to be a standing menace in Central Asia to us as well as to our old Ally, Turkey. We had withdrawn our Representative from Tiflis, while Russia had sent Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, who, while in Eastern Roumelia, had continually occupied himself in thwarting all efforts towards a peaceful settlement, and in endeavouring to counteract the efforts of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and had continually disobeyed the orders of his own Government, until at last he had been dismissed and replaced by General Todleben. When the right hon. Gentleman had come into Office, he had had that dangerous and ridiculous naval demonstration, which had been the foundation, not only of coolness between this country and Turkey, but of bad blood throughout Eastern Europe. When Mr. Goschen had been accredited as Ambassador to Turkey it was done in a most offensive manner by an open telegram, not in cipher, which

stated that he had been accredited as Ambassador to the Porte. The Porte was nothing; it was the Sultan who was everything. Then, they had given Mr. Goschen a speech to deliver, which the Sultan had declined to receive, and which placed him on bad terms with that Sovereign. Next, the Earl of Dufferin was sent to Constantinople. A Conference was held, and in the middle of it the Earl of Dufferin had been called away to deal with matters in Egypt, without taking Turkey, the Suzerain Power, into consultation. Recently, again, when the Porte had been reluctant to sign the Convention with regard to Egypt, in doing which the Sultan was only following out the recommendations of Her Majesty's Government at the most critical moment, when the friendship of Turkey was of the utmost importance to this country, Earl Granville had told Musurus Pasha and Hassan Fehmy Pasha that if they did not sign it within 48 hours he would send them their passports. What was their position with regard to other European Powers? Russia saw with joy that we had offended nearly all, and that there was hardly any one of them which would assist us. The Prime Minister gave great offence to Austria, and one of his first official acts was to make a most humble apology to her. We had betrayed Germany at the Conference on Egypt, and since then Earl Granville had further offended Germany by refusing her a place on the Conseil de la Caisse, at Cairo. We had also excited the jealousy of France, and had again made a degrading apology to that Power. The only Ally we possessed was Italy, whose alliance we had gained by our disinterested conduct in conferring upon her a slice of Turkish territory. In consequence of the proceedings of the Government the alliance of the three Emperors had been resumed, and one of the greatest difficulties of an invasion of Russia on our part would be that Austria and Germany had pressed so strongly on the Porte the necessity of neutrality. How did those difficulties between this country and Russia arise? Who proposed the Boundary Commission, and why was the insult placed upon a Representative of this country, having to beat about from pillar to post as Sir Peter Lumsden had been compelled to do? The recent proceedings of Her Majesty's Government had read some severe lessons to the public servants of the country. They had seen in the case of General Gordon that fidelity to his trust meant his death; and they now found in Sir Peter Lumsden that obedience to his instructions meant dishonour. He wished to know whether it was a fact that when the Government sent Sir Peter Lumsden to delimitate the frontiers of Afghanistan they did not know the wishes of the Ameer on the point? He believed that they did not know the Ameer's views until after the Conference at Rawul Pindi, an event which the Russians had resented by the incident of Penjdeh. It was then found we had been claiming frontier the Ameer did not want, and that the Ameer did not care for certain points upon which we had insisted. The boasted friendship of the Ameer was such that he would not allow British troops to enter his territory? For what purpose did the Government now require the Vote of £11,000,000? It was not required for arbitration; but was it wanted because it had been spent without the authority of Parliament? Who was going to be the arbitrator? Was the Prince of Monaco intended to be named as the arbitrator? But even if the arbitration were carried out, how could they depend on Russia observing the new frontier any more than she had observed her previous engagements with regard to Central Asia? A new frontier delimitated by the Prince of Monaco would have no value whatever; its value would depend entirely on the good faith of the parties, and everyone knew the value of Russia's good faith. A new frontier settled in this way would be entirely different to a frontier arrived at by a Congress of Europe, and dependent on International Law. What further steps did the Government intend to take in India? Would they fortify the frontier? They knew that Russia was close upon them, and that at any moment she might persuade the Afghans to take part against us. Were the Government going to spend the money in making impregnable the frontiers of India? Her Majesty's Government, no doubt, now heartily wished for the scientific frontier they so much derided and laughed at some years ago—they doubtless regretted having abandoned Candahar in such haste, and wished that they had not

taken up the rails to Quetta, selling them for old iron. In 1875 the Prime Minister wrote a letter to Earl Granville, in which he said—

"I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as the Leader of the Liberal Party, as at the age of 65, and after 42 years of a laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views as to the best method of spending the closing years of my life."

He would like to know whether the right hon. Gentleman thought he had added to the public welfare, or to his own credit, by not adhering to the determination he then expressed? Of the 10 years that had passed since that declaration the right hon. Gentleman had spent five years in agitation, and five in endeavouring to upset the policy of the Earl of Beaconsfield; and he would ask whether now, at the end of that period, there was less anxiety, less bloodshed, less responsibility, less expenditure, less outrage, or less coercion than there was before he commenced? Was there more tranquillity now than then, more active trade, greater alliances with Foreign Powers, more prosperity, or more peace; or was it not a fact that Ireland was at this time coerced more than ever, was not the question of Ireland seriously dividing the councils of the Government; and did not the Members of the Government come down to that House looking pleasant or melancholy, according as the one section of the Cabinet prevailed or found themselves in a minority? Was it not a fact that we now found foreign countries alienated, our defences weakened, our taxation enormously increased, our trade prostrate, and war imminent? Under those circumstances, he thought they were entitled to ask for some information and some explanation from Her Majesty's Government before they parted with control over this money.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The hon. Member (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) will hardly expect anyone on this side of the House to follow him in the miscellaneous observations with which he has concluded, or to take much notice of the very unworthy remarks that he has thought proper to make on the Prime Minister. For my own part, I have never been an adulator of the Prime Minister. But I must say that I believe there has never been a time in his career when the country was better pleased to see him in control of our affairs than it is at this moment. The hon. Member talks about the right hon. Gentleman beginning his reign with an apology. I should like to ask him whether his own Leader, if he came into power to-morrow, would not have to begin with an apology to Russia? ["No!"] What, do you think it possible that a statesman could be entrusted with the reins of Office who has just given to a great Power the alternative choice between being a swindler and a bankrupt? My hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) has told us to-night that some of us who sit near him have seen our policy rejected.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that he stated that the policy of non-intervention in Egypt was rejected.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Why, Sir, if there ever was a time when those sitting in this part of the House had a right to congratulate themselves on the line which we adopted, it is to-night. We have to-night heard Ministers using the self-same arguments for abandoning a policy, which we pressed on them two months ago against ever taking that policy up. We have constantly been taunted with the twofold course that we have taken; with protesting against the action of Ministers while refusing to displace them. We have been reproached, in the phrase of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke), with giving one vote for conscience and another for Party. I submit that events have amply justified us. If we look back on the line that we followed when we gave one vote as a protest against the Soudan policy and another against turning out the Minister, we must come to the conclusion that we pursued the only course open to men of sense and judgment. Infallibility is not the secret of any Ministry. It is not even the gift of all Oppositions. But the present Government, though they are fallible, have, at any rate, the grace not to be impenitent. I am bound to say that I much more admire the moral courage with which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War has to-day admitted that the policy the Government had hitherto pursued in the Soudan was not wise, than I appreciate what I must call the moral cowardice of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), who got up and said

that he had never been in favour of going to Khartoum. That statement filled me with amazement. On the occasion of the last Vote of Censure, a humble individual sitting in this region made a Motion condemnatory of the policy of going to Khartoum. That Motion was opposed, and by whom was the opposition to the Motion led? Why, by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex. It was an Amendment moved by the noble Lord that caused my proposition to be rejected. ["No!"] Yes, Sir; I am speaking of the Vote of Censure at the end of February, on which occasion 455 Gentlemen went into the Lobby on the proposition of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex and defeated our Motion against going to Khartoum. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), a few night ago, made a very statesmanlike speech in favour of giving up the Soudan policy. But then, while the noble Lord was absent, his vicegerents on the Front Bench had usurped full powers. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) made a very definite statement of policy, which, I think, we must assume to be the policy of the Tory Party. What did the right hon. Baronet say? I will take the liberty of reading his words—

"I think it will now be admitted that if we gave up the Soudan to the Mahdi, either anarchy or a slave-trading despotism would be the future of the country; and I do not think the people of England will agree to that. . . . . You must retain the control of the Nile Valley, as far south as Khartoum; and you must see that there is established at Khartoum a Government, subject to your influence, in close connection with the Government of Egypt. . . . That appears to me a policy which is at least definite, and, if followed, would not impose on this country any such terrible burden as appears to be supposed."—(3 *Hansard*, [294] 1637.)

That, I say, was and is the policy of the Conservative Party, and it is impossible to reconcile the speech of the noble Lord with the declarations made by the Leaders of his Party during his absence. The only misgiving that I feel myself, after what the Government has said to-night, is that they do not go quite so far as I could wish. A year ago I said that if you hold Suakin then you are committed to hold the entire Soudan. It is extremely difficult to hold that place without making a railway, or pushing forward in some way. If you made a railway 10 or 20 miles long, it would only be a railway into the desert, producing nothing and developing nothing. It could not stop there. If you have your little finger in Suakin, you will inevitably be tempted some day or other to push the railway on to Berber. Making the railway to Berber is all very well; but it means a Government at Berber—an English or a European Government. I deprecate anything like any entanglement of that sort. What I should wish, therefore, is that the Government would announce their intention of giving up Suakin, as well as the rest of the Soudan. I regret that the Government should suppose that the time has not yet come for an announcement of that kind; because a year ago, on the 6th of March, 1884, the Prime Minister said that they would have to consider what would be the best form of providing ultimately for the security of Suakin on the withdrawal of the British Forces, "which was an object they desired and would use every possible endeavour speedily to attain." No doubt the Secretary of State gave two reasons why we should retain Suakin. One was that we should stop one of the great vents of the Slave Trade. If we may trust the Reports of official agents, I believe that we have every possible reason to doubt any such statement. It is clear that the Slave Trade is carried on by dhows, which can run up at any point on the shore. Possession of one particular port would, therefore, be of uncommonly little use in stopping the Slave Trade. The other argument used by the noble Marquess in defending the retention of Suakin was that it was of importance to us that no other European Power should have a hold on the Red Sea. At the time I thought this was a good argument, and that there would be many inconveniences in having another European Power between the Suez Canal and our Indian Possessions. But we now understand that a European Power is already placed in a port on the Red Sea—that the Italians are at Massowah, I presume with the acquiescence and approval of Her Majesty's Government. This particular argument, therefore, has now lost all its force. Next, it was urged that we should remain at Suakin in order to exercise a civilizing influence, and so

forth. I regret, by the way, that my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) is not in his place; I should like to have heard his views on the new policy of Her Majesty's Government in the Soudan, where he was so anxious that we should exercise our civilizing influence, even at the risk of indefinite extension of risks and responsibilities. Well, we have left Khartoum, on the ground, or with the excuse, as the Prime Minister expressly said, that the government at Khartoum was not any worse than it was four or five years ago. Might not exactly as much be said of Suakin? If we leave Suakin, like Khartoum, it would be no worse than it was four or five years ago. I will say no more on the one point on which I differ from the Government. I feel too strongly how much cause for congratulation we have, and the country has, that the Government, having recognized that they have taken a false step, has had the courage to retrace it. I will not trespass on the time of the House by speaking of the affairs of Afghanistan. I believe that the constituencies, and especially the new constituencies, would not readily have forgiven Her Majesty's Government if they had committed us to so tremendous an undertaking as a war with Russia for so infinitesimal a point as that for which we were contending. I do not mean to say that the question of our Indian Frontier, and the ultimate settlement of that frontier with Russia, is a small question. On the contrary, I believe that it is one of the most important questions of the time, and will pretty certainly engage the attention of both political Parties for the next 10 or 15 years to come. But what I will say is this—that the war, which hon. Gentlemen opposite seem so anxious to precipitate, would not have advanced the settlement of that question in the smallest degree. If we had any chance of reducing Russia to the position of a third or fourth-rate Power, then I could have understood how, by the war, we should have attained our end. But there is no one who believes, or makes a pretence of believing, that such a feat is within our power. We know that we have to deal with Russia, and if any Gentleman can point out to me how a war with Russia, waged, as it would now have to be, under the most difficult circumstances, is to be won, I will admit that the policy of the Government in seeking peace under the present circumstances is an unwise policy. I feel that until the Papers which have been promised have been laid upon the Table the House will not be in a position to form a ripened judgment upon this subject. I feel, too, that the announcement that has been made to-night of the intention of the Government to retire from that miserable scene, the Soudan, will be received with satisfaction throughout the country; while the pacification with Russia, even though it should prove to be merely a temporary pacification, which has been the result of the diplomacy of Her Majesty's Government, is an object of which the great bulk of the people of this nation will most heartily approve.

MR. CHAPLIN: Sir, the hon. Member opposite has again imputed to Gentlemen on this side of the House a charge that he brought against the Opposition on a former occasion—namely, that we are anxious to bring about a war between this country and Russia. ["Hear, hear!"] As hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer that insinuation, I must once again repudiate the charge with all the force and energy in my power. I will, however, go as far with the hon. Member as this—that I am not ashamed to admit that, in my opinion, a just and an honourable war is infinitely to be preferred to a sham and a dishonourable peace, and a peace, moreover, which would only leave the situation of affairs in this position—that war, in all probability, sooner or later, would be inevitable; and a war to be waged under such circumstances would be infinitely more disadvantageous to this country than it would be at the present moment. Passing, however, for a moment, from the insinuation of the hon. Member, although I shall have to make some further observations upon his speech before I conclude my own, and before I address myself to the question immediately before us, and the previous speeches which have been delivered in the course of this debate, I desire, so far as I am concerned, to clear up the position in which the House is placed with regard to the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). I understood the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to say, at the commencement of these proceedings, that he was under

the impression that a distinct understanding existed not to contest the second reading of this Bill. I desire to guard myself most distinctly against any adhesion—against the slightest adhesion whatsoever—to that proposition on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman, indeed, admitted that a voice from below the Gangway was heard in which the assertion was repudiated; and he was kind enough to tell me this afternoon, when I interjected an observation across the floor of the House, that I had taken no part in the proceedings on the previous occasion when this subject was under discussion. As a matter of fact, the part I took in that proceeding was to move the adjournment of the debate—a Motion which has led, as far as I can see, to the present proceedings; and I wish to say distinctly that I regard the debate to-night as nothing more nor less than the continuation of the debate on the Vote of Credit the other night, and as an occasion which affords us an opportunity, if we think it right and desirable to do so, after all we have heard and shall hear, I presume, from the Government to-night, of giving a hostile vote against this Bill, in order to refuse the Supplies which have been demanded by the Government. What else could be the object of our proceeding the other night? We held then that there was not sufficient information to justify us in coming to a conclusion on the questions submitted to us by the Government, and precisely because we required further information we took the course I have described. The right hon. Gentleman also took exception to the Amendment, and to the proceedings of the Opposition, on the ground that they are inconvenient as a matter of procedure. Now, I do not regard them by any means as a matter of procedure only, and I confess that I rejoiced greatly when I heard the Amendment read the other night by my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition on the part of the noble Lord, and my views on that occasion have been confirmed by the proceedings of this evening, because it appeared to me then, and it appears to me still more now, that the Opposition had no alternative except to take the course which they have taken on this occasion, without being liable to the charge of a most distinct failure of duty. What is it that we have heard to-night? The hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) has congratulated Her Majesty's Government upon a magnificent exhibition of moral courage upon this occasion. He regards the attitude of Her Majesty's Government, and the policy they have pursued, as an exhibition of moral courage. Well, Sir, I take rather a different view of their proceedings. I have not been an excessive number of years in the House myself; but I question very much whether the oldest Member of the House of Commons ever heard a statement from a Minister of the Crown in this House which enveloped his Colleagues and himself in a blacker pall of shame, discredit, and disgrace, of imbecility, of ignominy, and I am afraid that I must add of infamy as well, than that which fell upon them here to-night, as he unfolded step by step his piteous avowal of their latest inconsistency in regard to the Soudan—with all its vast expenditure of men and money, blood and lives, for no purpose whatever—with all this cruel and this useless slaughter, these hecatombs of victims. The homes almost without number—the countless homes ruined and destroyed in the Soudan; and all for no object and no purpose whatsoever under the sun, except to save the seats of an imbecile and incapable Government. I venture to claim that the question of their Soudan policy is a subject which in itself deserves and merits a Vote of Censure on the part of the House of Commons, if it stood alone. But there are some other questions in connection with the Soudan policy to which I should like, for a moment, to direct the attention of the House. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) just now asked this question of the Government. He said—"I am pretty well satisfied with your proceedings on the whole; but I feel that I should have liked you to have gone further. Why do not you give up Suakin altogether?" I am, of course, only speaking of the proceedings of to-night, because we know that the hon. Member has throughout objected to the policy of the Government in the Soudan. To-night, however, pleased with their policy of retirement, he says—"Why not go a little further and give up Suakin altogether?" I think I can supply the hon. Member with an an-

swer out of the lips of the Prime Minister himself. Not long ago—on the 19th of February last—the Prime Minister made use of these words. He said—"A contrary decision would have at once involved the abandonment of these all-important objects:—Firstly, the rescue of General Gordon's friends at Khartoum; secondly, the establishment of a stable Government there; thirdly, the checking of the Slave Trade; and, fourthly, the rescue of the garrisons." Now, this statement on the part of the Prime Minister was some answer, I admit, to the inquiry of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) as to why he does not go further and give up Suakin; but it entails this upon the Government—that it is absolutely necessary for some Minister to rise in his place to-night and reconcile the statement of the Prime Minister on the 19th of February with the announcement we heard from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War at the commencement of the evening. Well, Sir, the Prime Minister said something more, because, on the 23rd of February, he made this assertion. He said—

"The representation of the necessity of an Expedition to Suakin, and of making from Suakin provision that the route to Berber shall be rendered safe against Osman Digna and his Forces—that demand, that necessity, does not depend upon our adoption of the policy of destroying the Mahdi's power at Khartoum, but is inherent in the nature of the case as it stands."—(3 *Hansard*, [294] 1099.)

If that policy did not depend on the necessity of destroying the Mahdi's power at Khartoum, in Heaven's name what did it depend upon? Will the Government be good enough to give us an explanation in the course of the debate this evening? The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade complained of my noble Friend—and the complaint was in the nature of a retort—that he did not say what he meant because of the form of the Amendment. He said we only ask for information. Well, we did begin by asking for information. That is quite true. We have been desirous of information all through; but we have not got it; and, as far as I can see, we never shall get it. As we do not get the information, we have only one resource to fall back upon, and it is to refuse the Supplies asked for by Her Majesty's Government. I doubt very much if ever there was a precedent in the annals of Parliament before for the position in which the Opposition have been placed by Her Majesty's Government. The Government have come forward and made enormous demands on the House of Commons. At the same time, they have laid no Papers upon the Table of the House with regard to the frontier of India, and for months and months we have had no information whatsoever, or hardly any, from the Government. I will not say that we have had none; but certainly it has been the most meagre information possible. The right hon. Gentleman the other night, in a moment of great candour, bluntly blurted this out to the House—that the Government had never presented their policy to the House at all, and that, too, although he must have known that his noble Friend and Colleague sitting by his side—the Secretary of State for War—had laid it down as a high and cardinal principle, when he was Leader of the Opposition and placed in almost similar circumstances, that Votes of Credit and Supplies beyond the ordinary Estimates of the year ought not to be granted except on questions of policy which had been distinctly formed and publicly declared. I need not say that this has been an almost intolerable tax upon the patience of the House—a severe trial of endurance to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House. We have gone on in this way for many months, and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that many of us on this side have had grave doubts how far we were justified in continuing to maintain this attitude of silence and reserve. [*A laugh.*] I do not know why the right hon. Gentleman opposite should laugh. If the Home Secretary is able to extend his recollection back a little longer than 48 hours he must remember that it is not many days since the right hon. Gentleman his Leader—the Prime Minister—paid the Opposition a most unwonted, but a most marked, compliment, for the attitude they had observed throughout these proceedings. What I was saying when the hilarity of the right hon. Gentleman interrupted me was this—that we put aside all these considerations, that we shrunk from anything and everything that could, by any human probability, have embarrassed the action of the Government, we granted

you the Vote of Credit without a word and without a syllable, although we were opposed in principle to your policy, and to all your foreign policy in particular. And why did we do this? Why, Sir, we did it because we hoped and honestly believed, after the speech of the Prime Minister in moving for the Vote of Credit, that the spirit, even of this Government, had been roused at last, and that they were determined it should be used in order to maintain the dignity and the safety of the Empire and the honour of our name. Well, Sir, I contend that we had good grounds for that opinion. I will tell the House two or three of them. It is quite true that Gentlemen sitting opposite on that Bench have earned for themselves, and fitly earned, I think, the title of the Cabinet of Recantation and Surrender, in almost all parts of the world. But here we had not only the speech of the Prime Minister to which I have alluded, but the statements and recorded opinions of many of his Colleagues besides. And what did those statements come to? In the first place, I suppose no Gentleman opposite will deny—for it is universally admitted—that we are pledged to the Ameer to resist and repel all foreign interference in his Dominions. There is no doubt, I presume, and no question on that point. Well, what do those Dominions include? On the 3rd of March the Secretary of State for India, in "another place," and on the same day the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons, declared, on the part of the Government, that in their opinion the positions of Zulficar and Penjdeh were distinctly within the Dominions of the Ameer. That being so, what is it that we have seen? Surely these things must, in common fairness, by hon. Gentlemen opposite be held to account for some change of attitude on our part. They have never been explained, and we are totally in ignorance of the negotiations of the Government with regard to them. That being so, and this being the declaration of the Government, what is it that we have seen? The positions named have been taken by a Foreign Power. They are occupied at this moment by a Foreign Power, with the acquiescence, as far as we know—at all events, the Government have not insisted on the withdrawal of that Foreign Power—and therefore, as far as we know, with the complete acquiescence of Her Majesty's Government. What is the next point? On the 1st of April—and I must say a very appropriate day I think it was under all the circumstances—the Earl of Rosebery, the latest ornament of the Cabinet, whose addition to that Body was publicly welcomed as the herald of a new and a more courageous and a more thorough English policy on the part of the Government, delivered a speech at Manchester. What did he say there? Why, he ridiculed the idea of arbitration, on the ground that any arbitration in this case would be a foregone conclusion, and because all arbitrations of this nature had invariably been given against us. Thirdly, there were the statements deliberately made by the Prime Minister on the 9th of April in this House, and by the Earl of Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, at Lahore, on the 15th of April. The latter statement may not be absolutely without qualification, as the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister pointed out to-night; but I do not accept the accuracy of his description of the Earl of Dufferin's words, because I have read them from another source myself, and what the Earl of Dufferin said was this, as far as my information goes—that the aggression was unprovoked upon the Ameer's Dominions as far as he had been able to ascertain. I certainly imagine that the sources of information open to the Viceroy of India must be pretty good, and that he would not have made so grave a statement, coming fresh, as he did, from a conference with the Ameer, unless he had been pretty well satisfied of the facts. Yet he stated that the Dominions of the Ameer had been the scene of an unprovoked aggression by a Foreign Power. Sir, I say that was a statement the gravity of which it is impossible to over-estimate. When an English Minister comes down to the House of Commons, addresses us in measured tones, and tells us that an unprovoked aggression has been committed by a Foreign Power either upon ourselves or upon one of our Allies in a quarter which is vital to the interests of England, the least that the English Parliament and the least that the English people expect is that reparation and a full explanation shall be made by that Foreign Power, and made without de-

lay. What has happened in this case? Has Her Majesty's Government asked for reparation? The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, to-night, as far as I understood him, said that they have not. I do not care whether you have or not; but what is the position in which you are placed? If there has been unprovoked aggression, and if you have asked for reparation, your demand has been contemptuously refused. If there has not, and if you have not done so, then you are even more guilty than I thought you were; because you had no business to come down to this House and make a statement such as this. Well, have you asked for explanation? You have, I believe, asked for explanation; and what is the result? Why, the result is this—that in spite of the forecasts of your own Colleague, the latest addition to the Cabinet, you have deliberately relegated this question of unprovoked aggression to what, in all the circumstances, I am bound to believe, on the Earl of Rosebery's authority, can lead to nothing but a humiliating and a foregone conclusion. You have relegated that question not in reality, but, in my opinion, only in form. Why do I say this? I say it because, while you have recalled Sir Peter Lumsden, the conduct of the only person—General Komaroff—besides Sir Peter Lumsden who can really be responsible for that unprovoked aggression is excluded altogether from the arbitration. Now, I should like to ask a question upon that point, and it is a question, I think, which the Government ought to answer. I do not wish to impute anything to them until I know how the position stands. What I want to ask is this. Has that recall of Sir Peter Lumsden, or his direction to repair to the Metropolis—whatever you please to call it—been demanded, or has it been made, either directly or indirectly, a condition of arbitration, by Russia? The Government must pardon me for even asking of an English Government a question of that nature; but they must remember that in the official and semi-official organs in Russia the recall of Sir Peter Lumsden has been clamoured for for some considerable time; and when I remember how Her Majesty's Government sacrificed the life and how they betrayed General Gordon at Khartoum, how they refused to send an expedition to save him in time for fear of their Radical supporters below the Gangway, they must forgive me if I am not very confident of the chivalry they are likely to show towards other English officers who are in their employ. All these matters to which I have referred unquestionably indicate, in my opinion, a marked change in the attitude of the Government since the Prime Minister came down to the House of Commons and made his celebrated speech. And that change of attitude it is which, in my opinion, not only justifies but absolutely calls for and demands the course which is being pursued by the Opposition this evening. We are bound to consider—it is one of the most important points the Government and Parliament should have in view—the effect of all this in India upon the subjects of the Queen in that country. Taken in connection with another point, when you demanded of the Russian Government that their Forces should be recalled from Sarakhs months ago, and on their flat refusal to do anything of the kind you allowed your demand to lapse—all these things, taken together, must have a most injurious effect on the people of India and upon that loyalty which they have been so ready to show when the Empire appeared, not long ago, to be in danger. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade took great credit to the Government for having, at all events, whatever else they might have done, succeeded in preserving peace. I want to know what are your guarantees that you have preserved peace, and for how long you are going to preserve it? You tell us something about a Convention about to be made with Russia. We have heard of Conventions made with Russia before; and I want to know what reliance is to be placed on this Convention? The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) the other night gave us a history of the advances of Russia towards the frontier of India. Not one single Gentleman on that side of the House attempted for one moment to impugn that history. If the statement is true—and, as far as I know, it is true—it is a grave statement in all respects. Then what possible reliance can be placed in future upon any Convention we can make with Russia? Then we want to know, and we must

know, unless we are to refuse this Bill to-night, what is to be your policy in India in future. Have you made up your own minds about it? Will the Government tell us, at all events, what are their views about Herat? Surely upon that point the Government might condescend to give some information to the House of Commons. Among many of the great military experts Herat has been regarded for years, and by some is still regarded, as what is called the key of India. I should like to know if the Government consider that the retention of Herat within the Dominions of the Ameer is essential to the safety of India and part of their policy, or do they not? Have you got any guarantee with regard to Herat? The Government must remember this—that all the present difficulty has arisen from the policy they pursued immediately after the overthrow of the Earl of Beaconsfield's Government. In abandoning Candahar they reversed his policy and broke up his railway, which we are now told they are beginning to make afresh. And what have we heard to-night? Not very long ago we began another railway. It was only a month ago that we began the railway from Suakin to Berber, and that railway, we are told to-night, will not be required, and there is no disposition to push it on for any military purpose. When the Government were asking for Supplementary Estimates about six weeks ago they told us that this railway was absolutely essential to the safety of the Forces of Lord Wolseley and the policy of Her Majesty's Government. All past experience, therefore, teaches us that in all human probability, if they get their Bill and Vote to-night, they will come down in six weeks' time and tell us with regard to the railway to Candahar, as they did with regard to the railway to Berber, that it is not required and that there is no intention of pushing it on for any military purpose. That is precisely the reason why the Opposition have taken this course, and why they have moved the Amendment of which the Government have so much complained to-night. It is because it is impossible for us to rely upon the policy of the Government from one month to another. What is it that we were asked by the President of the Board of Trade? He asked us what it is that we condemn? I will tell the right hon. Gentleman in a single sentence. We condemn the whole policy of the Government from first to last. He complains of the form of the Amendment moved by the noble Lord. He says — "The Amendment means one thing, but your speeches mean another." I think he will find they both mean the same. I care nothing for the form of an Amendment, so long as the result is the same; and, unless I am mistaken, the result of this Amendment, if it be carried, will be the overthrow and downfall of Her Majesty's Government. Sir, I hope that may be its result; for, in my opinion, every hour which prolongs the rule of the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues in this country is an hour of added danger and peril to the fortunes of the Empire. I shall give my vote in hearty support of the Amendment, because I am persuaded that neither contentment nor prosperity at home, nor peace or tranquillity abroad, is possible until this Government, with its evil records and ill-aimed policy in all parts of the world, shall have perished and been swept away.

MR. LAING said, he hoped the House would indulge him for a few moments while he explained his views upon this matter. At any rate, he could claim to be impartial, because, when he had disapproved of the policy of Her Majesty's Government in reference to Egypt, he had not hesitated to express his disapproval both by his speech and by his vote. As, however, in the present instance he approved the policy of the Government, he thought it could not be said that he was animated by any other motive than an honest desire to give expression to sentiments that were genuinely entertained, and a desire to do the best he could in the interests of the country in a grave crisis like this. He was far from saying that, if this were a mere question of retrospective criticism, he could approve all the steps which had led to the present difficulty. But he felt that the position in which the House was now placed was one which was far too grave for retrospective criticism. They must look the facts in the face, and take them as they were. What was the real meaning of this Amendment? The meaning of it was to turn out the present Government, and to install in their places a Government that would go to war with Russia. It was all very well for the hon. Mem-

ber for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to make a strong disclaimer about wishing to go to war with Russia; but it was impossible for any man of common sense to arrive at any other conclusion after hearing the speech of the hon. Gentleman. In the event of the Amendment being carried, and a new Ministry being placed in power, they would have at the head of the Government a noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), who the other day delivered a speech which most of them had read with deep regret to find that anybody pretending to the position of an English statesman could use such language. The noble Marquess went so far as to speak of the Russian Government as bankrupts and swindlers. In the House of Commons the real Leader of the Opposition—because he who led the Leaders was himself the Leader—the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) spoke of peace with Russia as "terrible news." Moreover, the present Amendment had been made by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord Goorge Hamilton) in a speech which breathed fire and fury against Russia in every sentence, and which expressed indignation at the prospect of peace. He, therefore, doubted whether the policy inaugurated by the Amendment was either a sound, a right, or a moral policy, or whether it would be a reasonable and practicable one. So far as the morality of that policy was concerned, what did it really amount to? It meant that Russia was the one Power in Europe from whom they had anything to fear, and that accordingly it ought to be their business to thwart and oppose her in every part of the globe. So far as Central Asia was concerned, it was contended that they ought to maintain as large an extent of desert between them and Russia as was possible—a tract of desert and sterile land as large as France or Germany; once the site of populous cities, but now the abode of the wild boar and the wild ass. And why was it a desert? He would not quote from any Russian authority, but from one of our own English newspaper correspondents. According to Mr. O'Donovan, whose journey to Merv was well known, and according to other newspaper correspondents who had been with Sir Peter Lumsden's Mission, the sole reason why this was an extensive desert was that it had been so overrun by slave-hunting Turcomans that it had been found impossible for peaceable citizens to live in it. It had once been populous and prosperous; but when the people were called upon to cultivate their fields they found themselves compelled to hold the plough in one hand and the musket in the other, and they could not venture outside the walls of the towns lest they should be pounced upon and carried off to slavery. The consequence was that the land had been allowed to become sterile and unprofitable, and virtually a desert. Was it to remain a desert, because they were afraid of Russia? Why were they afraid of Russia? What was their natural frontier in India? He asked the House to consider that question for a moment. What was their natural frontier on the North-West of India? It was, thank Providence, one of the strongest frontiers in the whole world. Two sides of their Indian Empire were surrounded by an ocean which was impregnable so long as they commanded the sea. A third portion of it was protected by an impassable desert and the River Indus, and it was only in the North-West, or on what was called the North-Western Frontier, that India could by any possibility be subjected to invasion. And what was that North-West Frontier? It consisted of a great wall of mountains, high and rugged, accessible only by passes, of which they held the mouths; and beyond that rugged mountain chain for 700 or 800 miles, stood Afghanistan—a country inhabited by tribes accustomed to fight for their independence, very much in the condition of the Highlands of Scotland a century or two ago; united, however, by a common religion and a strong feeling of nationality. Whoever cared to thrust his hand into that hornet's nest would be perfectly certain to get the worst of it. What was the opinion of some of their greatest authorities? The Duke of Wellington said of Afghanistan, that in it a small army would be cut off, and a large army must starve. It would be well if some Members of the Opposition would study the opinions of their greatest Indian statesmen—Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, and Lord Lawrence, especially the latter, who was one of the highest authorities they could have upon everything connected with their Indian Em-

pire. Before Lord Lawrence became Governor General of India he was Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, a Province in close contact with Afghanistan. He (Mr. Laing) would strongly recommend hon. Members opposite, who were crying out so loudly that their Indian Empire was about to be lost because the Russian outposts were advancing a few miles nearer to Afghanistan, to make a critical investigation of the memoirs of Lord Lawrence, and see what it was that that noble Lord said. Lord Lawrence always steadily urged that they ought to rely upon their natural frontier. This advice was overruled twice—once by Lord Auckland, and again by Lord Lytton, who was the Viceroy of a Government who wished for a spirited foreign policy. Nor must it be forgotten that Lord Auckland, when Governor General of India, sent out an expedition to Afghanistan to counteract the designs of Russia, from which only one solitary survivor returned. Was it contended that they ought to undertake a similar expedition now? As he had pointed out, the country beyond its natural frontier was simply a nest of hornets, and if they thrust their hand into it they would only be too glad to draw it back again, swollen by the stings it would have received. With the position which they occupied on their side of the North-Western Frontier, Russia would never commit the stupidity of marching across Afghanistan, some 700 or 800 miles from her own base of operations, in order to invade their possessions. It would require very little to make the frontier of Afghanistan absolutely impregnable. They had in India already about 60,000 European troops upon the regular establishment, and about double that number of Native troops. Of that Force, in the event of war, they might readily place 30,000 European troops and 50,000 or 60,000 Native troops upon the North-Western Frontier. Even if that were not enough, there ought always to be some 25,000 or 30,000 more available in this country which, at very short notice, would be rendered fit for service in India, or in whatever other part they might be required. With a *Corps d'Armée* of 25,000 men, ready to be shipped to India at a month's notice, with adequate Field Artillery, he ventured to maintain that the North-Western Frontier could be rendered absolutely impregnable, and that no attack could possibly be made upon their position. There were, however, two or three points which ought to be considered. For instance, they ought to convert Quetta and Peshawur into strong camps sufficient to protect a considerable number of men. There ought to be a military railway running from Quetta to Peshawur, so that they might be able, with the greatest rapidity, to concentrate a Force at Quetta, or at some other point in that direction. With such precautions, it would be a very easy task to make their frontier in India as nearly impregnable as, humanly speaking, was possible. Of course, India could not stand the strain of the additional burdens that would be entailed, and it would be necessary for this country to provide for the cost; but he did not think the entire expenditure would involve an addition of more than 1*d.* in the pound to the Income Tax. The contention of hon. Members opposite was that in order to save the possible addition of 1*d.* to the Income Tax it was necessary to keep a great part of Asia a perpetual desert. Personally, he was not prepared to say that the advance of Russia in Central Asia had not been of considerable advantage to the cause of humanity. In the first place, they had broken up the great Slave Mart at Khiva, and had rescued thousands of unhappy Persians, who had been kidnapped by the Turcomans and sold into slavery. In this respect they had followed the example of Admiral Blake, who was said, by his operations in the North of Africa, to have very signally succeeded in singeing the whiskers of the Bey of Algeria. He failed to see that it was necessary to maintain a perpetual desert between Afghanistan and the possessions of Russia in order to guard them against the constant apprehension of danger. No doubt, that had been their policy from time immemorial; but it had altogether failed to stop the advance of Russia. If there was a further advance, or even an aggressive act on the part of Russia, how did they propose to stop it? What could they do in Central Asia, if that was made the base of their operations? Could they send a large army 800 miles across Afghanistan to fight Russia, with the absolute certainty that if they met with the

slightest check or mishap, the Afghans themselves would turn upon them and cut off their retreat? If they desired to defend Herat, the only way in which it could be done was to have a clear, intelligible, and defensible frontier, and let Russia know that if she came nearer the walls of Herat with a view of attacking that city, it would mean war with England. No doubt, if Russia did attempt to march through Afghanistan in order to attack Herat, the question would become a very different one. But how many miles north of the natural boundary, supplied by a rugged chain of mountains, was the boundary line of their North-Western Frontier to be drawn? He maintained that they could defend Herat in one way, and in one way only; and it was not by sending an army upon a wild-goose chase across Afghanistan, but by engaging in war with Russia, with all the resources of the country, and with the inevitable result of Russia having in the end to sue for peace, and to give up everything. Was it likely that Russia would attack Herat and invade India? He was not in the secrets of Russian statesmen; but he thought such a proceeding extremely unlikely, because Russia could not undertake an invasion of India without first conquering Afghanistan, and not only conquering, but also assimilating it to its own territory, and making railways through that most difficult country. That was a task which would ruin the finances of Russia, and would necessitate the imposition of a taxation so oppressive as to make the enterprize extremely burdensome to her people. It must also so lock her up in the East, that she would lose all chance of maintaining her influence nearer home in regard to matters which touched her more closely. Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, and the Christian populations in Turkey, would then look to Austria and not to Russia as their protector, and, in fact, Russia would place herself at the mercy of Austria. Would any Russian statesman consent to sacrifice the influence of Russia in the East, and possibly in Constantinople itself, for the chance of gaining Afghanistan? Perhaps he might be allowed to explain the frontier line. [*Cries of* "Time!" *and interruption.*] Probably some hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House did not like to hear these things; but they could not deny that he was able to speak with some knowledge of the subject. The line of frontier, which it was understood had now been settled, was a vastly better frontier than the one would have been which extended considerably beyond that mountain range, which they could not possibly have defended, which they would have had to evacuate at the first shot fired in a war with Russia, and which would yet have involved them in constant disputes with that Power, and would have given her a plausible excuse for at any time picking a quarrel with them. The Ameer of Afghanistan was, it appeared to him, the person who, in all these transactions, had shown the most common sense. He knew very well that there could not be war between England and Russia without his country being occupied by the Armies of one or of both of those Powers, and he would not have either of them, because he was aware that if they once got into the country, it would not be easy to get them out again. He was satisfied that the only way in which this country could carry out their policy as to Russia with advantage was by maintaining the frontier he had pointed out. A war with Russia at that moment could not be too strongly deprecated. Not only were we without Allies, but other European Powers were watching us like a cat watched a mouse in order to put forward their own demands as soon as they found we were engaged in hostilities.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I am rather sorry that the House was unable to pay more close attention to the remarks which have fallen from the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, because he is the first hon. Gentleman in the course of this evening who has risen to give a warmhearted and intelligent defence of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I wish Her Majesty's Government joy of their solitary supporter, because I am quite unable to arrive at a conclusion as to which was more confusing, more bewildering, or more chaotic—the geography or the strategy of the Chairman of the Brighton Railway. There were one or two remarks, however, which the hon. Member made which enable me, more or less, to bring back the attention of the House to the Question immediately before it. The hon. Member said that he was going to support the Government, and

he declared his intention to support the Government because the meaning of the Amendment was to turn out the Government and to go to war with Russia. I have only to remark on the singular discrepancy between Her Majesty's Government and their one isolated supporter, because the Government declared that the Amendment had no meaning whatever, while the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) has placed about as strong a construction on it as any Amendment can bear. The hon. Member is partly right and partly wrong. Undoubtedly, the object of the Amendment is to enable right hon. Gentlemen opposite to vacate their seats with a certain amount of grace and dignity; but the meaning of the Amendment is not that; on the contrary, my firm belief is that if the result of the Amendment was to produce a change in the position of both Parties, that would undoubtedly mean peace with Russia. I know that hon. Members opposite have very freely accused us on this, as on other occasions, of being the War Party; but in this they are really allowing themselves to be carried away by an unhappy and unfortunate amount of violent and blinded partizan prejudice. Observe how they totally misconstrue every expression which falls from Members on this side of the House. The hon. Member for the Islands of Orkney (Mr. Laing) and the Chairman of the Brighton Railway—["Order!"]—well, he is the Chairman of the Brighton Railway—the hon. Member has stated that I said the other night that the announcement of peace with Russia was "terrible news." I never said anything of the kind. If the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had come down to the House and announced what was likely to be a lasting and durable peace, I should have hailed it with satisfaction, and should have regarded it as joyful news. What I did say was "terrible news" was the surrender to Russia. That is a totally different thing, and I said it was "terrible news" because I knew that surrender to Russia was the worst possible means of securing a permanent and a durable peace. That, at any rate, was an intelligible and moderate view to take, and it does not justify the accusation so freely hurled against us that because we do not believe in the policy of Her Majesty's Government we are necessarily the War Party in this country. I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman will receive any remarks that fall from me without incredulity; but I may say that if I thought the policy of the Government, and the step they announced, were likely to produce a permanent and durable peace with Russia, while securing the safety and prosperity of our Indian Empire, no power on earth would induce me to vote against any step they might have taken. It is really amusing that when we come to mere controversial argument hon. Members opposite accuse us, and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary never omits an occasion if he can fling in the accusation, of being the War Party. It is absurd to style us the War Party in this country. Who is the War Party in this country? Is not the War Party he who comes down to the House of Commons and makes a speech that resounds from one end of Europe to the other, and is re-echoed from Kamshatcka to Constantinople, and after that bellicose speech demands a Vote of Credit for £11,000,000? This is the War Party in this country. What is the position of the Conservative Party? We are opposing the Vote of Credit. We say that your policy and your credit together, your vacillation and your speeches—saying one thing one day and another thing another—will lead to the waste of the pecuniary and military resources of the Empire, and that there is only one inevitable result, and that is war with Russia. We who oppose all that say that if the Government were changed, then, undoubtedly, there might be some chance of peace. We are the real Peace Party in this country, and I am not at all sure that that argument, whether it is good enough for the House of Commons or not, will not be good enough for the constituencies throughout the country. The Prime Minister, in the course of the remarks which he made—I was not, I greatly regret, present myself, but my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) has informed me—was very severe upon the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition and his Colleagues who sit near him, because they have listened to what he styled "Voices below the Gangway." Has the right hon. Gentleman himself never listened to voices below the Gang-

way? Whose voice are the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War listening to now? Is it the voice of those hon. Members who sit behind him, or the voice of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), who spoke so eloquently to-night? Is that not a voice from below the Gangway, and what is it to determine? It is to determine the utter waste of about £6,000,000 of British capital. I do not know in the least whether the Leaders of the Opposition have listened to voices below the Gangway; but even if they did, it does not lie in the mouth of the Prime Minister to cast taunts against them on that account. I should like to make one or two remarks on the singular speech we have heard to-night from the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman has, I imagine, rather misconceived the nature of Parliamentary debate. He has brought into the House a new notion of Parliamentary debate. I always thought that Parliamentary debate was an affair of argument—one side bringing forward arguments, and the other side meeting them with counter-arguments. But the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, like most of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman, was made up entirely of reckless assertions, fierce contradictions, and violent denunciations. I listened to the right hon. Gentleman, as I always do, with the utmost attention, and I thought him at times extremely ingenious, and at others forcible and eloquent; but I did not hear one single sentence of solid or valuable argument from the beginning to the end of his speech. The right hon. Gentleman spent an immense amount of time, like the Prime Minister, in criticizing the Resolution of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton), on which the House will shortly divide. It is very difficult for an Opposition to frame Resolutions of this kind in such a way as to please the Government of the day. We have a Prime Minister who has had unparalleled experience of Parliamentary life, and who is without doubt the greatest authority on Parliamentary practice of any man who lives, and with confidence I ask the Prime Minister whether, with all his experience, he has ever known the case of a Resolution which, if carried, would turn out the Government, the wording of which, the phrases of which, and the sense of which were agreeable to the Government? The Prime Minister is exceedingly contemptuous as to the wording of this Resolution, and so is the President of the Board of Trade, and so is *The Times* newspaper, and other ignorant persons. The critics of this Resolution apparently do not seem to understand or know the difference that exists between a Vote of Want of Confidence and a Vote of Censure. A Vote of Censure, which the Government are so dreadfully disappointed at not seeing moved, is a Vote which expresses disapproval of the past conduct of the Government. A Vote of Censure is moved upon Papers when the House is in full possession of everything done by the Government of the day, and everything that is going to be done in the immediate future—in full possession of everything upon which they can formulate a conclusion to be put before the House. The Opposition has not been in a position to bring forward such a Motion. That never has been the position of the Opposition, for the Government, from the day they came into Office, have studiously prevented the Opposition from acquiring at a vital moment that amount of official information which it was absolutely their duty to afford. The Government have continued that process for the five years they have been in Office until we have got tired of it, and therefore we fall back upon an equally Constitutional and an equally Parliamentary method, which is in the nature of a Vote of Want of Confidence. Remembering, therefore, all that has passed—not only the past career of the Government since they have been in Office, but in connection with the Russian negotiations—I do not wonder that the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton), and those with whom he consults and those who support him, have come to the conclusion that the only course open to them, under the present circumstances, was to move a Vote of absolute Want of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government, and that Motion, I venture to say, conveys an expression of want of confidence in the plainest and most contemptuous language. For it says this—that until Her Majesty's Government lay before the House every step which they have taken, up to now, with regard to the negotiations with Russia, in full detail, and every

step which they contemplate taking in the negotiations now on foot, those on this side of the House, as far the noble Lord and those who support him are concerned, utterly refuse to grant them one 6*d.* of the public money. That is as plain, as clear, as simple, and as decisive in its language and result as it is possible to imagine. Well, now, Sir, what does the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade say? He says how monstrous—that was his word—how monstrous is the attitude of the Opposition. "Here you have a Government," he said, "engaged in the most delicate and critical negotiations, and what are you endeavouring to do? You are endeavouring to discredit and weaken that Government." That was the accusation of the right hon. Gentleman; but I thought—"Good Heavens! he is the very last man in all England who should bring such an accusation against the Opposition." I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what was his political attitude in the year 1876 and in the year 1878? What did the right hon. Gentleman or the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington), who will, no doubt, take part in this debate, say when the Government of that day were engaged in negotiations equally or even more critical? The negotiations now going on might result in a war between Russia and England as to Central Asia; but the negotiations the late Government were carrying on at the time I refer to might have involved a European War. May I ask what their attitude was at that time when we were engaged in critical and delicate negotiations? What was the attitude of the Prime Minister himself? Did he not stump England from end to end? Did he not endeavour—and with much success—to raise the whole country and weaken and embarrass the Government of the Queen at a moment of the utmost delicacy? Heaven forbid that I should blame the right hon. Gentleman, or pass any criticism upon him for the course he then pursued. What was he aiming at? He said he was aiming at freedom and liberty and civilization all over the world; and will you not give us credit for sincerity if we are prepared to give you credit for the sincerity of your proceedings in 1876 and in 1878? Will you not give us credit for our attempts to do a great work in India, and for our dread of the immeasurable peril to which that great work is now being exposed by the policy you are now pursuing and the pusillanimous surrender to Russia which marks your daily life? Surely there should be a reciprocity in these matters. I say it is not fair for the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade to denounce the Opposition now, because, after having borne a great deal more than right hon. Gentlemen opposite bore when in the same position, they say—"We have no longer any confidence whatever in you, and utterly refuse to grant you Supplies in Parliament." I remember that great speech of the Prime Minister in the Corn Exchange, at Oxford, in which he said he had rested neither night nor day, but had worked for one purpose, and one purpose only, and that was to thwart the policy of his rivals. I confess, openly, the object of this Motion. We do not conceal it, although I do not suppose we are likely to convince the stolid minds of hon. Members opposite; but although we are not likely to get a majority, there is no concealment about it whatever. The object of the Motion is to take the conduct of these delicate and critical negotiations altogether out of the hands of the Prime Minister and the present Advisers of the Crown. There was something extraordinary in the anxiety displayed by the Prime Minister to postpone the debate. I was never more struck with anything in my life. I suppose there is nobody who has a more profound knowledge of Parliamentary tactics than the Prime Minister, or who has better information, from hour to hour, of the state of the mind of the House. Now, what could be more alluring, more satisfactory, and more strengthening to the right hon. Gentleman than that he should gain a great Party victory in the House of Commons at the present moment? Why, it would give the Government enormous additional strength in their negotiations with Russia, to show that they had the confidence of the House of Commons, and it would strengthen them greatly in the country. But what was the condition of the Prime Minister at that Table? He got up in the most meek and mild manner, and appealed to the Opposition, for Heaven's sake! not to continue this debate to-night. He asked

us not to do so in our own interests. "The result," he said, "will be disastrous to yourselves, and I earnestly advise you to postpone this discussion to a more convenient season." I am ready to swallow a great deal; but I really cannot believe in the sincerity of the Prime Minister's affection for Her Majesty's Opposition. I cannot help thinking that if the right hon. Gentleman was going to be supported to-night by an overwhelming majority, such as he used to command in the early days of this Administration, he would not be so anxious that we should abandon our position. ["Divide!"] I am not going to detain the House. I feel that the House has often shown me the greatest possible kindness and indulgence, and I will endeavour not to trespass upon that indulgence. But the Prime Minister said, in his opening remarks—"Why should the Opposition continue to go on to-night with this Vote?" He said—"There is absolutely no difference between us." I thought that was the most courageous of all the Prime Minister's assertions. Every single point of difference which any man, with the utmost ingenuity, can imagine to exist between two persons or two Parties exists between ourselves and the Government. We have had occasion, at several separate times during this Parliament, to move Votes of Censure, and although, in no instance, has a Vote of Censure been passed, they have all of them been supported by a very large number of the Members of the House of Commons. They have not been frivolous Votes, repudiated by the general sense of the House. On the contrary, the majorities of the Government against such Motions have steadily decreased, while the minorities in support of them have steadily increased—so much so, that whereas the majority for the Government on the occasion of the Vote of Censure in regard to the evacuation of Candahar was no less than 120, the Ministerial majority on the occasion of the Vote of Censure, after the fall of Khartoum, had sunk to no more than 14. This is a very encouraging history of Votes of Censure, and I think that every such Vote that has been moved in this House has carried with it a very large body of public opinion. Therefore, when the Prime Minister gets up and says that there is no point of difference between us on this side of the House and Her Majesty's Government, I think he altogether forgets that an enormous difference has been regularly displayed, not only in the House but in the Lobby. I could not help being amused when I heard of the proposed evacuation of the Soudan to-day. Never, in the whole history of Parliament, did a Minister in the position of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) make a statement about public policy which excited so much derision in this House. The noble Marquess was, as he always is, dignified and deliberate; but all his dignity and deliberation did not prevent a ripple of laughter from running through the House from end to end. The most remarkable feature of the statement, to my mind, was that the noble Marquess was able to keep his countenance while he made it. However, I thought I might congratulate the Government upon the evacuation of the Soudan, because that was the policy which I endeavoured, in my humble way, to recommend a short time ago. Curiously enough, this morning I was reading a review in *The Times* of the *Home Letters* of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and what fell from the noble Marquess this evening reminded me marvellously of what I read in that review. The Prime Minister has evacuated the Soudan, and I and the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) and some others congratulated him upon it. The Earl of Beaconsfield, it appears, went many years ago to Constantinople, and he has written a description in one of these letters of an interview he had with a very celebrated Minister—Reschid Pasha. There had recently been a great insurrection in Albania which had been put down by the Turks. This is the Earl of Beaconsfield's account of the interview—

"I bowed with all the nonchalance of St. James's Street to a little, ferocious-looking, shrivelled, careworn man, plainly dressed, with a brow covered with wrinkles and a countenance clouded with anxiety and thought. I seated myself on the divan of the Grand Vizier ('who,' the Austrian Consul observed, 'had destroyed in the course of the last three months in war upwards of 4,000 of my acquaintances') with the self-possession of a morning call. Our conversation I need not repeat. We congratulated him on the pacification of Albania. He rejoined that the peace of the world was his only object, and the happiness of mankind his only wish."

I thought to myself when I read those

words—"There, on the Treasury Bench, in the person of the First Minister of the Crown sits the resuscitated Reschid Pasha." The House will gather from the few remarks which I have ventured to address to it that it is my intention to vote in support of the noble Lord's Resolution. In conclusion, I will give some reasons why I support that Resolution; and in order that these reasons may be weighty, conclusive, and overpowering with hon. Gentlemen opposite, I will proceed to give them in the words of a great contemporary statesman who went down to Glasgow in 1880 and addressed an enormous audience in the Free Trade Hall on the then state of the country. The right hon. Gentleman to whom I allude said—

"What is the general upshot? Let us look at it together. I will use the fewest words. We have finance in confusion; we have legislation in intolerable arrear; we have public distress, aggravated by the destruction of confidence; we have Russia aggrandized, and yet estranged; we have Turkey befriended as we say, but mutilated and sinking every day; we have Europe restless and disturbed, agitated from end to end with rumours and alarms; we have the invasion of a free people in the Transvaal; we have, I fear, in one quarter or another, prospects of further disturbance and shedding of blood. We have Afghanistan ruined; we have India not advanced but thrown back in government, subjected to heavy and unjust charges; and with all this we have at home the law broken and the rights of Parliament invaded."

Well, Sir, then the right hon. Gentleman, who I now inform the House was the First Minister of the Crown, went on to say in most beautiful language—

"Is this the way or is it not the way in which a free nation wishes to be governed? Will the people in a few months hence ratify the deeds that have been done and assume upon themselves that tremendous responsibility? I cherish the hope that I may be able to bear home with me at least this consolation that I have spared no effort to mark the points at which the roads divide—the one path which plunges into suffering, discredit, and dishonour; the other which slowly, perhaps, but surely, leads a free and a high-minded people towards the blessed ends of prosperity and justice, of liberty and peace."

Now, that was at the time a statement of fact. It was more than a statement of fact—anyone can make a statement of fact. It was a prophesy I venture to say exceeding in miraculousness anything which can be found in Holy Writ. It describes, word for word, not a syllable of which can you shake, the political position of our country at the present day, and it is in testimony of my admiration for the prophetical powers of the First Minister of the Crown that I shall support the noble Lord.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker—Sir, the speech of the noble Lord reminds us that although there are at the present time subjects for anxiety and great public care, there was a period not very long ago when, according to the noble Lord, the state of public affairs was accurately described by the words of the very competent authority he has cited; and, Sir, when the noble Lord appeals to the judgment which was then, and will now shortly be, passed by the country upon the condition of public affairs and the policy which led to that condition, we shall be content, as we were at that time, to accept the judgment of the people, believing that the judgment will ratify and approve the conduct of this Administration as effectually as it then condemned the conduct of our Predecessors. The noble Lord said at the beginning of his speech that he intended to bring the attention of the House to the Question which is immediately before it. Sir, I felt great satisfaction in listening to that announcement of the noble Lord, because I confess I have failed in the course of the debate in discovering precisely what is the question presented to us in the Motion of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) on which we are asked to vote. But I am not certain that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in the course of his interesting observations, has contributed very much to the object which he said he had in view. The noble Lord said that the result of carrying this Amendment would be, not war with Russia, but the establishment of peace with Russia. But the noble Lord was absolutely silent upon the means which were to be adopted by himself and his Friends for the accomplishment of that important result. When the noble Lord proved or attempted to prove, as he did the other night, that there was no confidence to be placed in any assurance made by the Russian Government, that there is no use in coming to any agreement with Russia or in making any Convention with Russia; and when the noble Marquess the Leader of the Op-

position in "another place" gives to the Russian Government the alternative of being considered swindlers or bankrupts—when this sort of language is applied to the policy of the Russian Government and the policy of Her Majesty's Government, then, Sir, I say that it requires something more than the bare assertion of the noble Lord and his Friends to show that the adoption of this Motion and the placing of their Party in power is an infallible means of securing peace. The noble Lord has told us that this is not a Vote of Censure, but a Vote of Want of Confidence, and he says that the Vote of Want of Confidence is eminently justified by the refusal which upon this and other occasions Her Majesty's Government have made to grant to the House adequate or, indeed, any information. The noble Lord says Her Majesty's Government have studiously, during the past five years, abstained from giving to this House at critical moments information to which it was entitled, and that a Vote of Censure can only be pronounced upon information in the possession of the House. But the noble Lord will admit that it is a most remarkable circumstance that, notwithstanding that absence of information, and notwithstanding that state of ignorance and darkness in which the noble Lord says that he and his Friends are kept, they have not abstained from moving Votes of Censure. They have moved no less than seven Votes of Censure during the present Parliament on the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. Well, Sir, I find it rather hard to reconcile the complaint of the noble Lord that the Opposition had suffered from want of information with their conduct in this matter. The noble Lord has compared the conduct of those who were in Opposition in 1878 with the conduct of the present Opposition. Sir, in my opinion, there is a radical difference between the position occupied by the Opposition in 1878 and that in which we now stand. In 1878 we complained of the absence of sufficient information; but we knew enough, or thought we knew enough, to form an opinion entirely adverse to the action of Her Majesty's Government at the time. We did not complain that they were pursuing ends of which we approved by a course which we thought was wrong; but we took issue, both on the ends they were pursuing and on the course they were following in order to attain those ends; and, therefore, we endeavoured and had no alternative but to withhold the means by which alone that policy could be carried into effect. But what is the position taken by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex when he objects to the policy of Her Majesty's Government? The noble Lord does not disapprove the evacuation of the Soudan; he does not, I imagine, disapprove the endeavour to establish in a more secure and firm manner than has hitherto been possible the definition of the frontiers of Afghanistan that we are bound to respect, and I do not think that he and his Friends disapprove the method by which we are endeavouring to carry out the operation. But I admit that this does not constitute approval of that policy; in my opinion, it constitutes neither approval nor disapproval on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite. But the disapproval of these methods cannot be fairly and intelligibly brought forward until the noble Lord and his Friends have before them the materials on which to form a judgment and frame a case for the refusal of Supplies for the purpose of carrying out the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Well, Sir, I think we are entitled, before this debate closes, to know what is the actual meaning and object of the Amendment which has been moved by the noble Lord on the Front Opposition Bench. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock has acknowledged that in his opinion it means a direct refusal of Supplies. I doubt very much whether the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition, who may perhaps take part in this debate, will support that statement; but certainly, if that be the intention of the Amendment, it is drawn in a most remarkable manner, because it takes particular pains to recite that the House and the Opposition has already shown its willingness to grant Supplies, and that appears to me to be totally inconsistent with the assertion of the noble Lord that it is the intention—that it is the duty—of the Opposition to refuse Supplies to Her Majesty's Government until they have received more adequate information, or as long as Her Majesty's present Advisers remain in power. I think it is perfectly clear, from the views which the noble

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Lord has advocated to-night and advocated before, that it is his intention to withhold Supplies. Although he has not seen the Papers, and has not information enough to enable him to form an opinion that Her Majesty's Government have made what he calls a surrender to Russia, on that ground he is prepared to withhold all confidence from the Government, and, if he deems it necessary, to refuse all means for carrying on the Government at all. But I can conceive that right hon. Gentlemen opposite who are more prudent or less bold than the noble Lord are not prepared to commit themselves to the opinion that Her Majesty's Government have made a surrender to Russia, at all events, until they have gone through the form of examining the Papers that will in a few days be presented to Parliament in relation to the question between the two Governments. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), who moved this Amendment, gave us an opportunity of testing the value of his criticisms on our conduct. The noble Lord said that he had himself always opposed the policy of advancing to Khartoum. But immediately after he sat down he was reminded by my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade that he had had an opportunity, not long ago, of giving effect to those opinions, when the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) brought forward his Amendment which was directed against the policy of the advance on Khartoum. Did the noble Lord support that Amendment? No; he voted directly against it; and more than that, he voted for an Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman who sits beside him, which stated that it was the duty of Her Majesty's Government not only to advance on Khartoum, but to establish a stable Government in Egypt, and in such portions of the Soudan as were necessary for the security of Egypt. Is the noble Lord going to say that that Amendment did not mean that we were to establish a stable Government in Khartoum? I ask him to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman sitting near him. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) distinctly said, on that occasion, that we ought to hold the Nile at least as far as Khartoum, establish a stable Government there, and put a stop to the Slave Trade. Well, Sir, that was the policy which the noble Lord voted for only a few weeks ago, and now the noble Lord comes forward and says that he never approved the policy of going to Khartoum.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I moved an Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: But the noble Lord voted against the Amendment of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley).

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The Government insisted on having the Question put. I had an Amendment on the Paper which gave expression not only to the views of hon. Members on this side of the House, but to those of some hon. Members opposite, and I could not move that Amendment in the circumstances. I voted with the Government in order that I might propose my own.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I sympathize with the noble Lord in the position in which he finds himself. It is really extremely unfortunate that he was prevented by the Forms of the House from giving his vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Newcastle, with whom he agreed, and that, by the exigency of those Forms, he was obliged to vote directly against it. But I do not suppose that the noble Lord will deny that he voted for the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devonshire (Sir Stafford Northcote) for the establishment of a settled Government in Egypt, and such part of the Soudan as might be necessary for the security of Egypt. Then I think we are entitled to ask the noble Lord, and as many as share that opinion with him, what Her Majesty's Government are to be censured for so far as that policy is concerned, and why the confidence of Parliament is to be withdrawn from us? Is it because we were going to Khartoum, or because of our reversing that policy? We have not yet been told by any hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench opposite—or, indeed, by any hon. Member—whether the ground on which the confidence of Parliament is to be withdrawn from us is the original intention, or the abandonment of that intention. If it is on the first ground, then I submit that the Opposition is equally responsible with

us. All the Motions of right hon. Gentlemen opposite pledged us to do what we proposed to do, or something more. If the confidence of Parliament is to be withdrawn from us for reversing that policy, then we wait to hear whether the Opposition is in favour of continuing that policy, and what arguments they have to put forward in support of that view. The noble Lord made some observations upon the announcement of our intention to "smash up the Mahdi," and he spoke of our having murdered 10,000 men. Sir, I deny that that is a fair description, or an accurate description, of the military operations which have taken place up to the present time. The greater part of the fighting which has taken place, and which has been referred to by the noble Lord, has been fighting in the neighbourhood of Suakin. However much we may regret the loss of life, both with regard to our own troops and our gallant enemy, the fighting was altogether justified, irrespective of any intention on our part to advance to Khartoum. We said, at the time of the recent debate on the Vote of Want of Confidence, that Lord Wolseley told us—and surely we ought to have been guided by his opinion—that whether we advanced on Khartoum, or decided that our troops should be concentrated on the Nile, it was necessary for the security of our Army that an Expedition should be sent to Suakin, and that the power of Osman Digna should be broken. Surely it was a justifiable object, and was not to be designated as murder, to undertake military operations which we are told by the General in command he considers to be essential for the safety of our own Force. More than that, I endeavoured to show this afternoon that the operations in the neighbourhood of Suakin were not wholly of an offensive character, but that they were operations necessary from a defensive point of view. Hon. Members may question, if they like, the policy of the retention of Suakin at all; but I have not heard anyone do that except the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley). Hon. Members opposite do not tell us that we ought to abandon Suakin. If we are to remain at Suakin, surely it is not an indefensible operation to shoot our enemy when he attacks us, and to issue forth to destroy his power of concentration and of attacking us again. I maintain that, however much these operations are to be regretted, and however painful may be some of the incidents by which they have been accompanied, they were defensible from a military point of view, altogether irrespective of any intention formed and subsequently relinquished on the part of the Government to advance on Khartoum and destroy the power of the Mahdi there. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) said the declaration I had to make this afternoon was the most astounding declaration he had ever heard from this Bench. I cannot imagine what the noble Lord can have found astounding in it, after the declaration which was made by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister on the 21st of April. On the 21st of April it was announced, apparently with general acquiescence on the part of the House, that the Vote of Credit which was then laid on the Table did not provide for any immediate advance on Khartoum, or for the undertaking of further offensive operations. That declaration has certainly not been much criticized by Members of the Opposition. Do hon. Members think that that was a reasonable and natural declaration of policy to make? Do they think it an astounding declaration that the Government do not mean to keep 9,000 of our soldiers in scattered positions extending for 600 miles on the River Nile? It seems to me that when the House accepted quietly the declaration of my right hon. Friend, there was nothing astounding in the announcement I had to make to-day. Well, the noble Lord wound up his indictment of the Government by telling us it was on account of the imminence and magnitude of the danger which threatened the interests of this country that he moved the Resolution—that he moved this Resolution in order to resist a fatal step on the part of the Government. Is he going to do that by a Resolution which merely asks for information? We are entitled to ask what is the real meaning of his Resolution. Is it, as has been said by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), the expression of an intention to refuse Supplies under any circumstances to this Government; or is it what it professes to be—merely a demand for information, reciting at the same time the

willingness of the Opposition, as already displayed, to provide the necessary Supplies? The House will, perhaps, let me say one or two words in explanation of the change of policy in the Soudan which has recently been adopted by Her Majesty's Government. The House will recollect that when the announcement was made of the intention to provide means for our troops to advance to Khartoum, and smash the power of the Mahdi there, it was said that that resolution had been come to upon the certain state of facts that were then before us. But I venture to submit to the House that the state of facts that then existed is totally different from the present state of facts. We know that Khartoum had then just fallen, and in the opinion of almost everyone an enormous impulse had been given to the power of the Mahdi. It was believed by many—I think by almost all—that the power of the Mahdi, which he had always asserted to be an aggressive power, for he had over and over again expressed the intention of overrunning Egypt, would be enormously strengthened by the success he had achieved at Khartoum. We had reason to believe that the position of a portion of Lord Wolseley's Army was by no means secure, and as has been already explained by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan), we believed that we were bound to place means at Lord Wolseley's disposal which would enable him to take a vigorous offensive position. That decision, as was stated by my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan), was due to military rather than to political considerations. At that time Lord Wolseley required to know from us—as he had a perfect right to know—what our plans with regard to the Soudan were; and the question he put to us was whether our intentions were such as to justify him in taking up a vigorous offensive position of advance, or in taking up a position of retreat. Well, Sir, upon the state of facts then before us, it appeared to us that the best policy was to tell Lord Wolseley he was justified in taking those measures of advance which he might think necessary. But what happened? At the time it was Lord Wolseley's intention to retain in its position at Gubat his advanced guard, that another column—that which started out under General Earle—should advance by the Nile River, and that the two forces should co-operate for the capture of Berber. For a considerable time after the fall of Khartoum Lord Wolseley believed it would be in his power, in the course of the present spring, to take Berber, and that it would be from Berber that the advance on Khartoum would be made. But for reasons into which I need not now go—for purely military reasons, reasons connected with the difficulty of obtaining supplies, the difficulty of obtaining transport across the desert—these operations were found by Lord Wolseley to be impracticable. Notwithstanding the freedom of action which we gave him, he was compelled—I do not blame Lord Wolseley in the slightest degree, for I have no doubt the measures he took were necessary measures, and did not reflect the slightest discredit either upon himself or those under his command—acting upon his own discretion, and not upon compulsion from us, Lord Wolseley was compelled to abandon the execution of those projects which he had intended to carry out when he asked for our authority; and he was obliged to take up a defensive position, a still more defensive position than that which he had contemplated. Well, Sir, is there no difference in the circumstances of an advance being made from Korti, or from Berber, and an advance which would now have to be made from Dongola? And then, Sir, what has recently taken place has thrown great light upon the necessity for any advance upon Khartoum. At the time to which I refer we had every reason to suppose that the fall of Khartoum would be followed by an advance in force of the Mahdi—an advance on Egypt itself. It has been attended with no such result. The Mahdi has shown no disposition to attack the retreating Forces of Lord Wolseley. He has shown no disposition to advance on Egypt. On the contrary, the fact that he is no longer opposed by a foreign enemy does not seem to have given him additional strength; he appears to be in considerable difficulties, and it is perfectly possible that his power has of late greatly diminished. The Government were very properly induced to reconsider the decision which was arrived at under totally different circumstances, and altogether irrespective

of those considerations which a few weeks ago made it only too probable that the whole of our troops would be required for service in other parts of the world. Was there nothing in those considerations themselves to induce us to reconsider the determination at which we had arrived with regard to the Soudan? I admit that there were other considerations which weighed with us. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devonshire (Sir Stafford Northcote), in his speech in the debate upon the Vote of Censure, pressed upon us very strongly the impolicy of going to Khartoum unless we saw our way to establish a settled government there as a result of the advance. We are not altogether indifferent to this fact; and further consideration and further experience does not strengthen the belief that an advance upon Khartoum would be attended by the establishment of any settled or permanent government in that place. Well, Sir, we have now been for some time in the occupation of the Valley of the Nile and the Province of Dongola, or what is called the Province of Dongola; and after the experience we have had, I am not aware that we could maintain any permanent or settled government even there unless we supported it by a large British Force. I shall not detain the House by any further observations on the policy of the Government in the Soudan, neither will I detain the House by a discussion of our policy in Afghanistan; there would be no advantage in doing so, because I feel that this debate will settle nothing, and will conclude nothing, but will only be renewed when the House is in possession of more complete and full information. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) spoke with considerable inaccuracy of a demand which we had made to the Russian Government for reparation. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister never, as far as I am aware, used the word "reparation." He said over and over again that, in his opinion, there was cause for preparation. The noble Lord, with his usual accuracy, has mistaken the word "preparation" for a demand for reparation. The noble Lord says this is to be a sham arbitration. How is it possible for the noble Lord or his Friends, with any show of common fairness or a judicial spirit, to pronounce an opinion as to the character of the arbitration before they see what the negotiations are which have taken place on the subject, or for what object the arbitration has been proposed? The noble Lord speaks of the inequality of the treatment of General Komaroff and General Lumsden. Does the noble Lord wish it to be believed that General Komaroff and General Lumsden were in similar positions? Does the noble Lord think that there was no difference between the position of General Komaroff, in command of a large Russian Force, and of General Lumsden, who was employed on a purely Civil Mission? The attempt to establish a similarity of positions between General Komaroff and General Lumsden is an attempt to place the latter in a position which he never held, and which it would be extremely wrong to induce anyone to suppose he ever did hold. General Lumsden was not in command of the Afghans who were defeated. General Lumsden was not directing the movements of Afghan troops; and, therefore, the attempt to establish any similarity between his position and General Komaroff's is an attempt to establish a comparison which is perfectly fallacious and misleading. An hon. Member—I think it was the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin)—inquired this evening if General Lumsden's recall was made at the request of the Government of Russia. Sir, I cannot allow one moment to pass without saying that neither directly nor indirectly has any demand or any suggestion been made for the recall, if you like to call it so, of Sir Peter Lumsden by the Russian Government. The noble Lord asks what guarantees we have obtained from Russia that she will not advance upon Herat. How is it possible that we can discuss with any advantage to the public, or any completeness, questions such as that when the Papers are not before us? Sir, the anxiety of the Opposition to discuss these questions, and to endeavour to get a decision upon them when they have no information before them, when they know they will have full information before them in a very few days, is somewhat remarkable, and somewhat calculated to lead one to suppose that they are thinking more of obtaining a Party advantage over the Government than of getting at the facts of the case,

It is said that we have gained nothing in the negotiations that have taken place with Russia. It is impossible that the House can form an opinion on that subject also until they see what has been the course of the negotiations, and what has been the result. If we have succeeded in establishing a settled and definite frontier of the dominions of our Ally, the Ameer, whom we are pledged to defend, instead of having, as we have had up to the present time, an indefinite and unknown frontier, I think we have done something. The hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) taunted us by saying we had an Ally in the Ameer of Afghanistan who would not allow us to march through his dominions. Well, Sir, if a result of these negotiations and transactions should be that the first act of the Ameer, on his return to Cabul, was to send an invitation to British officers to visit Herat and put that place in a state of defence, I think that will be something gained, and will show that our relations with the Ameer are improved by these proceedings.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is that in the official Papers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the noble Lord will wait and see. I say that this Amendment, moved by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), is a vague and indefinite one. It is one which cannot by any possibility do any good. It may be that the Amendment is moved with the object of overthrowing the Government, but the noble Lord knows very well that that is not a likely result. If it has not that result it can settle nothing. It can only give an appearance of dissension all over the world; it can only proclaim to the world, what I am afraid is the fact, that even in a time of crisis, through which we have not yet altogether passed, there exists here a Party that prefers the prospect of damaging and injuring the Government, even in the absence of full information, to presenting to the world at large a firm and united front.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: At this hour I will not detain the House more than a few minutes; but it is necessary for me to take notice of the observations of the noble Marquess and others who have spoken in this debate with regard to the Amendment put down by my noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). We have been asked what is the meaning and nature of the Amendment which we have heard spoken of as a Vote of Censure, and we have heard described as a Vote of Want of Confidence. We have also heard it pointed out, very truly, that if such a Motion were carried it might have a peculiar effect upon the existence of Her Majesty's Government. But the particular object with which this Motion was put on the Paper is to be found in the terms of the Motion itself—upon the face of the Motion. It is a demand that before we proceed further in granting Supplies of an extraordinary character we shall have adequate information of the present policy of the Government. I lay stress upon the "present" policy, because it is upon that that the whole matter turns. The Government have so many policies, and the position they are taking up now is so different from that of a week or a fortnight ago, that it is incumbent upon us to demand from them an adequate definition of their policy. I can congratulate my noble Friend on having at least attained this object—that he has drawn forth from the Government promises of the production of Papers, and of some statement with regard to certain points of detail, at an earlier period than we had any reason to anticipate. I appeal to the memory of hon. Members whether we have not found the Government exceedingly reticent in regard to information on this subject; and, therefore, I hope there will be an early production of information. If it were a question of our wanting information with a view of founding on it some charge or censure upon Her Majesty's Government—if that had been all we were looking to—our conduct might have been open to some of the remarks which have been made upon it; but that is not the main object, or certainly not the only object, which we have in view in making this demand. We feel that we are in a position of such importance and of such a peculiar character that it is incumbent upon us, before it is too late, to ascertain what are the motives, the feelings, and the intentions of the Government with regard to the two very important questions which are connected together in this Vote they ask the House to pass. We have been asked to do that which it is a very common thing to do—we have been asked at the beginning

of the financial year, when the natural Estimates ought to be framed with a view to the probable expectation and needs of the year, to come forward and vote a large sum as a Vote of Credit to the Government with respect to certain preparations for certain services which they have in view. We were asked to vote a sum of unparalleled size for that purpose. But that is not by any means the most remarkable part of the transaction. We were asked to give that large Vote—I may almost say without any explanation, at all events with a very meagre explanation, of the circumstances in which it was required, and with an observation of the most remarkable character—namely, that there were bound together in one Vote two services which appeared to be entirely distinct. We were asked to give that Vote not only for services in the Soudan, but also in respect of events that were likely to arise on the borders of Afghanistan and in connection with Central Asia. Why these two services were put together might not at first sight appear to be very obvious; but when we came to consider the matter we saw that they were, and are, very closely connected together—that they are closely connected with what I may call the most vital of all foreign questions for this country—I mean the protection of our Indian Empire. One of those Votes was asked with reference to what seemed the possibility of a direct attack upon that Empire, and the other Vote was asked with reference to services undertaken in Egypt which had for their object the protection of the communications with our Indian Dominions. When the two were put together, they were put together in a most remarkable manner. We were asked to supply large sums of money for special preparations; but we were told also that it was important, with regard to the Vote for the Soudan—and this was really the key to the Resolution that was proposed—that the troops and the forces of the Empire, wherever they might be, and especially those which were in Egypt, might be held available for service wherever they were required. And it was quite clear at the time that the speech of the Prime Minister, to which reference has so often been made, was delivered, that the point which he was anxious to press upon the House was this—that whatever may be the requirements of our Forces in the Soudan, however important may be the services for the defence of Egypt, there are other matters of such vital importance which may lead to transactions of such magnitude that you must be prepared to set aside what you may be called upon to do in Egypt, and to subordinate it to what you may be called upon to do elsewhere. And it was in consequence of that appeal and of the remarkable manner in which it was put forward, and in consequence also of the solemn and very marked tone in which we were invited to make this Vote, that the House at once, unanimously, and without a single word of objection, voted this large sum. Well, but very shortly after we had done that we began to hear that there were changes in the situation, and after a time we were told that the immediate pressure upon us in regard to the special preparations is somewhat relaxed, and that there is a hope and probability of that sum not being needed altogether for the purposes which at first were indicated. But then arises the point, what is to be done in regard to the other part of the question? We were told a good deal of what was the policy of the Government in the Soudan in the early part of the Session. A fortnight ago we were asked to lay that matter aside for a time and to regard it as an entirely subordinate matter, and to substitute for it a policy that would put all the Forces at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government to be used wherever they are required. When that need seemed to have passed away we were anxious to know, and it was right that we should know, what the policy of the Government was with regard to their peculiar conduct of affairs in the Soudan; and it became necessary for us to press for information on that subject, because we cannot but say that the conduct and the course pursued by the Government have been open to the greatest objection on account of their uncertainty. The noble Marquess who has just sat down made some remarks about what he thought was the inconsistency of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) in respect of the vote which he gave in February last, and in respect of the language which he used to-night. There is no inconsistency in the result at all. The noble Marquess opposite takes up a

point which will not bear examination when he says that my noble Friend voted against the Motion of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley). He did so for the purpose of clearing the way, and of enabling himself to propose another Resolution which was a direct Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government. But, however that may be, whatever may be the inconsistency charged against my noble Friend, it is as nothing compared with the inconsistencies of the Government with regard to this question of going to Khartoum. What is the policy of Her Majesty's Government? A year ago, when discussing the question of the Vote of Censure with regard to the Soudan policy of the Government, the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who then took a leading part in the discussion, referred to General Gordon's opinion that it was necessary to smash up the power of the Mahdi, and he referred to it for the purpose of saying that he entirely dissented from that opinion, and that it would be madness to adopt it. But a few months after that time the Prime Minister came forward and said that that policy which his Colleagues had denounced as madness to adopt was the policy which the Government were going to pursue—that was the policy which he told us in February last the Government had adopted, and according to which they desired Lord Wolseley should frame his proceedings. Now, again, we find that the Government have taken another turn round, and adopted a wholly different view with regard to the policy of advancing on Khartoum. But they do not give us all the information we want. We want to know how far they have a decided policy with regard to Egypt and the Soudan? They do not tell us. The noble Marquess has been good enough to give us some general information to-night. He has told the House of some general views they have with regard the Suakin Railway, the Nile Railway, what is to be the position of the troops for a certain time, and that in some indefinite future Suakin is to be handed over to some other civilized Power; and he has told us something about making commercial railways in Egypt should they be thought desirable. Now, I would ask hon. Gentlemen whether, after listening to the statement of the noble Marquess, they can feel the slightest confidence as to what is going to happen in the Soudan? It is over and over again the same story. The Government make certain declarations; then those declarations lead to acts which take them on and on, and you do not know when and where they are to be brought to an end. The policy of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) is simple and plain enough. We may not approve of it, but we understand it. We understand that he desires to withdraw from Suakin and from the Soudan. That, however, is not the policy of the Government. The policy they adopt is a sort of stop-gap policy, and which, in consequence of a fresh movement of the Mahdi or of Osman Digna, may have to be changed and altogether upset. We complain that we are not furnished with sufficient information, and when we are asked to vote no less a sum than £4,500,000 we have a right—and should have exercised it under ordinary circumstances—to obtain a full account of what the Government are going to do with it. It is no answer to say—"What do you think we ought to do?" They are the responsible Ministers; they have all the information and knowledge of the circumstances; and they ought, at least, to give us an intelligible and definite policy, and one which they are prepared to justify and support. That is, I think, an important consideration. which operates as a full justification, for the Motion which my noble Friend has placed on the Paper. But it is a consideration, after all, that pales in importance when compared with another. It is all very well to say, as the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) told us just now, that the policy of the Opposition is to get into Office and declare war against Russia. Nothing could be more absurd than such a view as that. It would be the policy of the Opposition to endeavour to bring about such a settlement of the question of our North-Western Frontier as would reduce to a minimum and put, if possible, altogether out of sight, all chance of war with Russia. But what we say and what we complain of is that if you leave things as they now stand you run the danger of finding yourself—as we did the other day, according to the declaration of the Prime Minister—

within measurable distance of being engaged in hostilities with Russia—and engaged in hostilities with Russia in the most inconvenient form that can be imagined. We have heard what was said and thought by great men in past times under very different circumstances, when there was a distance of 1,000 miles or 2,000 miles between the Frontier of Afghanistan and the nearest Russian Possessions, and it was reasonable enough to suppose that the advance of the Russians would stop short of the frontier. But the Russians are now on the frontier, and you are in the position of being under obligations to the Ameer, some more or less definite, which may render it necessary for you to take part, at a most inconvenient time, in a quarrel between the Ameer and the Government of Russia. What do we hear is taking place? We are told that negotiations are going on which have nearly arrived at a satisfactory result, which will enable us to settle all important questions between us and Russia. That may be so; but there has of late been a habit on the part of the Government of taking up some minute and isolated points, and, when these have been settled, to treat everything as settled. The right hon. Gentleman laid enormous stress on the Penjdeh incident, and he seemed to think that the whole question at issue was whether there had been a misunderstanding on the part of one Power or the other which had led to that incident. He appeared to think that the whole question turned on this, and when a mode of arranging that point was arrived at—namely, by arbitration—he treated the entire matter as settled, and as if we had only to consider the delimitation of the frontier. But there is a great deal more beyond this. We have to get into proper relations with the Ameer. I remember so long ago as 1872, when we had a discussion in this House in regard to the proposal of a neutral zone, and I remember expressing the opinion that it would be a great danger to have to maintain a buffer State between such great Powers as England and Russia. What I argued then, as I argue now, is that you place yourselves in a most dangerous position if you place a buffer State, as it is called, between such great Powers as England and Russia. Therefore, what I say is this. There are three things you want. In the first place—and in this I think every hon. Member will agree with me—you want to strengthen your position in India and to improve your means of communication with your own frontier; secondly, you want to have a proper and clear arrangement with the Ameer of Afghanistan, which will not bind you in any inconvenient way to support him when it is impossible to do so, but which will enable you to give him proper assistance in the way of arms and ammunition and money, or in whatever else he may be in want, on condition that he gives you, in return, certain facilities of access to important points in case of necessity; and, thirdly, you ought to have a clear agreement—a clear Treaty with Russia, in which it should be laid down, in the most unmistakable manner, where the points are to which Russia may come, and beyond which she cannot be permitted to come, and that any advance by her beyond those points shall be considered by you as a *casus belli*. A system founded on these three principles, with a reasonable administration, ought to preserve you from any dangers in that quarter. There is no doubt that the circumstances of India are greatly affected by these last advances of the Russians. The great "silver streak" of which the right hon. Gentleman spoke has been swept away, and you have been brought almost in conterminous lines with another great Power, and when you are brought in conterminous lines no doubt heavy claims may be made upon you. We are most anxious with regard to these three points, and we feel that it is absolutely necessary that they should be pressed upon Her Majesty's Government while there is yet time, and that Her Majesty's Government should endeavour to make arrangements which will secure the objects which we have in view. Now, Sir, I do not think the discussion of such a subject, in this House, is one of a factious character, or one that ought to be repudiated with contempt or indignation. It is a contribution, on our part, to the great question of the protection of our Indian Possessions and Empire; and what I say is that if we can bring about any settlement of the question that would impart confidence, and if the Government could establish a system such as I have pointed out, which would show that we are prepared for any eventuality, they would do more

than by any amount of expenditure of troops or money. What is so mischievous is the constant apprehension, the constant rumours, the constant uncertainties and alarms that are spread about, sometimes from high quarters, sometimes from commercial centres, sometimes from bazaars, sometimes from we know not where—rumours of a disturbing character, and of an alarmist character—which are calculated to disturb and alarm the people. And I venture to say that some of the language used by the Prime Minister himself has had somewhat too much of that alarmist character. I think that that speech he made to us, under all the circumstances, considering what we now know, when he moved the Vote of Credit, was of an unnecessarily alarmist character. It was one of those speeches which throw a great halo round the speaker at the moment; but it was calculated to disturb and alarm. Whom? Not Russia, but our own people. It was calculated to disturb the people of this country, and, what is still more important, it was calculated to disturb and alarm our Indian fellow-subjects, who hear all these things and do not understand them. I trust and hope that the Government will make a change in the manner in which they deal with these questions, always putting forward some small matter as the first point, until they reach a point that must land us in all these difficulties. What are they doing now in reference to the Soudan? They are trying to put matters in such a position that if we have to do certain things we must do them in self-defence. Why, that was exactly what they said on the occasion of the bombardment of Alexandria. It was in self-defence that we had to bombard it. It is also in self-defence that we have to make these incursions against Osman Digna. Having shown that it is not from want of the will to make great sacrifices for a great public and Imperial object, having shown that we are ready to furnish men and money to enable the Government to carry on the war, provided that a necessity is shown for it, we do insist upon having a clear, distinct, and unmistakable declaration of policy. We have an entire want of confidence in the explanation and declaration already made. They altogether miss the point, and, as far as I can understand, they put us in all the dangers we wish to avoid, while providing no such means of safety as we desire. It is said that we ought to wait until the Papers are produced. We know what that means. At the end of the week we should be told that they have not left the printers' hands; that you are not responsible for the delay, and then some hitch will come which renders it necessary to put them off for some time longer. Then Whitsuntide is upon us, and we come back after Whitsuntide and find there are other pressing matters which require our attention. It is really one of those cases in which, if we mean to speak at all, we must speak at once. We have challenged the position of the Government, and I hope the House will show, by the votes recorded to-night, that it looks upon the information already given as altogether insufficient.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am sorry to find myself under the necessity, at this late hour, of making a few remarks upon the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. In the first instance, I must observe that the right hon. Gentleman has entirely repudiated the ground upon which this Motion has been proposed and recommended by all its principal supporters. By the noble Lord who moved the Motion (Lord George Hamilton) it was declared to be a Vote having for its purpose to stop all proceedings of the Government by ejecting them from Office. By the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) the issue was the same. It was simply a Motion for stopping the Supplies. The right hon. Gentleman carefully disavows that interpretation. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: No.] Then, is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to say, as his supporters have said, and as his confidential Friend sitting by him (Lord George Hamilton) has said—"I will withhold everything from you until I displace the Government from Office?" The right hon. Gentleman has totally avoided saying anything of the kind, and he declares that it is the insufficiency of information—and the insufficiency of information alone—upon which he founds his support of the Vote. That is a glaring contradiction indicating the community of sentiment which prevails between the right hon. Gentleman and those with whom he acts. [*Laughter, and* "Oh, oh!"]

The right hon. Gentleman may laugh or sneer if he likes; but the remarks I am making upon the right hon. Gentleman are not at all calculated to excite any display of feeling from him. It is in his power, of course, to explain what he pleases; but this is my contention—namely, that the support which the right hon. Gentleman gives to this Motion, on the ground that it is a Motion complaining of defective information, is totally at variance with the support given to it by his leading Friends on that side of the House, who support it as a Motion which aims at the assertion of the principle that no Supplies should be granted to Her Majesty's present Government for the purposes contemplated in the Vote of Credit. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Without information.] They did not say anything of the kind. The right hon. Gentleman has interpolated that most needful commentary upon the speeches of his Friends which entirely changes their character, and with which interpolation his ground is totally different from theirs. Pray recollect what happened last week. If there be want of information now, much more was there want of information then. My noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) had not made his statement; we were not in a position to say when the Russian Papers would be laid upon the Table; and yet, what said the right hon. Gentleman at that time? He absolutely disclaimed, in the strongest manner, on Monday last, with all his Friends around him, all idea of interposing the slightest obstacle in the way of the Vote we had then proposed. Such is the history of the question as far as regards the terms of this very remarkable Motion. And now, Sir, it has been said that in the time of the late Government their hands were weakened by hostile attacks and criticisms upon their policy. All that is perfectly true. It was a necessity lamented at the time —["Oh!"]— lamented at the time. ["Oh!"] It seems to me not an unfair claim that I shall be allowed to finish my sentence. Lamented at the time not in our interior minds, but in debate in this House, and I challenge contradiction. Sir, it is a very great evil when such a thing is done; but to this I claim the assent of hon. Gentlemen opposite—that when we challenged, in the time of the late Government, the proceedings which they took, upon no occasion did we shelter ourselves behind the plea that an Opposition was not bound to find a policy. Upon every occasion we set forth distinctly what were the principles to which we objected, and what were the principles which we wished to substitute. ["Never!"] I wish the hon. Member who says "Never!" would be good enough to verify his assertion in a legitimate manner. Now, what is the present position? The present position is this—there are two questions before us. The first question relates to India, to Afghanistan, and to Russia. We have told you that we can now see our way to lay the Papers, so that they shall be in your hands, we are assured by the Foreign Department, at the end of the week. Under these circumstances, you choose to bring forward a Motion which the right hon. Gentleman, at any rate, recognizes as a Motion which, if carried, must displace the Government, without those Papers in your hands. And how do you supply the defect? You supply it by putting forward a series of suppositions, every one of which, so far as you are able to show, is absolutely baseless. You say that everything has been surrendered to Russia in what you term a lamentable *fiasco*. Of that you know nothing whatever. You say it is a base surrender to Russia to carry on negotiations in London instead of on the Afghan Frontier. [*Interruption.*] Those hon. Members who assume to themselves such an amount of licence are not likely to listen to anything I may have to say, and therefore I will speak to the House generally. You say it is a base surrender to Russia. What if, when the Papers are produced, you find that Sir Peter Lumsden was himself averse, under the circumstances, to carrying on the negotiations on the Afghan Frontier? If it is so, how can you say that the transfer to London is a base surrender to Russia? How can that be a base surrender to Russia, which is the opinion and conviction of your own Government, and which I shall be ready to argue at the proper time—when the gentleman in whom you place confidence—Sir Peter Lumsden — may have desired, for all you know, that the transactions on the Afghan Frontier shall cease, and that the arrangement shall be made elsewhere? [An hon.

MEMBER: Why?] That is not the point. The point is the authority of Sir Peter Lumsden, in whom you profess to place confidence, but with whom you are ready and willing to part company when you have some reason to suppose that he does not agree with you. You speak of the recall of Sir Peter Lumsden. Suppose you find that he has not been recalled, but that his return to this country is in full conformity with his own views? You say that everything has been surrendered with respect to the frontier line. Suppose you find that, on the contrary, a frontier line has been drawn which, supported by conclusive authority, has the thorough adhesion of the whole Indian Government, and which is completely conformable to the views of the Ameer of Afghanistan? You say that a speech was made on a Monday, of which the noble Lord said, with exultation, "every man who heard that speech throughout the land believed that it meant war," and therefore the satisfaction with which he says it was received. But on the Monday following a speech was made in a totally different tone, and it was clear, the noble Lord says, that everything had been surrendered to Russia. Suppose that when the Papers are discovered, which you are to have within the week, and for which you cannot wait—suppose that when those Papers are brought to light, you find, on the contrary, that the speech, indicating somewhat dark and gloomy views, was made when we were contending for objects which we hardly hoped to gain, and that the speech in the more sanguine tone on the following Monday was made when those objects had been gained. It is under these circumstances that the Opposition are so oppressed with their conscientious sense of public duty, and with regard to a Vote and a Bill which on Monday last they entirely disclaimed any notion of opposing, they now meet it with a Motion of which they candidly admit that its carrying would displace the Government, and with respect to which the noble Lord opposite and his principal supporters, excepting the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), do not scruple to declare that its meaning is the refusal of Supplies and the refusal to give to the Executive the means necessary for meeting the demands of the present condition of affairs. I contend that it is a practice entirely opposed to the traditions of Parliament to attempt to obtain, under cover of a call for information, or in any other shape, a condemnation of the Government under circumstances which compel you to admit that you have hardly any particular knowledge of the course that they have been pursuing in these delicate and difficult negotiations, and when you know that this knowledge is to be in your hands in the course of a few days. The right hon. Gentleman, indeed, has supplied to-night what he calls a contribution to the settlement of this question, in dilating largely and putting force and weight upon matters concerning our relations with the Ameer. But these are not the matters which have been at issue. They may be matters very proper for the consideration of this House; but they have really been just as well open for its consideration at any time during the existence of the present Government. There has been no pressure or difficulty, and no danger with respect to that—no greater harmony has ever prevailed between the Ameer of Afghanistan and the Government of this country than that which prevails at the present time; and it is little short of ludicrous to urge on the House considerations such as that, as a reason for forcing a decision with reference to the Ameer of Afghanistan, when the House is without any proper means of forming a judgment on the conduct of the Government. So much as to the Russian part of the case. You have not got in your hands the evidence; but, notwithstanding that, you are determined to go on. Well, Sir, with regard to the other part of the case, the right hon. Baronet says he has got very insufficient information about the Soudan. Does the right hon. Baronet think that it would be possible for my noble Friend to say more than he has said? What did my noble Friend leave undefined? He left undefined the nature of the measures which it might be necessary to take with respect to the making of the railways. Does the right hon. Gentleman really think that it would be in the power of the Government, or of any Government, to give a final and conclusive answer upon that subject, and to describe now the precise steps which may be taken, if they happily find the door open towards

converting these military lines for the purposes of peace and civilization? I can hardly think that this is a serious demand. Well, the right hon. Baronet says that my noble Friend has not told the House whether we should withdraw from Suakin. But how does he think himself that it is in the nature of things possible or compatible with common sense for us to say at this moment whether we shall leave Suakin or not? The right hon. Gentleman has not ventured to give that information to the House. Sir, the real question here is the question of Khartoum; and I am bound to admit, although the Opposition have no knowledge or policy with regard to Russia or Afghanistan, that with regard to Khartoum the evidence is clear enough. With respect to Khartoum, does the right hon. Gentleman deny that this is the main matter—the centre and the heart of the whole? Why, Sir, it was the Expedition to Khartoum, it was the existence of the Army in the Nile Valley that required us to undertake, as my noble Friend has shown, under the demand of Lord Wolseley, the new Expedition to Suakin. It is upon Khartoum, and the arrangements connected with Khartoum, that all the rest hangs. Here is a certain light and clear issue shown. The noble Lord says he has never been in favour of an advance on Khartoum, although he has stoutly voted for it. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: When?] In the House of Commons on the 27th of February, 1885, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon moved a Motion which closed with the words that the conduct of the Government, and so forth—

"Has rendered it imperatively necessary in the interests of the British Empire, and of the Egyptian people, that Her Majesty's Government should distinctly recognize, and take decided measures to fulfil, the special responsibility now incumbent on them to assure a good and stable Government in Egypt, and to those portions of the Soudan which are necessary to its security."

What portions of the Soudan are necessary to the security of Egypt? There was a meaning, I presume, in those emphatic words. What was the meaning? Sir, it was perfectly plain that there were two points of main action. One was the Valley of the Nile, and the other was Suakin. It was not Suakin that you described as necessary for the security of Egypt; it was Khartoum that you meant to describe, and the advance upon Khartoum is the policy for not adopting which we are now to be condemned. That was the policy affirmed by the Opposition in the month of February last; it is not now disavowed. Sir, there is only one other point I may mention. I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman has abandoned as desperate all attempts to defend the language either of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) with respect to Russia, or of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), or of the Marquess of Salisbury, who pointed out that the choice for Russia was between owning to the character of a swindler and owning to the character of a bankrupt. What do hon. Gentlemen mean when they say they are not friends of war, when, at the same time, they indulge in this most unwise and most unjustifiable language? If we are to have a frontier to Afghanistan—that is, a frontier between Afghanistan and Russia, are we, or are we not, to have an engagement with Russia with respect to it? [An hon. MEMBER: How long will she keep it?] Are we so devoid of sense as to think that we can make that engagement, and at the same time to cast in the teeth of Russia the reproach that no engagement she may make will be respected? We must recollect that this language is used by men who are the Leaders of a Party seeking avowedly for immediate possession of Office, and that in the midst of a great controversy, which, according to their views, it would devolve upon them to close. I must say it was a matter of great satisfaction to me that at the time when we were in difficulty and doubt, and the chance of an unfavourable solution appeared greatly to preponderate, the House came forward and supported with wonderful unanimity the demand which we made. It is not alone with grief that I witness the change which has taken place in the attitude of Gentlemen opposite since the heavens have cleared, and since the blessed prospect of peace has returned. As long as we were taking measures, as long as we were holding language that could be interpreted in the direction of war—and too good grounds there were, in our mind and view, for taking such measures and using such language—so

long we experienced at your hands forbearance and consideration. The change which took place was a change at the prospect of peace, and that was the only change that occurred in the interval. There was not an act done by us in the interval which could have been made by you the subject of hostile comment. You might, or may have, disapproved of what we have done before; but for the change in your attitude there is no cause to be found in any act of ours which you can trace to that period. But the profound and deep mortification which was manifested upon that change, and upon the prospect of a settlement to be effected by our hands, were as painful to us as the generous and confiding support which we had previously received was pleasurable. I wish that these facts could be concealed. There is no doubt at all of your change of attitude, and it will lie with you to show that that change of attitude has reference to something done by us, or to some discovery made by you in the interval. But you cannot show it. We are in hopes—we continue to be in hopes—of a peaceable settlement to be effected by honourable means, and tending to the establishment of solid relations with a great Empire, to be at war with which would be a calamity to Russia, a calamity to Great Britain, a calamity to civilized mankind, and a calamity to the world at large. If you find fault with our proposal with reference to arbitration, why do you not embody your views in a Motion which we will meet, and upon which we will take the judgment of the House? When we turn to the Soudan, what I say is that we have adopted a policy which apparently you are glad to assail by indirect or circuitous means, and which I greatly doubt you will ever dare to challenge in an open manner. The House of Commons and the country understand our position with reference to this great question; let them understand your position. Give construction, if you can, to the Motion you yourselves propose against us; and depend upon it that if you are ready to assume the Government of the country, you will not be able to cloak yourselves and escape a great issue by vague and general declamation. Our policy is the abandonment of the Expedition to Khartoum. What your policy is it will be incumbent on you to declare.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 290; Noes 260: Majority 30.

AYES.

Acland, rt. hn. Sir T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, hon. H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Bright, J.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Clarke, S.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Creyke, R.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Earp, T.
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Adm. hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hon. C. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hon. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gordon, Sir A.
Gourley, E. T.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant D.
Guest, M. J.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.

Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, hon. W. H.
James, C. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lyons, R. D.
Macfarlane, D. H.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Clure, Sir T.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, C. B. B.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Mason, H.
Maxwell-Heron, Capt. J. M.
Mellor, J. W.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Noel, E.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Beirne, Colonel
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Shea, W. H.
Otway, Sir A. J.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Picton, J. A.
Playfair, rt. hon. Sir L.
Portman, hon. W. H. B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Roe, T.
Rogers, C. C.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, T.
Ruston, J.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, Sir B.
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Smith, E.
Smith, Lieut.-Col. G.
Smith, S.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stanton, W. J.
Steble, Lieu-Col. R. F.
Stevenson, J. C.
Storey, S.
Stuart, H. V.
Stuart, J.
Summers, W.
Sutherland, T.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, A. P.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, right hon. Lord

NOES.

Ackers, B. St. J.
Alexander, Gen. C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barry, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, rt. hon. R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Callan, P.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R. S.
Clarke, E. G.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Close, M. C.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Dawson, C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, J. K. D. W.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Eckersley, N.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Fielden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Fitz-Wygram, Sir F.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, rt. hn. R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
French-Brewster, R. A. B.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Gray, E. D.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, rt. hn. Ld. G.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harrington, T.
Harris, W. J.

Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Healy, T. M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
Ker, R. W. B.
King-Harman, Col. E. R.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lalor, R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Leamy, E.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Lloyd, S. S.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lynch, N.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Carthy, J. H.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Mahon, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Marum, E. M.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Meagher, W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Molloy, B. C.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Muntz, P. A.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Brien W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
Onslow, D.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Paget, R. H.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, rt. hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Redmond, J. E.
Redmond, W. H. K.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Sexton, T.
Sheil, E.
Small, J. F.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smithwick, J. F.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Sullivan, T. D.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thornhill, A. J.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tremayne, J.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Whitley, E.
Williams, General O.
Wilmot, Sir H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Thornhill, T.
Winn, R.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—[BILL 134.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he wished to explain to the House the extreme urgency of this Bill, to which he made allusion at Question time to-night. He thought he was quite justified in using the words "extreme urgency." The House of Lords would sit to-morrow; they did not sit on Wednesday or on Thursday of this week, Thursday being Ascension Day, on which day the House of Lords never sat. If the Bill was read a third time to-night, the House of Lords would be able to read the Bill a first time to-morrow, and to take the second reading on Friday next. Now, the urgency of the Bill being read a second time in the House of Lords on Friday next was very great. The passing of the Bill without delay was just as necessary as the passing of the three Registration Bills. Until this Bill had become law merged boroughs would exist, and exist for registration purposes; the new boroughs would not come into existence; the altered boundaries of old boroughs would have no force; the new divisions of counties and boroughs would not exist. The result of that was to produce a state of utter confusion with regard to the duties of Clerks of the Peace, Town Clerks, and overseers. The town clerks of the merged boroughs had to issue precepts which would be of no effect. The different conditions under which the ownership vote and the occupation vote now existed in the boroughs to be merged, and under which they would hereafter exist, would cause the precepts to be inapplicable. Similar difficulties would arise with respect to the precepts issued by Clerks of the Peace in districts now parts of counties,

but which were hereafter to form new boroughs, or to be included in boroughs. The precepts to be issued by Town Clerks and Clerks of the Peace ought to be issued not later than the 10th of June, and before that time eight days were required for the drawing out and the printing of the precepts. The Act itself was not likely to be in the hands of the Town Clerks until about eight days after it had passed through Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Should the Bill be delayed in the other House, owing, for instance, to the Whitsuntide holidays, a great practical difficulty would arise, as to the formation of the polling districts. All polling districts which divided parishes had to be formed before the 1st of July, before which the magistrates must meet. The three Registration Bills should pass on as early a date as possible; but they were so drawn that they must pass after this Bill. For instance, "divided boroughs" and "Parliamentary counties," about which there was a great deal to be found in the three Registration Bills, were, of course, expressions which had no meaning until this Bill was passed. If, therefore, Parliament were to pass the Registration Bills in advance of the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill, they would legislate in regard to matters which did not exist. Now, he thought he had established a case of urgency for the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), judging from what he said at Question time to-day, was of opinion that very large changes were made in the Bill on the Report stage. Having gone very carefully through the Bill, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that that was not the case. The changes made were almost entirely changes of name. There were four changes in borough names, and of 339 county names only 36 were altered on Report. The changes included the adoption of points of the compass, and the striking out in certain cases and the adding in an equal number of cases of alternative names. Under all the circumstances, therefore, he felt bound, in the public interest, to press on the House the importance of reading the Bill a third time to-night. It was suggested on Friday night, when Report was finished, that the Bill should be read a third time. He had reason to believe, from inquiry he had made, that such a proposal would have been well received by the House; but he knew, from an announcement made by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), that although that hon. and learned Gentleman would not have objected to take the third reading then, he would have divided against it. Under the circumstances he did not think it right to take the third reading immediately after Report. There was a very thin House, and therefore, in all probability, some Members would have objected to that course being adopted. He regretted that he was obliged to ask the House to read the Bill a third time at that late hour (2.15).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Mr. RAIKES said, he was very willing to go a great way to meet the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman, because he thought hon. Members owed him a debt of gratitude for the admirable manner in which he had conducted the Bill through the House. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that it was with no wish to diminish the credit which attached to him that he felt obliged to take exception to the course he had now recommended. Admitting the force of all that had been said, he thought a case had not been made out for pressing the Bill to a third reading that night. The right hon. Baronet told them the House of Lords would not sit on Wednesday or Thursday this week, and that the Bill must be sent up to them at once, otherwise they would not receive it before Friday, in which case it could not be read a second time before the Whitsuntide Recess. He (Mr. Raikes), however, would point out that, in the event of this House disposing of the Bill to-morrow, it could reach the House of Lords in time for second reading on Friday; for in that House there was a custom when, on an emergency, an important Bill was to come up from the House of Commons, to adjourn during pleasure to await the arrival of such Bill, in order when it came, later in the evening, to read it a first time. He thought that, in regard to a Bill of such importance as this—perhaps the most important Bill that had been brought forward during the

last half century—Her Majesty's Government should allow hon. Members every opportunity for consideration. The measure closely affected their own privileges; it had reference to the seats they occupied in the House. There had been alterations made in the Bill on the Report stage—alterations in its nomenclature in a great number of places. The measure, as finally passed, should be reprinted, so that Members of the House of Commons would not have to go to the other House in order to obtain a copy of the Bill as introduced there, so as to find out its contents when it left the House of Commons. Surely this House should have a complete record of its own work—of its work on a subject fundamentally connected with its own privileges. He could not help thinking it was a most reasonable claim to make that they should have the Bill in their hands in the precise form in which it was reported and read a third time. It was a very common thing in connection with Bills of much less importance than this to have them reprinted after they had been amended on Report. He was familiar with cases in which this course had been adopted in regard to Bills of a most trumpery description; and he maintained that in dealing with a Bill which affected so materially the position of hon. Members in the House—which affected hon. Members even more largely than their constituencies—it was not an unreasonable thing to request that the third reading might be delayed a sufficient length of time to enable the Bill to be reprinted and submitted in its complete form. As he had said, if the House of Lords received the Bill at even a late hour to-morrow, it would be quite competent for them to read it a second time on Friday. Having regard to all those considerations, he hoped the House would insist upon such delay as was necessary for the reprinting of the Bill. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. WARTON said, he desired to second the Motion. He felt as strongly impressed as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Raikes) with the admirable manner in which the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had conducted the Bill through the House. He ventured to say, indeed, that no one else sitting on the Treasury Bench would have managed the Bill so well as the right hon. Baronet had done; but, at the same time, he must point out that unless they had the measure reprinted before it went up to the House of Lords they would not possess a correct record of what had been done in this Chamber, and would not be able to put right several matters which required alteration. For instance, it had been decided that the Pembroke Division should be called "Pembroke or Haverfordwest;" but the alteration had not been made by the right hon. Baronet in the stereo. There were alterations also required in the Bill in the matter of the numbering of certain provisions; in fact, he was quite sure there were several points in regard to which it was necessary that the Bill should be amended before it left this House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) wished to say one word in support of the view of the President of the Local Government Board. He thought the right hon. Baronet had clearly shown to the House that it was most important that the measure should be read a third time here and sent to the House of Lords. There was one point on which, he thought, they were all agreed; and that was that they all wished that the Bill should, as soon as might be, become law, because both sides of the House were anxious to appeal to the country. That appeal could not be made until the Bill had become law. On those grounds he hoped the House would allow the Bill to be read a third time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the Government were of opinion that there was force in the remark of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) when he complained that no record of the Bill would be kept if it were not reprinted before it was sent up to the other House. The suggestion was a reasonable one, and the Government were disposed to meet that view; and, if the right hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with the arrangement, a copy of the Bill as it had now passed would be deposited in the Vote Office clearly showing the Amendments. That would form a practical record of what had been done in this House. The

right hon. Gentleman had proposed the adjournment of the debate until to-morrow. If the debate were adjourned the Government would not be able to deal with the Bill to-morrow, or, at any rate, they would be in the same position with regard to it as they were now, because the Registration Bill would stand before it. The question was not one touching the duty or convenience of the Government, or even of Members of the House; but it was one principally affecting Clerks of the Peace, Town Clerks, and other election agents. The settlement of the point before the House would decide the question whether the Bill should pass the House of Lords before or after the Whitsuntide Vacation. If it was not passed before the Recess the result would be to throw a burden on the Clerks of the Peace and Town Clerks which they could not properly bear, and which they ought not to be asked to bear. Some of the duties which were necessary to be performed commenced ordinarily on the 10th of June, but could not be entered upon this year before the passing of this Bill. It was useless for them to go on with the Registration Bills unless they could obtain the passing of the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill through the House of Lords. This was not only the view of the Government. Their attention had been called to it by the Clerks of the Peace and Town Clerks, upon whom the burden would fall, and the House would not be fulfilling its duty to those officers if it did not allow them sufficient time to do what was expected of them. He trusted hon. Gentlemen would allow them to proceed to read the Bill a third time.

MR. RAIKES said, that, after what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member, he should be happy to withdraw the Motion he had made. He had attained the object at which he had aimed, for, as he understood the promise of the Government, it was that the Bill, as amended, would be in the hands of hon. Members before long.

MR. MACARTNEY asked whether hon. Members would have an opportunity of protesting against the third reading before the final vote?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Yes; now.

MR. MACARTNEY said, there were many hon. Members not now present who were anxious to express an opinion upon the measure as it now stood before it passed to the House of Lords. On a former occasion, because there was no formal protest made in the House, the Prime Minister had put on the Minutes after the passing of a Bill "*nemine contradicente*." In order to prevent that on the present occasion he (Mr. Macartney), when the Question was put, should say "No!"

MR. SPEAKER: Is it your pleasure that the Motion be withdrawn?

GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he wished to protest in the strongest manner against the way in which his constituents had been treated in this Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and gallant Gentleman's remarks will be more pertinent when I put the Question, "That this Bill be read a third time." The Question now before the House is that the Motion for the adjournment of the debate be withdrawn.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he wished in the strongest manner to protest against the gross injustice with which his constituents had been treated by the provisions of the Bill. It seemed excessively hard that he should have foisted upon him a population of no less than 90,000, which was larger by 20,000 than any constituency in England. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had said that his own constituency of Chelsea was nearly as large; but the right hon. Gentleman must be perfectly aware that a rural constituency of 90,000 was very different to a borough constituency of that number. But as the Bill was the joint production of both political Parties, he was bound to say that the managers of the Conservative Party—he did not know who they were—had grossly mismanaged, or rather had entirely neglected, their duty in respect to Scotland. As far as he was able to understand—and he had it on very good authority—they had made no stipulation at all with regard to Scotland; therefore, he (General Alexander) had no hesitation in saying that the managers of the Conservative Party had neglected their duty towards Scotland. They would have taken very good care that no constituency in England had a constitu-

ency of anything like 90,000; but it seemed to have been perfectly immaterial to them whether such a constituency was formed for Scotland. It might be said that they did not know that the population of South Ayrshire would be 90,000; but if they did not know it they should have known it. They would regret too late—when Conservatism was entirely stamped out of Scotland—the Conservative Party would regret that they had shown this base ingratitude towards the county which, even in the great crash of 1880, returned two Conservative Members to the House. The time had passed for a division against the measure; but when the Question was put that the Bill be read a third time, he should say "No!" as a protest against the manner in which his constituency had been treated by both political Parties in the House.

MR. HEALY said, that as he had stated the other night that he should divide against the Bill he fully intended to do so. As to the observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down, to the effect that the interests of the Conservative Party in Scotland had been neglected, it appeared to him (Mr. Healy) that there was a very feasible explanation of that—namely, that the energies of the Tory Party were entirely concentrated upon the North of Ireland. That would explain why they had not been able to give that attention to South Ayrshire which the exigencies of the case might have demanded. He (Mr. Healy) had been greatly entertained by the protests of the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney); but, unfortunately, this Bill would go down to posterity with the record that the Irish Tory Party from the North of Ireland failed to move a single Amendment in the discussions of the boundaries of the Bill, and that the only occasions on which those Gentlemen interfered were with regard to the preservation of the names of Lisburn and Carrickfergus. On every other occasion that great and glorious body of gladiators failed to do their duty to their constituents. Strongly as the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had opposed the Nationalist Members, he (Mr. Healy) wished to pay a tribute of respectful admiration to the right hon. Gentleman for the way he had conducted the Bill in his charge through the House. On every occasion the right hon. Gentleman had opposed the Nationalist Party. He had not made them a single concession whatever on any material point. He had allowed them to have two or three names changed; but on every material point he had not yielded in the slightest degree. But if the right hon. Gentleman had opposed them he had done so with a grace and good temper which no one could fail to admire. Whatever were the record of the Tory Party as to the compromise on this Bill one reputation would stand higher than it ever did before—namely, the reputation of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board. He (Mr. Healy) had regarded the single seat system introduced by the Bill as a soap boilers' provision, and had, therefore, opposed it. He was told that Ireland gained something even in getting 103 Representatives instead of 105, seeing that the number allotted to her by the Act of Union was only 100; but the English Members now numbered considerably more. So far as the Boundary Commission was concerned, he believed it would remain a monument of the fraud and baseness of the Irish Government. Indeed, the Bill, in every possible shape and form, had been a cheat upon the Irish people. In the Province of Ulster, in Donegal, Armagh, South Derry, Tyrone, and Down, the Commissioners had converted what was a popular majority into an anti-popular majority. The Conservatives might complain of the Bill, but they had woke up too late. Their protest ought to have been made six months ago, when the Representation of the People Bill passed. This Bill protected them in every possible way, and he challenged any hon. Gentleman who looked into the facts to say that it did not. The county divisions, as first designed by the Commissioners, would have secured a popular majority in all the divisions of Tyrone, Donegal, Dublin, South Derry, and Armagh; and as no change could be brought about except by jerrymandering the constituencies, everything that could possibly be done in that direction had been done by the Commission. The Marquess of Salisbury distinctly told the Conservatives—"Your future depends upon the spirit in which the Bill is worked." It was a distinct instruction to the Com-

missioners, and they had acted upon it. In every single instance where the original scheme of the Commissioners had been changed—in Down, in Derry, in Donegal, in Armagh, in Dublin, and in Wicklow, those Gentlemen had cheated the popular Party. The Bill was the result of a compromise, and on that account he hoped that he would not be using an un-Parliamentary expression when he said that it was the illegitimate offspring of unfortunate parents. The House of Commons had had the House of Lords at their mercy, and they failed to take advantage of the fact. The Upper House had always obstructed and defied popular ideas; and when the Lords were at the mercy of the Commons, for the sake of bringing about a compromise, they entered into a treaty with their worst enemies, which gave the House of Lords a new lease of life. He (Mr. Healy) was not surprised at that result when he found himself face to face with a Cabinet, one-half of whom were Lords or expected to be Lords. This was the state of things which had been brought about because a number of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, who were supposed to exercise considerable influence over the Ministry and the Liberal Party, refrained from giving expression to their real opinions, and allowed themselves to be choked. [*Cries of* "Question!" *and* "Order!"] Whenever he said anything unpleasant he always found that he was out of Order. He would only say, in conclusion, that the Radical Party would live to regret the compromise they had made—a compromise not founded upon good faith, good sense, or, in his opinion, upon good policy. This Bill, which was to have been the charter of democratic liberties in future, would in the end be torn to fragments by the true Democratic Party.

MR. DALRYMPLE wished to say a few words to supplement the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for South Ayrshire (General Alexander). He did not agree with his hon. and gallant Friend in the depressed view he took of the fortunes of the Conservative Party in Scotland. Nor would he describe the few words he intended to say as a protest, for that sounded like a futile attempt. He wished deliberately to put on record the efforts which had been made on that side of the House to remedy the gross injustice of the Bill as it was originally placed before the House in Committee. It was well known that although 12 seats were given by the Bill to Scotland the details of the measure, so far as Scotland was concerned, had been entirely neglected. He had often heard it said in the House of Commons that Governments paid but indifferent attention to the effect which an Imperial measure would have on Scotland; and it would appear as if the Leaders of Parties had entered upon no details of the Scotch case. It was no doubt on this account that the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had placed before the House a scheme of his own. That scheme, however, was *ultra vires* and inconsistent with the compact between the two Front Benches, and accordingly it was ultimately abandoned. The consequence was that, as the Bill now stood, the arrangements in regard to population between the counties and boroughs were grossly unfair; and although the Scotch Conservative Members had endeavoured in the course of the Bill to remedy that defect, to some extent, their efforts had been attended with no success. He believed that the right hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had fully recognized the force of their claims. The right hon. Gentleman had so expressed himself in many cases; but, as the right hon. Gentleman found it more important to conciliate his own Friends than to concede the just claims of his opponents, nothing was done. The Bill, when it passed, would introduce this unsatisfactory state of things, that the population of the counties would be enormously in excess of those of the boroughs. In the case of the county represented by his hon. and gallant Friend (General Alexander) —Ayrshire—there would be an enormous county population with one Member, while a group of burghs in the same county, with a much smaller population, would also return a Member. The Chancellor of the Duchy (Mr. Trevelyan) said that the object of the Bill was to secure that the opinion of the country should be fully represented. That was what was desired by all; but it was impossible to say that it had been obtained by the present measure. In point of fact, the rural voters would be absolutely overwhelmed by the enormous numerical strength of the town popula-

tions thrown into the divisions. He and his hon. Friends had desired by adding to the existing groups of burghs to remedy the inequality, but they had entirely failed. He would not charge the Government with having been animated by a desire to cut up the constituencies so as to suit the convenience of any political Party; but he was bound to say, seeing how stubbornly the Party opposite had stuck to what had been done, that the arrangement must have been favourable to themselves. He had no wish to arouse Party feeling; but the inequalities between the two sets of constituencies were so gross and so unfair that he regretted the matter had not received more consideration at the hands of the Government and of the House. He had felt that he ought not to allow the final stage of the Bill to pass without placing those opinions upon record.

MR. MACARTNEY merely wished to say that he had listened to the observations of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) with much astonishment. The hon. and learned Member seemed to think that blessings of an extraordinary kind were conferred by the Bill upon the Conservative Party. He failed to see how the Conservative Party would derive the great advantages which the hon. and learned Member seemed to expect. So far as the single-Member constituencies were concerned, he was as hostile to them as the hon. and learned Member. He agreed with the hon. and learned Member in very few matters; but that evening a very remarkable occurrence had taken place, seeing that on two occasions he had found himself in the same Division Lobby as the hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not allow the Bill to be read a third time without repeating an expression of his deep conviction that the effect of the Bill would be extremely derogatory to the character of the House of Commons. He joined in the regret which had been expressed at the introduction of the single-Member system. He thought, himself, that it would be the introduction of the greatest possible element of chance into the representation of the people in that Assembly. He feared that the judgment of the country might find expression in the House of Commons in a different direction from that which was the judgment of the country at large, and as a necessary consequence the force of public opinion would run a risk of being entirely miscalculated. Although that was a considerable danger, a matter still more to be deplored was the prospect of the absence of that element of independence which had characterized the House of Commons in the past, and which with a better system might have been still further developed in the future. [*A laugh.*] His right hon. Friend the Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) appeared to laugh at those auguries. He (Mr. Courtney) should be glad indeed if they were falsified. At all events, the matter was too serious to be lightly regarded or scoffed at. He was speaking not only on a matter of *à priori* reasoning, but from the experience afforded by practice in other countries, where it had been found that the character of the representation decided by single-Member constituencies was much more narrow and restricted than it would have been under the double-Member system which had existed in this country so long. Personally, he would have preferred to run the risk of a *Scrutin de Liste* than to be compelled to accept the single-Member system. It was a somewhat extraordinary fact that while the House of Commons was adapting its constitution to that of the Chamber of Deputies in France, that country was getting rid of the system which had now been tried for some years, and the result of which had been found to be the introduction of an inferior character into the French Legislative Assembly. It had been abundantly established that the representation had been degraded, and that the character of the Deputies who found their way into the Chamber was much inferior to that of the old Representatives. All the fears which were originally expressed had been realized, and respectable people had been debarred from the privilege of entering that Assembly. He feared that a similar state of things might be brought about in this country by the adoption of the single-Member system, and that they would not obtain that representation of independent popular thought which was expected when the franchise was extended, to the result of the further enfranchisement of the people. He could not say that he agreed with the hon. and

learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) in the remarks he had made as to the jerrymandering of the Irish constituencies. He confessed that he was a sceptic upon that point, and believed that the Commissioners had conducted their operations with perfect honesty. The evil, however, was already upon them in the very fact that such a suspicion should be entertained and so freely expressed. He was afraid that it was impossible to have single-Member constituencies without running great risk of imputations as to the justice with which the old constituencies had been cut up. Already they had heard direct accusations in connection with the Irish constituencies, and there had been suggestions of the same thing elsewhere. He would express once more his deep regret that it had been felt necessary to establish single-Member constituencies as one of the principles of the Bill.

Mr. SEXTON said, that in Ireland Her Majesty's Government had delegated to obscure officials work which they were ashamed to do themselves. They professed to be guided by a desire to secure the public good, whereas they had been actuated throughout by a desire to give a greater share of power to the minority in Ireland. Probably the effect upon the House of Commons collectively would not be much worse than the existing arrangement. Indeed, the present state of things was so bad that any change must bring about something better.

Original Question put, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 116; Noes 33: Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 178.)

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [7th May] *reported*.

First Resolution *agreed to*.

Second Resolution *postponed*.

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to*.

Postponed Resolution to be considered *To-morrow*.

EAST INDIA (UNCLAIMED STOCKS) BILL.—[Bill 125.]

(*Mr. Kynaston Cross. Mr. Hibbert.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Mr. Courtney

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. J. K. Cross.*)

Mr. WARTON said, that although there were very minute differences in some of the clauses, this was practically the same Bill as last year. He and several other hon. Members had complained of that Bill when it was before the House. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the hon. Member for Stafford were amongst those who objected to it; there were other hon. Members whose names at that moment he did not recall. The Bill was postponed from time to time last Session, from Mondays to Thursdays during four or five weeks, and it had never entered into the mind of the Under Secretary of State for India, who brought it in as he had brought in the present measure, that it was a Money Bill. But one day it was suddenly read a second time as a Money Bill; having been two or three times postponed, it was taken on a Thursday, when he happened to be absent from the House. Now, he ventured to say with all respect that it was very important that the House should have, in some form or other, a well-considered and authoritative statement from the Chair as to what constituted a Money Bill. He would not at that late hour speak on the question at length, but he would inquire what were the measures which, as Money Bills, the House dealt with in an exceptional manner? For his own part, he inclined to the opinion that they were Bills essential for carrying out great operations in the interest of the country, such as the raising of money or Stock for State purposes. A Bill like this, for the mere purpose of confiscating part of the dividends, rents, or interest of a particular Railway Company, he was inclined to think was not a Money Bill. At all events, he was glad to have the opportunity of asking the question before the House went into Committee on the Bill; and, pending the authoritative declaration he had alluded to as being desirable, all he wished to say was that, whether this was a Money Bill or whether it was not, he regarded it as a Bill that was not necessary to carry on the business of the State; it was not for taxation or any State purpose, but simply, in his opinion, a Bill for the

purpose of plundering a Railway Company.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 12th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) * (109); Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister * (110).

Second Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (96); Submarine Telegraph Cables (104); Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) Extension * (101).

Committee—Report—Highways * (98).

Third Reading—Industrial Schools (Ireland) * (95), and *passed*.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY'S SPEECH AT HACKNEY.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I wish, my Lords, to make a statement of a personal character. I see that some Members of Her Majesty's Government in "another place" have been employing themselves upon a speech of mine delivered last week—an amusement on their part to which I have no objection, only that they have, in my judgment, in this case very seriously and materially misquoted it. And as no comment has been made upon it here, I am necessarily obliged to take this irregular mode of correcting the misstatements that have been made. But, in the first place, I may observe that Mr. Trevelyan, another Colleague of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville), a few days ago made the following statement concerning my speech which is wholly without foundation. He stated:—

"Lord Salisbury thought it wise and prudent to speak of the Government with whom we are engaged in critical negotiations as swindlers and bankrupts."

I have only to say that that is an entirely unfounded statement. But I should not have thought it necessary to take notice of Mr. Trevelyan's observations, but that a similar, though not quite so extreme, a misstatement has been made by the Prime Minister himself. And although it is rather an egotistical thing for a man to trouble your Lordships with the accuracy or inaccuracy of quotations from his own observations, I think that when you have been misquoted by a Prime Minister you have a right to complain. The Prime Minister is said to have stated last night—

"I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has abandoned as desperate all attempts to defend the language . . . . of the Marquess of Salisbury, who pointed out that the choice for Russia was between owning to the character of a swindler and owning to the character of a bankrupt."

Again I say that I never said what the Prime Minister imputes to me that I did say. But not only will it be found that I did not say what he imputes to me, but that his interpretation of my speech, if it is to be held as an interpretation, is in direct defiance of the language that I did use. I was explaining to my audience that, for the purpose of deciding whether it was wise to rely for the guarantee of our Indian Empire on the promises of Russia, it did not matter whether Russia had intentionally broken her promises, or had broken them because she was unable to keep them; and to illustrate that I used the commercial analogy that you would not trust a man—that it would make no difference with regard to your trust of a man—whether his inability to keep his promises had been due to commercial misfortune or to commercial dishonesty, for in either case you would not hold him to be a person who could be absolutely relied upon. Now, what I have to complain of is, that Mr. Gladstone, and I think also the Marquess of Hartington, imputed to me that I had charged Russia with dishonesty—that either substantially, or as an alternative, I had pointed out that her conduct had been that of a swindler. My Lords, my statement was exactly the reverse. I distinctly said that I did not charge the Russian Government with dishonesty. My words were these—

"I do not attribute to the Russian Government any intention to deceive."

Now, was it fair, was it honest, with these words staring them in the face, they should say that I had charged the Russian Government, either conditionally or substantially, with being swin-

dlers? But I did not say it only once. I said afterwards, that when the Russians said they would not take Merv and allowed Merv to be surrendered to them, it was very possible that they were not acting with any intention to mislead the English Government, but that circumstances were too strong for them; and I closed those observations with these words—

"Making the fullest allowances for the difficulties of the vast Russian Empire, and for the impossibility of controlling the military element, which is the only sure foundation for the Throne —making all these allowances, I still say that, where we are now, with the lessons of history behind us, it was not wise to seek, as the main object of our policy, to rest the defence of our Indian Empire on the guarantee of Russia."

That is a very different thing from charging the Russian Government as an alternative, or as a separate proposition, with being a swindler. I emphatically deny that I ever did any such thing.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) is perfectly right in making this personal explanation, and I, for one, am extremely glad that he has made it; but I must say that I think the accusation which he has brought against my Colleagues is not a very sound one. The noble Marquess, in the course of his denial, has just stated that, in describing the conduct of the Russian Government, he brought in the analogy of swindlers and bankrupts——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Not in describing the conduct of the Russian Government, but in discussing the question how far honesty of purpose had to do with the subsequent promises given.

EARL GRANVILLE: Well, I must own I read the statement with astonishment that anybody in the position of the noble Marquess should make use of the words he did. It is true that the noble Marquess said that circumstances might be such as to overpower Russia; but I cannot conceive anyone applying a similar description to one of your Lordships, when circumstances might be such as to overpower you, and then to go on and bring in the analogy of swindlers and bankrupts. I leave it to your Lordships to say what other meaning could have been attached to his remark than that which was attached to it by my Colleagues, for I cannot conceive but that any one of your Lordships would consider it a personal affront to himself. The noble Marquess vindicates himself by saying that he explained to his audience that there was no dishonesty on the part of the Russian Government, and that he had not charged them with it. I am glad to hear his explanation; but was that the line of Lord Randolph Churchill? Did he accuse the Russian Government of nothing in that remarkable statement of which the noble Marquess took upon himself to assure the constituency of Hackney that it was impossible to impeach the historical accuracy of the statement of facts it contained. The two facts must be taken together—that Lord Randolph Churchill did attack the honesty of the Russian Government, and the noble Marquess described his statement as historically unimpeachable, and that the noble Marquess then brought in the comparison to swindlers and bankrupts. I am quite prepared to accept in the fullest manner the disclaimer of the noble Marquess; but I think it was impossible for my Colleagues, and the public at large, to take the speech as anything else than a direct insult to a great Power, with whom, I am happy to say, we are still in friendly relations. The noble Marquess having introduced the subject of his speech, I should like to say one word about the evidence which he gave respecting the historical accuracy of all that Lord Randolph Churchill had said. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) said, last night, that it was wrong from beginning to end. I do not go fully into the arguments of the noble Duke; but I gave myself the intellectual treat of reading the very spirited and brilliant attack which Lord Randolph Churchill made on Her Majesty's Government. Your Lordships will easily understand how mortified I felt when I found that the noble Lord's respect for myself was not at all equal to the admiration I feel for those great abilities which I agree with the noble Marquess and the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Argyll) have placed Lord Randolph Churchill in so predominant a position amongst the Leaders of his Party; but as to the accuracy of his statement, even from a cursory reading of it, I marked no less than nine passages, some of them inaccurate, and some of them exactly opposed to the fact. The noble Marquess, in his speech, took upon himself to vouch for the historical accuracy of Lord Randolph Churchill's speech, and I should like to

allude to a few of those points. First of all, what is frequently complained of is that there are sentences without any context; secondly, that there are long extracts with sentences left out. The very first charge he brings against me, in succeeding Lord Clarendon, was that I had accepted the Russian General—General Kauffman—as an arbitrator between England and Russia. That statement is absolutely without foundation. Sir Andrew Buchanan informed us that the Russian Government wished to see and consult General Kauffman, being ready to agree in our views if he agreed to them. So far from my accepting him as arbitrator, I said, after a time, that we could not wait until the Russian Government had received reports from their own officials. With regard to the allusion to a document which was said to be addressed to Europe in general and to England in particular, the noble Duke behind me pointed out last night that the document was not addressed to England at all, but that it was a Circular addressed to the Russian Representatives abroad, and that it was not officially communicated to us, even although allusion was made to the substance of that despatch. There are allusions to other manifestoes of the Russian Government which I cannot find, and which I do not believe to exist. There is a little point, not of great importance, as to the accusation brought against Mr. Gladstone, that in one year, after a certain event, he wrote a certain article in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1874. I believe that *The Nineteenth Century* had not begun to be published until three years after that date. Then there is a description of a Circular of General Lomakin which is perfectly inaccurate, and which is brought against us as a reproach. The date of that Circular is 1874. The noble Lord went on to say, after leaving us in the mire of this Circular, that the Conservative Government came into power a year afterwards—in 1875. I think it will be in the recollection of your Lordships that the late Conservative Administration began at the beginning of 1874. But there are still more important misrepresentations. The noble Lord said that the boundary of Afghanistan had been defined, and that the Russians had passed over that boundary. I do not impute these things to any intentional misrepresentation on the part of Lord Randolph Churchill; but I think the explanation which my noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll) gave yesterday is more probable—that what he has said has been through inadvertence in not consulting the original documents, and in accepting too readily secondary information. With regard to this defined boundary, as a matter of fact, no less than two despatches of Lord Clarendon stated that it was perfectly ill-defined. It is true that afterwards we made a sort of definition of it; but your Lordships who have studied that question know that the definition was not of a clear or precise character with regard to the dependencies of Herat, and that is the very question which has not been settled up to this date, in which we assert one thing and the Russians another thing, and in which we are now trying to come to an amicable arrangement. If, whenever the noble Marquess or Lord Randolph Churchill, in the heat of debate, make inaccurate statements, and if one of them immediately vouches, without examining the facts, as to the perfect exactitude of those statements of the other, it certainly goes hard against Her Majesty's Government. There is another question which the noble Marquess mentioned in his speech—I mean the question of *prestige*. He said he disliked the word, because it was French, and because it savoured of conjuring; but he liked the thing. Then he described how the thing might be called harmless in itself, but that on the imagination of Orientals it might have an important effect, in that it might bear the appearance of concession, and therefore do harm. With regard to the dislike of the word *prestige*, I have a very great notion that Orientals are not such complete fools as we sometimes assume them to be. The intelligent Natives in India are very well aware of what is sensible and what is foolish in the conduct of the Government with regard to its foreign relations and safety. But there is one great danger, which is that they may be influenced by the opinion that comes from this country; and when the Leader of the Conservative Party rushes off to make an electioneering speech in Hackney, and to make a declaration without any real knowledge of the facts, which tends to show that England is entirely in the wrong, and that Russia has been triumphant all along, and gives that cue to all the Conserva-

tive writers and speakers in the country, I think great responsibility rests upon him with regard to the effect produced by that assertion, not only in England and in Europe, but in India itself. As the noble Marquess has challenged the conduct of my Colleagues in allusion to what he said, I shall only repeat that, while I entirely accept his explanation—and I shall be very glad indeed if it goes through Europe and through Russia—I disclaim the imputation which he has put upon them. I cannot admit that my Colleagues have been in the least degree in fault in the matter.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I shall not enter into the dispute which has arisen; but I have to complain of the course pursued in relation to this matter by the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville). I should like to point out that my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) simply called attention to a portion of his speech, and gave an explanation of it. He is here in the position of a person attacked by another speaker in the other House, where he cannot be heard. The noble Earl, however, takes advantage of this explanation to make a speech against a speech delivered by Lord Randolph Churchill in the other House, and which I have no doubt that noble Lord is himself perfectly able to defend.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess vouched for the facts stated by the noble Lord.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I am not going to argue about the facts; but my complaint is that it is impossible for anyone, even for the noble Earl, with all his knowledge of Central Asian Papers and the other Papers connected with the question, to say that every portion of the context is properly quoted or not. I object altogether that the noble Earl should answer a speech "elsewhere"—that he should answer a speech not made in this House, but in a place where the noble Earl's Colleagues might have answered the speaker if inaccurate statements were made, or statements calculated to misrepresent views or facts. I am also very sorry that after the speech which the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) made last evening, and which was not intended to be of a Party character, the matter should have been referred to, and that the noble Earl did not leave his Colleagues in "another place" to answer the attacks made upon the Government.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) desired to make an explanation, which we all readily accept; but in the course of it he made a strong attack on our Colleagues. Now, the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) very unreasonably complains of what my noble Friend (Earl Granville) has said in reply. The noble Marquess used the right he possessed to make a strong attack on the Government, and surely we have right to make a reply? In these matters there must be surely some degree of equality. It is simply impossible that attacks of the kind delivered by the noble Marquess opposite at Hackney can be confined to one side of the House. It is very hard upon us and our Leader in this House if he may not make a reply, and if Lord Randolph Churchill occupies a position of so much importance, and is so greatly connected with this matter, my noble Friend is entirely justified in what he did. If there is one subject more than another in regard to which we should be careful in the language we use it is one which touches our Indian Empire.

H.R.H. PRINCESS BEATRICE.

MESSAGE FROM THE QUEEN.

Delivered by The Earl GRANVILLE, and read by The LORD CHANCELLOR, as follows:—

Her Majesty having agreed to a marriage proposed between Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice Marie Victoria Feodora and His Serene Highness the Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, has thought fit to communicate it to the House of Lords:

The numerous proofs which the Queen has received from the House of Lords of their loyalty to the Throne, and of their attachment to Her Person and Family, leave Her Majesty no doubt of their readiness to concur in enabling Her Majesty to make suitable provision for Her Royal Highness."

Ordered, That the said Message be taken into consideration on *Friday* next.

CENTRAL ASIA — RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN — THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I too desire, by leave of the House, to

make a personal explanation. Owing to the conversational tone in which I answered the Question of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) yesterday, two slight verbal mistakes have been made in the reports. Your Lordships will remember that I stated that Her Majesty's Government had authorized my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) and myself to meet M. de Staal and M. Lessar on the delimitation of Afghan territory, and that we had come substantially to an agreement, which was satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government and to the Government of India, and had been submitted to the Russian Government. I find that the Russian Ambassador is doubtful whether the statements made in Parliament may not be construed as meaning that His Excellency had the power to conclude an agreement. Although I do not think this is the case, I willingly use his words as to what has taken place—

"Lord Granville, Lord Kimberley, M. Lessar, and himself have agreed to a draft arrangement relating to the delimitation of Afghanistan. He has submitted this draft for the judgment of his Government, giving it his support."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I only wish to say that I am glad the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) has made the statement he has, because I most certainly understood the noble Earl in precisely the same sense as the Russian Ambassador. The explanation, therefore, is very opportune. I do not know whether the noble Earl will answer the Question, but I should like to ask him whether there is, in the recommendations sent to the Russian Government, any provision for an engagement that the Russian Government shall not hereafter transgress the line so delimited?

EARL GRANVILLE: I do not think it is desirable, on a Question, to go into any particular points with regard to this matter.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH CABLES BILL.—(No. 104.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he wished to know what steps the other Powers who were parties to the Convention on which the Bill was based had taken to carry out the object of the Convention? The Bill provided that persons injuring submarine cables should be tried by the tribunals of the country under whose flag the ship on which they were was sailing. Supposing there were an infraction of the Convention, would the other countries take any notice of it? In the event of a war, for instance, what penalty would be inflicted upon the subject of the country who damaged the cable? He hoped that on a future stage of the Bill his noble Friend would make a full statement upon the subject of the Bill. This was a very important matter, as the time for the ratification of the Convention had lapsed, and he would be glad to know what had been done in regard to it?

LORD SUDELEY said, in reply, the law at present with regard to submarine cables was certainly in a most unsatisfactory condition, and it was to remedy this that the Convention had been held. He could not then state exactly what had been done by the other Powers to obtain the necessary measures from their respective Legislatures for carrying out the Convention; but he would answer this and the other Question of the noble Earl on the Committee stage.

Motion *agreed to*: Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

RUSSIA—CIRCULAR DESPATCH OF PRINCE GORTCHAKOFF, 1864.

RESOLUTION. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order of the Day read for resuming the adjourned Debate on the Duke of Argyll's Motion; viz.,

"That the circular despatch addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, dated 21st November 1864, be reprinted."

Debate *resumed* accordingly.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, when we were interrupted last night by a painful incident, I had come very nearly to the conclusion of the observations which I had intended to address to the House, and I was approaching the practical result which I was desirous of impressing on the mind of Parliament and the country. Before I proceed to

that, however, I wish to mention two circumstances. One is, that since I put this Notice on the Paper, and, indeed, only yesterday morning, I received a letter from a Gentleman whose name is well known to many Members of this and the other House, and who has been long connected with the Diplomatic Service at the Foreign Office. I mean Mr. Jerningham, the Member for Berwick. He has just published a circular containing a short *prècis* or abstract of the public documents connected with the Central Asian Question, which, as far as I have had time to look over it, appears not to be coloured by any political feeling. That Gentleman volunteered this statement to me—

"I have directly shown by the aid of these documents that all Russian action since 1864 has been entirely based on the principles expounded by Prince Gortchakoff in that particular Circular.

Another circumstance I wish to mention is, that I find the numbers of the populations of the Provinces of our Indian Empire, annexed within the last 45 years, which I quoted last night, and which were suggested to me by the Secretary of State for India, were erroneous. The figures should stand thus—Oude, 11,000,000; the Punjab, with its warlike population and great resources, 17,000,000; Scinde, also with a very warlike people, 2,000,000. Those figures, I believe, are pretty nearly accurate. Now, my Lords, in the observations I addressed to the House last night, I was mainly concerned with the past, and I endeavoured to show that Russia for the last 20 years had been acting in Central Asia on the formidable doctrine she had laid down in this particular document—namely, that all half-civilized States were to be swallowed up within her frontiers, and that she would only contemplate diplomatic and peaceful relations with those States whose populations were settled in agriculture and commerce, and leaving it entirely in the mind of Russia how she would look upon any particular State, and whether she would place it in the one category or in the other. That is the principle on which she is proceeding; that is the principle which has now brought her direct from the Caspian to the borders of Afghanistan. Now, my Lords, for the future, the question naturally arises how will Russia look upon the Kingdom of Afghanistan? Is that a Kingdom which answers to her description of a population engaged in agricultural and commercial pursuits, and with a settled and stable Government? My Lords, no man knoweth. So far as Russian advances are concerned, she is absolutely free to put Afghanistan in the one category or in the other. That shows the formidable position in which we are now placed. Well, I believe no man can accuse the Afghans, as the populations of the other Khanates of Central Asia may justly be accused, of being a predatory Power, or a people living by the Slave Trade. The population of Afghanistan has hitherto consisted of tribes not unlike the old Highlanders in Scotland; they have often carried on internecine warfare between themselves; perhaps making raids upon each other now and then; but certainly have never lived, as the populations of other Khanates, upon robbery and the Slave Trade. Still, Afghanistan can hardly be described in the language of this Russian Circular as a State whose populations are given up solely to agriculture and commerce with a settled and stable Government. Therefore, my Lords, I say that the declaration of Russia leaves us in a most formidable position as regards the Kingdom of Afghanistan; but on one supposition she will be bound by that principle, and that supposition is this—that we become answerable for Afghanistan. In that case, of course, Afghanistan comes under our ægis and protection, and we are the Power which will undertake to get from Russia those obligations which she will only trust to a settled Government. Here, however, comes the crux of the difficulty. Are we prepared to say that we are ready to undertake for Afghanistan all those obligations that are due to Russia? That is the position of difficulty with which this Government is called upon to deal with in the future settlement of this grave question. Now, my noble Friend the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) has just asked my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) a Question which he has declined to answer in the meantime—a Question which I confess I am not curious to ask—whether Russia will undertake to promise to respect the fron-

tier which may be laid down? Why, my Lords, that is not a question of paramount importance. Of course, Russia will respect the frontier in times of peace; but the question is, what will Russia do in time of war? War dissolves not only all promises, but all Treaties. We must practically now consider ourselves as bordering on Russia, and we must look to our own defences upon that principle; and I am not at all sure that we are in a worse position, even if we are conterminous with Russia. I remember the late Mr. Cobden used always to argue—perhaps your Lordships will not consider him a great authority on these matters, but still he was a great man, and knew a great deal about them—I remember he used to argue with myself and in public that it would be much better for this country that we should be conterminous with Russia, because, unquestionably, unless in the new arrangement which my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs concludes, he secures a complete control over Afghanistan, we shall be in perpetual danger of quarrels on the frontier, for which we shall be practically responsible, and which it will be extremely difficult to restrain. Therefore, my Lords, so far from my remarks being intended to allay the fears or calm the mind of the public, or to lull them to sleep, I wish them to see the extent of the risk and the real magnitude of the dangers that lie before us. The real truth of the matter is this—and it is a very formidable one—we have lost in Asia our hitherto insular position. We hardly realize in this country how completely hitherto our position has been insular, not only in England, but all over the world. In England, of course, as Tennyson says, we are "compassed by the inviolate sea." In India, hitherto, we have been compassed on one of its sides by the inviolate mountains; and it is a curious fact that most of our Colonies have been hitherto purely insular. There is one great exception, and that is the magnificent Colony of Canada. I can hardly explain the strange impression that is made on a subject of the Queen when, for the first time, in Canada he comes in contact with a geographical position in which the English Dominion is no longer insular. Standing under Brock's Monument, erected where the Niagara forces its way into the Lake Ontario, I recognized for the first time what it is to have a Dominion which is not insular. There is another place in Canada where the same experience can be gained—namely, on the battlements of Quebec, on those heights where Wolfe and Montcalm lost their lives for their respective countries. There one feels the interest which the Duke of Wellington felt in the existence of a military frontier in the event of a war between Canada and the United States. Well, my Lords, we are now no longer insular, we are now in the position of having lost our insularity in India. We are there now in the geographical position of a Continental Power, and what I want to point out is this—that being there so, we must now submit to all the burdens and all the necessities which fall upon other Continental Powers. After all, it is the position in which all the other States of Europe have long been—France, Belgium, Holland, and even Italy, although she has a natural frontier in the great barrier of the Alps. All other Powers, including Russia herself, are compelled to look after their own frontiers, and to contemplate the possibility of war and invasion, and we must do the same thing in India. We ought not, of course, to depend upon the promises of Russia; we ought not to depend upon the Treaties made with Russia, because, in the event of war, Treaties are of little worth; but we ought to depend upon our own resources, and upon the foresight with which we can make our preparations as a great Military Power. Now, the question naturally arises—where is our frontier to be? It would be presumptuous in me if I were to give any advice or express any opinion upon that point. It is a question for military experts; but I think I shall be borne out by the illustrious Duke whom I see on the Cross Benches (the Duke of Cambridge) when I say that in England, unfortunately, we have no one great authority on these subjects to whom all military men will bow. We have no Moltke, as they have in Germany. Well, there are great differences of opinion upon this subject; but still I have no doubt that, after due consultation among the ablest men we have, and looking at the military and political considerations of the case, it will be found possible for us to

prepare a military frontier which shall be practically impregnable. But there are one or two—certainly two—political considerations which seem to me predominant in the case. I apprehend I cannot go far wrong when I say that it is a first principle in regard to such great fortifications that we shall not be outflanked, or flanked at all, by great populations whose fidelity to us is doubtful; and the second is, that we shall be as near as possible to our base of operations. Now, if, in the course of a short time, we are able to consolidate our relations with Afghanistan—if, remembering how, under the late Government, we proved our power, and how, under the present Government, we have proved our goodwill, they are satisfied that their interests are bound up with ours, and that we desire the independence of their country and the practice of a settled life and civilization amongst them, I see no reason why the programme of the late Government—sought, I think, too soon to be fulfilled—may not be fulfilled; why our officers should not be heartily received in those cities where they have hitherto been received only to be murdered, and why the Afghan people should not see what advantages they will derive from their forces being disciplined and their fortifications being strengthened by the science and bravery of Europeans. My Lords, under these conditions, I believe that we shall be safe. That, I feel, is the only alternative to which we can safely trust. I agree with noble Lords opposite, if that is considered their special doctrine, that we should not trust to the promises of Russia. We should establish for ourselves, as Continental Powers have been obliged to do, a great military frontier, so that we may rest in peace. I have made these observations with no Party object. I see a most dissatisfied and unrestful state of the public mind with regard to India; I feel it myself; every man must feel it in the present condition of the world; and I think it a most dangerous thing that the public mind should be continually in this condition. It reacts upon the Indian people. I desire to see this country in such a position that there shall not be a series of panics and agitations in respect of our danger in this matter; and I say that no number of millions of money within the number that could possibly be required would be too much for us to expend in restoring perfect confidence to the public mind in England and perfect confidence to the public mind in India that we shall defend our Eastern Empire to the last.

Moved, "That the circular despatch addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, dated 21st November 1864, be reprinted."—(*The Duke of Argyll.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: My Lords, the speech to which the House has just listened is one which I confess has given me a great amount of satisfaction, because it deals with the subject in a statesmanlike spirit, and without any of the partizanship, which I, for one, most heartily desire should be withdrawn from the consideration of this question and others relating to India. There is nothing that the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) has said to which we on this side of the House will take exception. Though he has alluded to the past, he has made no hostile comments with reference to it, and he has refrained from discussing the course which the Government are now following. I shall not either say anything about the conduct of the Government in connection with the negotiations with Russia. We have been promised Papers upon the Afghan Question by the Government; and though far from saying that the Government have dealt with the question in a manner satisfactory to myself and those who think with me, it would not become us, nor would it be useful, to enter upon a discussion at present on these topics. The noble Duke, in that part of his speech which he delivered yesterday, spoke of the blindness of European statesmen after Russia's views had been placed before them by the Circular of Prince Gortchakoff. But the noble Duke might have referred to earlier documents than that. In 1838, Prince Nesselrode, in his correspondence with Lord Palmerston, expressed very much the same view as was subsequently expressed by Prince Gortchakoff—namely, that there was no intention on the part of Russia to extend her Dominions, or to interfere in any way with the Indian Dominions of Great Britain; that Russia, on the contrary, desired that these Dominions should remain in a tranquil and happy condition. I am afraid that Lord Palmerston answered diplomatically, apparently ac-

cepting the reasons given, though he did not really receive them as satisfactory; for he wrote to Lord Clarendon subsequently, as if he suspected that certain intrigues carried on by Russian agents in Central Asia were carried on, not at the will of those officers themselves, but by the instructions of their Government. I pass on, however, only remarking that, though the Circular of Prince Gortchakoff was all that the noble Duke described it to be, and notwithstanding repeated assurances from Prince Nesselrode downwards that the objects of Russia were not what they seemed to be, yet she has been doing what she professed not to wish to do, though I admit that, in many respects, she may have been compelled to do what she has done. That seems to me a special reason why the statesmen of this country should be very firm in their policy. I do not agree with the noble Duke that there was that blindness or that stupidity on the part of our politicians of which he spoke; but there was a hand-to-mouth policy; there was a desire to escape from the fatal day, and to put off by excuses the necessity for securing a permanent and satisfactory defence of our territories in India. There was not, at that time, any necessity to protect India from invasion, for invasion was not the object of Russia at the time; but what was necessary was to protect India from the belief that England was giving way before a stronger Power, and from the unsettlement and discomfort caused to its Government and people by the approach of a Power whose strength was magnified by distance, and which was advancing by rapid strides. The Russian advance has been like that of the tide, and has now reached a point where we must build up a sea wall, so to speak, to prevent further encroachment. I think it would have been far better if we had taken earlier steps, and made it thoroughly understood by the Russian Government what she might not do, and that she was approaching a Power thoroughly resolved to defend her rights. Warnings were given us long ago in emphatic terms by those entitled to be listened to. Sir Henry Rawlinson was never insensible to the inevitable character of the Russian approach. Warnings were given of the character of the Power described by the noble Duke; and of the necessity, when civilized and uncivilized nations come together in the way in which they did in Central Asia, that the uncivilized should fall back before an inevitable advance. The uncivilized people had to give up their raids and robbery, or, at all events, they were not to advance into the territories taken by Russia, because, if they did, it was an excuse for Russia taking possession of their country. It is rather a common-place illustration; but Sir Bartle Frere speaks of Humpty-Dumpty, when once overthrown, of whom it is said that not all the King's horses nor all the King's men can set him up again. There is no recovery for these uncivilized States—once overthrown, and subjection to the aggressive Power follows in due course. It is only justice to the men who wrote on the subject to call attention now to what they have said. We find Sir Bartle Frere in 1873, in giving warning about Russia, recognizing to the fullest extent the impulse which was driving her forward. He says—

> "The result of all this is that Russia will go on, whether her Government wish it or not, till something stops her, and what will stop her? Nothing that I can see except an impassable barrier, such as the Himalayas, or a political barrier, such as finding herself on a frontier which she cannot pass without fighting an equally powerful nation on the other side, and when that powerful nation is civilized and able and willing to give her honest hearing and reasonable redress with regard to frontier discussions and to require equal justice from her."

As to a neutral zone, about which we have heard so much, if it consists of an uncivilized country, it is useless, because it will only give ground for attack. On the subject of a neutral zone, there had been communications between Lord Clarendon and the Liberal Government of the day; but it is due to both to say that, in their view, the neutral zone was to be something beyond Afghanistan, and that Afghanistan was to be always under the influence of England, and England was always to be in a position to take steps in Afghanistan for its preservation. Afghanistan was never treated as a neutral or independent zone, but as a zone to be armed, if necessary, and to be placed in a position to resist the advance of Russia, and Russia itself has acknowledged this position. Sir Bartle Frere recognized what it was that made Russia advance. He said—

"What is it that impels Russia to advance? We are pretty well agreed that the impulse is the same as that which impelled ourselves from Calcutta to Peshawur. We were a strong, united, aggressive, and growing Power, in contact with States so disunited and demoralized that their power was paralyzed, and they had no inherent vigour and capacity for resistance, still less for growth."

And then he went on to say that the men in whose hands the military power of Russia was did very much as our Governors General did in India, who, in spite of constant opposition and the strongest orders from home that there should be no further annexation, did, nevertheless, annex, for, in their view, it became a natural necessity, and when the annexations were made it became too late for the Government at home in England, as for Russia, to prevent it. That was foreseen by those writers who were in favour of arresting the progress of Russia at an early period without war. They said that Russia was driven forward by an absolute necessity, and would very soon be brought into contact with us. I suppose that no one believes that Russia has rushed blindly forward; for certainly she has taken occasion for advancing when our hands were full; and, perhaps, if the necessity was upon her, it was only natural that she should do so. What hindered us from taking steps was not from ignorance of the opinions of our statesmen, but I believe very much in part from the necessities of our Indian finance, and also from the feeling that Russia would not advance so rapidly as the experts fancied, and the belief that the day was far distant when the expense of making preparations would be called for. There was also a feeling at home against spending money too long in advance. And so, in like manner, it was only under pressure that we were doing in these recent days what we ought to have done long ago for the defence of our coaling stations. When the finances of India were for a long time disorganized, it was natural that the expense of fortifications should be put off as long as possible. But we have, however, now taken steps. We are carrying our railway to Quetta with the object that we should be as near as possible to our base, in time and facilities, if not in space. If we are at Quetta we are near the important position in Afghanistan. Being at Quetta, it is obvious we have a policy upon which must be founded the question of the frontier. It has always been an object that wherever the frontier of Russia was, it should be as far as possible from our frontier in India Proper. It is a curious thing that long ago Prince Nesselrode expressed a desire that we should keep the frontiers of India Proper and Russia as far as possible apart, because there might be danger if they touched. I consider this, as it were, an outlying frontier, and I trust it will lead to carrying on a railway to Candahar. If you get a railway from Candahar to India, you will have one of the most civilizing of all processes, and a means by which the people of Afghanistan may bring their produce into the markets of India, while Central Asia would have the same advantage. But the railway is also a very important movement from a strategical point of view, and I quite agree with the opinion that we should not draw our enemy down into the plains of India if we can possibly avoid it. Now, I wish to say how gratifying it has been to see the loyalty which the Native Chiefs and Princes and people in India have displayed. I had the satisfaction in 1879 of returning thanks to them for their offers of assistance. At that time they expressed the desire to share with us our dangers, and they are now showing, as then, their love for England, and their appreciation of the civilizing influences which this country bestows upon India. Let, then, Parties at home meet this question in the spirit which has actuated the noble Duke who introduced this subject; and I would say let us have union in what we are about to do with respect to India. I hope there is not a man in this country who wishes to give up that country. If India were a burden to us, to desert the country and give it up to confusion and anarchy after all we have inflicted upon it, and after the pledges we have given to it, would seem to me to be a fatal and wicked policy. But India is a source of wealth; it is one of our best customers, and is a growing one. It is one of those countries upon which you may have to rely for food, and it is united to us by many ties. It is the joy of many in India that they are united to England. Do not let us betray those who are trusting us, but resolve that we will defend them. I do not wish to deal with this matter in

a Party spirit; but I desire to point out that when the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) was at the head of the Government of India, he wrote strongly on the subject of the Russians arriving at Merv, and said that whenever that time came, it would be time for English officers to be at Herat, and to make intimate associations with the Afghans. Like terms were also used by the noble Earl now the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), and in the Papers on Central Asia it will be found how strongly he wrote when he told Count Shouvaloff that the only thing that could lead to the advance of English troops towards Central Asia would be the advance of Russia to Merv. Russia came to Merv, and Her Majesty's Government began to take certain steps which I will not enter upon now. The question now before us is this—We are becoming practically conterminous with a great Power; let us treat that Power with respect as a great Power. It is no use bandying charges or making imputations on one side or the other; but it is necessary that for true friendship there shall be complete independence. If we are to be a friendly nation with Russia, it must be as an independent and as a strong nation. Russia must understand that she is not dealing with a people who are for ever to give way to her, even if she be impelled forward by necessity, and that there are necessities resting upon us as great as those laid upon her—to defend the interests of India and to protect the honour of England.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I most cordially reciprocate the feeling which has been expressed by the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) that this great subject should be treated as far as possible apart from Party politics. The noble Viscount has given us a conspicuous proof in the speech he has delivered that the question can be so treated. I shall not trouble the House at any length upon the subject of the Russian advances, because they have been so fully explained by the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Argyll). But, at this juncture, I cannot help throwing back my memory to a period 30 years ago, when I had the honour to represent this country at St. Petersburg, and when I had many discussions with Prince Gortchakoff upon this subject. It now strikes me as very remarkable what an immense change has taken place in the whole of the affairs of Central Asia since that period. Such conversations as I had with Prince Gortchakoff at that time related to positions which really seemed then to be so distant from our Indian Empire, that they formed matter for interesting conversation rather than matter of political importance and real anxiety. At the same time, as long ago as in 1856-7, the question of a neutral zone was mooted between myself and Prince Gortchakoff. The noble Viscount was quite correct in saying that it was an entire mistake to suppose that the Government of this country contemplated for one moment, or at any time, that Afghanistan was to be a neutral zone. It has always been, and still is, a cardinal point of our policy, that Afghanistan is to be outside the sphere of Russian influence, and within the sphere of our influence. The question of the neutral zone, which is now entirely put aside, referred to territories further North. With regard to the causes which have impelled Russia forward, there is no doubt that the general principles laid down in the Circular of Prince Gortchakoff correctly described the motive of the policy of the Russian Government; and the Prince, I remember, described to me, in language very similar to that which he wrote many years before in his Circular, what had impelled the Russians in their first conquests in this direction. That being the policy which Russia had adopted, partly through necessity and partly, perhaps, from design, and largely, no doubt, in consequence of the ambition of its officers, the noble Viscount justly observes that there must come a time when that continual advance must find some check. Now, the noble Viscount seemed to think that there might have been on the part of previous Governments a certain amount of blindness with regard to Russia, or a desire to put off the evil day. That desire, I suppose, is common to Governments as well as to individuals, and it may have had a certain part in the policy pursued. But I think there were better reasons than that. It is sometimes unwise to go to a distance in order to meet dangers before they arrive in our vicinity. We saw a conspicuous instance of the danger of such a policy in our first war in Afghanistan. That war

was waged long before the necessity for such interference. We were undoubtedly excited prematurely by the appearance of Russia at a great distance, and we plunged ourselves into difficulties, the results of which are still felt and which have greatly prejudiced our whole relations with Afghanistan. That was the mistake made by seeing the danger at a remote distance, and endeavouring to meet it by action which was premature. Of course, it is a matter of judgment and opinion as to when the exact moment of action should have been, and what were the precise measures which it would have been wise to adopt. It is obvious, however, that it is essential for our safety in India that our defensive position should not be too far from our base. We have a frontier extending many hundreds of miles, and it is essential that we should not put ourselves in a position where we should have to defend ourselves at a point far removed from our base. If we did we should have to contend with difficulties which are obvious even to the civilian. The noble Duke behind me came to a conclusion which is precisely the conclusion which I must say I have come to myself. It is not one which I have arrived at to-day; because, many years ago, I discussed the subject with Lord Lawrence, and urged that we should require an armed frontier for India, whenever the Russians approached within touch of that country. It is impossible that we can any longer believe, or have the satisfaction of knowing, that we are in what I may call an insular position in India. We are no longer in that position; and, as my noble Friend behind me justly observed, it is our duty to accept the new situation, and to prepare ourselves speedily to deal with it. The noble Viscount opposite spoke of the indisposition there had been to respond to the advice of such men as Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Bartle Frere. I may think that they took somewhat too alarmist a view; but I have always thought there was too much indifference to the fact that Russia was approaching India, and to the change in the position of our Indian Empire which would gradually make us a Continental nation, with all the dangers and difficulties inseparable from the situation. To deal with the new situation, it was necessary to make a beginning of our defensive operations; and I requested my noble Friend behind me (the Marquess of Ripon), when Viceroy, to prepare a careful plan of defence, on the best military authority in India, relating to the frontier, extending from Pshawur to the Indus Valley Railway, with an estimate of the probable expense. Such a plan has been prepared, and has been submitted to my Council, which has, your Lordships know, control in matters of finance; the project has been approved, and authority has been given for the expenditure of a sum of £5,000,000 on frontier railways and military roads, including the Quetta Railway, which will cost something like £2,000,000 of that sum. I must not be understood as limiting the expenditure to £5,000,000; but that, it is estimated, will be the least sum required for the railways and military roads which the best military authorities have declared to be essential; and it may be found, on further examination, that further works will have to be undertaken. I think it is a matter, and I know that Lord Dufferin thinks it is a matter, for serious consideration, whether there should not be strong fortresses on that line so as to give our Army support. If it be thought that these fortresses are necessary, there ought, of course, to be no unreasonable delay in constructing them. It is our plain duty to get the best military advice that we can, and to act upon that advice without precipitation or alarm, or undue haste, but seriously to take in hand the thorough construction of such a frontier as may calm the public mind in India, as well as in this country. It is essential that the public mind in India should not be disturbed on this subject, but that they should feel that the Government have taken all the measures that are requisite for the safety of our Empire there, and that, having taken them, we can afford to abide the result. My own view is that we ought to be in such a position that we are prepared not only for the most favourable, but also for the least favourable, circumstances, and base our plans of defence upon that. For example, I consider that our frontier defences ought to be such as that we can defend ourselves if Afghanistan is unfriendly to us. If Afghanistan is friendly, and with good policy I think it may be

and ought to be friendly, it is, of course, a great advantage. But it is a country which is very loosely held by its Rulers, and it is impossible to tell, in the course of time, what circumstances might arise, and we might unfortunately find Afghanistan not so friendly as we could wish. In that case, our defence might have to be based on a strictly defensive system within our own lines. But we ought to be also in a position to take the offensive if need be. One thing is certain—that we ought not to found our policy on the notion that we should construct a frontier line in Central Asia, for which this country would be entirely responsible, several hundreds of miles distant from India. Of course, by an alliance with the Afghans, we must undertake a considerable responsibility for their frontier; and we hope that a satisfactory frontier line will be drawn between Russian and Afghan territory. It may eventually be necessary that some of our officers should be permanently stationed on that frontier; and at the present moment, as your Lordships are aware, two British officers are actually in Herat with the full consent and desire of the Ameer. That, of itself, shows what a good state of feeling now exists between the Ameer and ourselves, and that on his part no obstacles will be interposed in the way of any arrangement which may be desirable. The schemes which are put forward to the effect that we should make Herat a great Indian fortress, to be held by British and Indian troops at a great distance from our frontier, and among a population not under our direct influence, would involve us in great and serious dangers; but, on the other hand, we shall take steps to strengthen the Ameer's position at Herat, and to put the fortifications there in a condition to afford a reasonable amount of security. That is a very different thing from making Herat an English frontier fortress. I thank the House for the attention with which it has listened to me, and I trust, my Lords, that this discussion will not be without advantage, when it is seen that, notwithstanding our political contests and differences on other points, on the question of the defence of India against all comers and the maintenance of our Indian Empire, there is an entire agreement and an absolute unanimity among all Parties in this country.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, there has been so much in the speeches which have been delivered, in which all your Lordships must agree, that it might perhaps seem superfluous to continue this debate; and I do not wish to go again over the ground which has been so well traversed by my noble Friend opposite (the Duke of Argyll) and my noble Friend behind me (Viscount Cranbrook), or to add to the sentiments which I could not hope to express in language half so good as they have employed. But there are one or two matters which have been stated from the Bench opposite to-night which, without departing from the pacific line on which this debate has been projected by the noble Duke, and to which I think he has on the whole faithfully adhered, I cannot let pass without some observation. And the first observation I wish to make is one which, but for the respect I have for the Order of the House, I should have made at an earlier period in reply to the noble Earl the Leader of the House (Earl Granville), as to the proper conduct of an Opposition in a crisis such as the present. I do not wish, after what has happened, to go into contentious matters; but the noble Earl seemed to me to lay down a doctrine which we cannot permit to pass unnoticed—namely, that it is the duty of an Opposition not to canvass or condemn the conduct of the Government, if, by so doing, it should have the effect of discouraging our friends and allies in other parts of the world. That seems to be a very far-reaching doctrine, and one which it is impossible to assent to. The noble Earl must remember that, if we are of opinion that the course of public affairs is going ill, and that our Government has mismanaged, that faults are being committed, and dangers are being incurred, we have no absolute Sovereign to whom we can appeal in order to correct the evil. Our absolute Sovereign is the people of this country; and it is they, and they alone, who can bring a remedy to the mischief that is going on. If we do not appeal to them, we can appeal to no one; if they do not interfere, no one can interfere. You have a form of government in many points of view purely democratic, and you must take it with the incidents that naturally adhere to it, and one of those incidents is publicity of deliberation.

The authority which decides, in the first instance, is the Cabinet, and it decides in secret, and it is right in maintaining that secrecy to the utmost. But the authority to which you must appeal from the Cabinet is the people, and their deliberations are conducted in the open field. If they are to be rightly informed, you must deal fully and frankly with all the subjects which must form the basis of their determination. It is, no doubt, a drawback, as far as it goes, to popular government; but it is a drawback which you must face, and you cannot help it if Foreign Powers overhear, so to speak, the privileged communication between you and those by whose verdict you must stand. You cannot suppress the argument because somebody else outside hears it, and may be adversely affected by it. You might as well say you would allow a trial to go wrong, because the counsel hesitated to tell the jury the whole truth as it appeared to him, lest someone outside should be offended or discouraged by the language used. I, therefore, demur entirely to the general Constitutional doctrine which I understood the noble Earl to lay down. I do not wish to enter into the particular application of it to this topic, because that would be transgressing the limits that we have laid down for ourselves in this debate. But I think that the noble Duke's argument showed an undue prepossession in favour of Russia in regard to the promises which she has made. The promises which she made on the subject of Khiva, on the subject of Merv, on the subject of the advance on the Caspian shore, were, according to the noble Duke, not promises of that categorical character that you can say that an absolute Convention or Treaty had been broken, but they were, I think, promises by which a man in private life would hold himself bound; and that if Russia has not held herself bound, it was not due to the fact that the promises were not in themselves important, but that Russia has found herself overborne by those forces of necessity to which frequent reference has been made in the course of this debate. I do not believe that the despatch written by Prince Gortchakoff in the year 1864 has taken the life and meaning out of all the promises which Russia has since 1864 again and again made. You cannot hold that doctrine concerning them all. The only other observation I would desire to make is as to the important speech of the noble Earl opposite the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley). With the sentiments which inspired that speech I absolutely agree. We all feel that the defence of India, whether in justice to England or to India, is a vital matter on which no shortcomings can be allowed. But I regretted to hear the limits which it seemed to me that the noble Earl fixed to that defence. He spoke of fortresses at Peshawur, and on the line of the Indus. Is the defence of India to be carried no further than that?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I mentioned Peshawur and the Indus as an indication of the general line to be defended. But, of course, there is Quetta, and I by no means intended to bind myself to those limits.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am glad to have been the means of eliciting that correction, because I think it will tend to remove many misapprehensions. My belief is that, if such a state of things arose as the noble Earl seemed to foreshadow—namely, that of a hostile Power in possession of the mountains overlooking the Valley of the Indus, and we in fortresses along the Indus to resist them—such a state of things would reduce us to the most serious difficulty and peril in India. India must be defended beyond the mountains; but what is the precise point at which the defence shall take place, it is not fitting for us, in an Assembly of civilians like this, to affirm. I agree with the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India, that the prospect of defending Herat by British troops is not one which seems to the British non-military mind very attractive, or very feasible. It may always be possible for us, with assistance in the shape of arms and officers, to assist the Ameer in defending that place himself; but to occupy it and defend it ourselves, I confess, seems to me a dangerous undertaking. But it is a long distance from Herat to the Valley of the Indus, and there are places—Quetta, the Khojak Pass, and Candahar, in that part of the country — somewhere among which will be found in future the place destined to be the only satisfactory centre of the defensive works which we must erect to sustain our power. I hope we shall do all we can to conciliate that

power and keep the Ameer of Afghanistan with us, and to help him to the utmost of our power to defend his country, while, at the same time, defending India; but do not let the desire of his friendship lead us into either of those two mistakes, either in making ourselves responsible for any of the excesses which the wild tribes under his control may commit upon his Western Frontier, nor, on the other hand, can we make any susceptibilities which any Afghan Ruler may feel a reason for abstaining from defending, and defending adequately, those positions we may consider absolutely necessary for the strength of our own position. I believe that the Government are now—I wish they had done it earlier—pursuing the right way. They are making the Railway. All our experience of modern times has shown how hard it is to sustain an Army upon communications conducted merely by camels and other beasts of burden. We have felt this want bitterly in Africa, and we have also felt it in Asia. We ought to push our Railway as far forward as we can with reference to the position of the country and the possibility of guarding it; because it is with the Railway that our communications with our base can be most usefully made. Otherwise, any operations we may undertake will be very critical. The business for the present is to urge forward the Railway, and when that has reached a certain degree of advancement, I sincerely hope the Indian Government will devote itself to the business of making strong our position above the mountains; and when it undertakes that task, let no desire to put off the evil day, let no desire to balance the Budget, let no desire to respect the susceptibilities of the tribes around us prevent it from giving security to that vast frontier, which will prevent for ever the possibility of our having to fight in the plains of India itself.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Of course, your Lordships will see that it is impossible for me to enter into the details of military plans. I seem, however, to have been misunderstood in what I have already said; and in order to avoid misapprehension I should like to repeat that though, perchance, Quetta, with the Pisheen Valley, may be regarded as the outworks of our defence, they must by no means be supposed to represent the entire scope of our operations. These are matters, however, which must be fully considered; and it is for the Military Authorities to say precisely where should be the different portions of the defence, and what amount of strength should be given to it.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I think it is not superfluous if I presume to thank, not only on the part of my Colleagues, but, I think, on the part of the whole House, my noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll) for having given us an opportunity for this debate. It is one of the most important and valuable discussions I have heard for a long time in this House. Not only has it been admirable, but I believe not one word has escaped from anyone this evening disrespectful or unconciliatory with regard to Russia. On the other hand, it has been of immense value in showing, from their frankness, that all Parties are unanimous as to the reasons which exist for the necessity of defending India at all hazards—reasons which Russia herself would be the first to admit as being perfectly right in a spirited nation to undertake. The tone between the two Parties exhibited this evening with regard to this question is one which I believe will have a most important, almost a vital influence in India itself in encouraging that country to know that she may be sure of the united efforts of this country to defend it from any danger which may really arise. I have only one word to say as to the Constitutional doctrine of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury). I agree with him in the general doctrine that it is the duty of the Opposition jealously to observe the conduct of the Government, to criticize it when criticism is deserving, to turn it out if it is necessary to do so, in order to stop a harmful system of policy. The only thing that I did was to protest against—and I think rightly to protest—the contention whether it is judicious, in moments when the Government is hopeful of a perfectly peaceful solution of a complicated subject, that a tone should be adopted not quite the tone adopted this evening by the Leaders of the Opposition, without the facts in their possession, and that they should take a view damaging excessively the position of the Government as representing the coun-

try, and representing them as humiliated before another country, because both sides have made some concessions in order to arrive at a satisfactory understanding.

Motion (on Question) *agreed to.*

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to alter and amend the law as to marriage with a deceased wife's sister—Was *presented* by The Lord MONSON; read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Thursday* the 11*th of June* next (The Earl of DALHOUSIE.) (No. 110.)

House adjourned at half-past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 12*th May*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report*—Turnpike Acts Continuance [No. 187]; Telephone and Telegraph Wires [No. 188]; National Provident Insurance, *appointed.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Second Reading* — Channel Tunnel (Experimental Works), *put off.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * [173]; Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * [174]; Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * [175]; Educational Endowments (Ireland) * [176].

Second Reading — Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [149]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1) * [162]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) * [158].

Committee — Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) * [161]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 3).*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Registration (Occupation Voters) [163], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Registration of Voters (Scotland) [151], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—County Justices' Clerks * [98].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

CHANNEL TUNNEL (EXPERIMENTAL WORKS) BILL (*by Order*).

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, that in the fewest number of words he could use he proposed to move the second reading of the Bill. The House would be aware that the second reading of a Bill only meant the sanction of the House to the desirability of inquiry. He knew it might be said that there had been a good many inquiries already as to the necessity of a Channel Tunnel; but he would venture to say that not in one of those inquiries, whether Departmental or otherwise, had the matter been gone into in a satisfactory, judicial manner. There had been no cross examination of witnesses by counsel. On this occasion he hoped to be able to save the House trouble in the matter, because, as he had stated a short time ago, in postponing the second reading of the Bill, in order to consult the convenience of the President of the Board of Trade, and the exigencies of Public Business, if the Prime Minister would be good enough to say that he was still in favour, as he used to be, of a Channel Tunnel, he (Sir Edward Watkin) would, considering the nearness of the Dissolution of Parliament, withdraw the Motion for the second reading. On the other hand, if the Prime Minister would tell the House that he had changed his opinion, and that he thought a connection between England and France by means of a Channel Tunnel was an unwise and dangerous measure in the interests of this country, and that he now thought it ought not to be carried out, then he would also withdraw the Motion for the second reading, and save the House the trouble of a discussion and a division, knowing that there would soon be a new Parliament, and hoping that with that new Parliament there might possibly be a change of Government, which might, perhaps, be more in harmony with the views of the country generally on this and other questions. Circumstances had been greatly modified since the last debate upon this question. It had been found possible to comply with what seemed to be the outcome of that discussion; and therefore the present Bill was introduced practically as a Bill for enabling experiments already sanctioned by Parliament to be continued and extended, while giving to the Government of the day power either to continue or to acquire any works connected with a permanent Tunnel. The Bill recited that by the South Eastern Railway Act of 1874 the Com-

pany were authorized to apply certain moneys belonging to them, or under their control, subject to the limitation thereby prescribed, towards the cost of any soundings and of any borings, shafts, driftways, or other works in connection with the construction of a Tunnel under the English Channel; also, that by the South Eastern Railway Act of 1881, after reciting that by the Act of 1874 the South Eastern Railway Company were authorized to apply money belonging to them, or under their control, towards the cost of experimental borings in connection with the construction of a Tunnel under the English Channel, the South Eastern Railway Company were empowered to purchase and acquire by compulsion or otherwise, and to hold certain lands for the purposes of such experimental borings and other works. The Bill then went on to recite that whereas experimental borings and works had been carried on and executed for some distance under the bed of the Straits of Dover, and so far as the same had proceeded they had been successful and satisfactory, and in order to ascertain the possibility of completing within a reasonable period a Tunnel between England and France, it was expedient that the experimental works should be further prosecuted, with the view of determining the practicability of constructing and maintaining a permanent Tunnel for railway purposes beneath the Straits of Dover between England and France, and that powers to that effect should be granted and conferred. It next recited that it was expedient to provide—in the event of the experimental works proving successful—for vesting in the Lords of the Treasury the right or power of determining the expediency of prosecuting the permanent works of the Channel Tunnel, and of sanctioning the prosecution and execution of such permanent works. The Bill further declared that it was expedient to make provision, in the event of the experimental works proving successful, for the transfer, in manner provided, of such works or of any permanent Channel Tunnel works to the Lords of the Treasury if required by them. It then gave a general power of agreement between this particular Company and the Company presided over by the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor), and also with the Railway Companies which would be connected by means of the Tunnel with the Continent; and in addition there were several minor conditions with which it was not necessary to trouble the House. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had now entered the House, and he (Sir Edward Watkin) would repeat the few words he had uttered a few moments ago—namely, that if the Premier was still in favour of a Channel Tunnel, or, on the other hand, if he had changed his mind and would declare that in his view England and France ought never to be united by a Tunnel, in either case he (Sir Edward Watkin) would withdraw the Motion, and save the House all further trouble as to discussing it. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was charged with any message or statement from the Prime Minister. He did not know whether the House would agree with him; but he ventured to think that on a question which affected the future relations between France and England, and a great many other questions besides, the opinion of the Prime Minister and of the Government was the property of the House and of the nation, and he ought not to be told that the Government did not intend to express an opinion; nor had he any right to assume from their silence that they had no opinion. Having taken so much trouble in order to save the House the necessity of a discussion he would now say a few words, and they should be very short indeed, on the question before the House. Those who had been prosecuting this work had always contended, first of all, that the experiments ought to be conducted by private enterprize; but that if the Tunnel were constructed it would practically mean the extension of the British Empire to the middle of the Channel, and therefore it ought to become a national work, as an extension of the Empire. Then it had always been thought further that, although it was expedient to invest private money in this direction, in any case there ought to be power reserved to the Government to take charge of it. They had never sought for the slightest monopoly. They had always contended that a passage under the sea to connect England and France ought to be open to every Company and every person. It

was considered also that a connection between England on one side and the Continent on the other should be an International work, such as the schemes for connecting the two shores on either side of America and the Suez Canal. The Canal in Nicaragua, for connecting Nicaragua with the shore of the United States, had been described in the Portocols as a work entered into by the persons who undertook it "as trustees for all mankind," and they thought it should be "neutralized" by the general assent of Europe. Those were the views the promoters of this Bill entertained. The present position of the work was this —on the French side, about 2,200 yards of experimental Tunnel had been executed, a large amount of machinery had been erected, and about £80,000 sterling had been spent. On the English side, a less amount of money had been spent; but about the same length of experimental Tunnel had been bored due south of the Shakespeare Cliff. The action of the Government might be right, or it might be wrong; but the effect of that action, so far as the property of this Company and of the French Company in the Tunnel works was concerned, had been to confiscate the property of the shareholders, and also to inflict upon the innocent persons in England who desired to carry out a great work, for no improper motive, and certainly not as a matter of speculation, a large amount of litigation instituted at the cost of the country by the Board of Trade. They had also been put to needless expense in having been compelled to drain and ventilate that portion of the work already carried out by needless and special methods. Moreover, the steps taken by the Board of Trade had necessitated the use of other machinery of an entirely new and exceptional character from that originally provided, and the Company had been forbidden to work with the machinery they themselves had deemed sufficient. In the discussion which arose last year in connection with the Irish fisheries, hon. Members seemed to think that it was very hard to be compelled to come to Parliament in order to beg for the use of their own money. In this case the Company felt it hard indeed, having acquired the right to the foreshore, and being in possession of the manorial rights, and having provided adequate machinery, that they should be hampered in this way because, for some reason or other, never yet explained, Her Majesty's Government chose to take objection to their proceedings. In the earliest step taken by the Company in regard to the Tunnel works, not a single thing was done without the entire cognizance of the Board of Trade; and the Board of Trade had been requested, over and over again, to say whether they were opposed to the construction of a Tunnel, and if they thought it ought not to be made; so that the Company might become acquainted with the views of the Government before they were committed to the financial responsibilities in which they proposed to embark. All he could say was, that it was felt extremely hard that after laying out their own money, after taking all the trouble they had, and obtaining the best advice they could, after the Governments of Mr. Gladstone in 1873, and of Lord Beaconsfield in 1874, had again and again committed themselves to the principle of the construction of a Tunnel between the two countries, after those two Governments had placed themselves in communication with the Representatives of France—after all these things it was very hard, indeed, that the efforts of the Company and the expenditure they had incurred should be wasted. The great reason which had always induced him to favour the idea of connecting England and the Continent by means of a Tunnel was that we had no second line of communication. We were dependent for the supply of one-third of our food and of all the raw materials of our textile manufactures—cotton, silk, jute, and everything else, with the exception of a little wool and of flax grown in Ireland, upon foreign countries; and if we lost the mastery of the sea for a fortnight, the nation might find itself involved in the greatest possible disaster. It had always struck him, and he believed it had struck others also, that a second line of communication would, in any circumstances, be of immense value. The Government were taking upon themselves the vast responsibility of refusing a second line of communication. As to the alleged military danger of a Tunnel, he could not understand the fear that was created by the idea of the construction of two holes 14 feet wide under the bed of the

Sir Edward Watkin

sea, which could be destroyed in an instant if necessary. On the contrary, he thought the prosecution of some such means of conveying traffic from the Continent of Europe to all parts of England, Wales, and Scotland would provide in the end a great national security, and it was the only mode of protecting the trade of the country and the sustenance of the people in the event of our ceasing to retain command of the sea. He was quite aware that hon. Gentlemen opposite would argue that we ought to have a better Navy. He was entirely with them on that point; but it did not affect the question they were now discussing. He knew it was said that danger might crop up unexpectedly in all manner of ways; but one of the greatest strategists in Europe, Count Von Moltke, had said, and had authorized it to be repeated, that there was no more chance of this country being invaded through a Tunnel than of its being invaded through his library door. As a matter of fact, a few old women, armed with broom-sticks, might effectually prevent the advance of a hostile army through a Tunnel. It was for the House to say whether they intended to share the responsibility of keeping this country in a position of exceptional danger owing to the want of a second line of communication. He was aware that in discussing the question he had to deal not only with a good deal of prejudice, but also, if possible, with the national hatreds which might exist, for anything he knew, or both sides of the Channel, and everybody must be painfully aware that prejudice and hatred had neither conscience nor logical faculty. He therefore asked the House to look at the matter quite apart from any prejudice or feeling of national hatred. It was a simple mathematical proposition which he laid before them, and it was a proposition which he believed it was for the interest of both countries concerned —were two lines of communication safer than only one? They were reminded of the "silver streak." The construction of the Tunnel would not abolish that "silver streak;" but the "silver streak" would remain as it was before, without any diminution, obstruction, or otherwise. With regard to the "silver streak," what was it that Lord Palmerston said? Everyone must admit that Lord Palmerston possessed great patriotism and a large amount of experience. He would give a short extract from a speech delivered by Lord Palmerston in 1851, in which that noble Lord said—

> "The application of steam to navigation has, in effect, made a bridge over the Channel, and has given the means of quick attack—an attack on a scale of magnitude such as did not exist before. Again, it is said, we should know beforehand if any such preparations were being made. I say you might not know, because by the internal arrangements of railways the distribution of troops is such that 50,000 or 60,000 men could be collected at Cherbourg before you knew anything of the matter, and such a number of men could walk from the quay into their vessels as easily as they could walk from their own barrack yard. A single night would bring them over, and all our Naval Forces, be they what they might, could not be relied upon to prevent the landing of the expedition."

That was the notion of Lord Palmerston with regard to the modern danger of an invasion of this country by this means. It was not improbable that naval and military officers on either side of the House, if they thought fit to do so, would tell the House that if this country was ever to be invaded it would be invaded by the sea. There were hundreds of places which could not be expected to be fortified where a force brought by ships could be landed, and where it would not be possible at a short notice to concentrate a military force; but we could always be prepared to defend a Tunnel, or to destroy it. A Tunnel would always be a fixed point; and in a time of danger or alarm, although we could not be prepared against the danger of invasion by sea, we could always be prepared against the danger of invasion by means of a Tunnel. He regarded the constant fears that were expressed of an invasion as a great change from the tone adopted by Englishmen in olden times, when, instead of constantly entertaining the idea of an invasion, we were generally talking about invading somebody else. He certainly thought that if there was any danger of invasion at all, it was much more likely that English Forces would land somewhere else than that the Forces of any other nation would land on this island and incur the almost certainty of destruction. He maintained that Parliament and the nation had committed themselves to France with regard to the construction of the Tunnel; and there could be no doubt that the sudden change of

mind which had taken place, however it might have been produced, without any explanation, as far as he knew, either diplomatic or otherwise, had produced in the minds of many Frenchmen an idea that England was hardly to be trusted. The Government had practically seduced Frenchmen into putting £80,000 of their money into the construction of a great work. Did Her Majesty's Government intend to repay the money which had been laid out on the distinct faith and assurance of Governments of both political Parties, and also upon a distinct Convention regulating how the Tunnel, if made, was to be destroyed in a time of war or in a time of difficulty? The first step towards war was the introduction of International suspicion that a nation made engagements and broke them; and it was much to be deplored that the Government should treat lightly or throw overboard, without compensation and without any explanation whatever, any engagement which it had previously assented to. He would like to ask any thoughtful man whether in the last two years, if this country had been constructing this great work in the face of all the world, in concert with France, any of those difficult questions would have arisen between France and England which had endangered the good relations between the two countries? If this country had gone into partnership with France, he believed that many of those disagreeable strains and many of the dangers which had sprung up from time to time would never have appeared. Take the case of the Cobden Treaty. For the 20 years of its existence no rumour of war had been heard between France and England. Mr. Cobden had said that the Tunnel would be the golden archway to connect the two countries in perpetual peace; peace meant friendly intercourse and mutual trade interests. By the Treaty concluded by Mr. Cobden, the actual interests of the two countries were made one, and it was for the interests of both countries to be at peace. If there were a perpetual alliance between England and France, nothing could be more advantageous to the interests of the two nations. Was there any permanent alliance we could have with anybody except with our nearest neighbour? We must be in a state of friendship with France, or in a state of war, or in a position that was, perhaps, even worse than war—namely, a state of suspense as to what might or might not happen. Therefore, he desired, if possible, to strengthen and make firm and lasting the relations between the two countries. A Representative of the working classes voted against him last year; but he did not forget that other working men, not long ago, went over to France to discuss industrial matters with the French working men. On that occasion the English Representatives waited upon the President of the French Republic to advocate the Tunnel. After having heard their views, he asked—"Why do you come to me? Why don't you go to your own Parliament and convince them? We are convinced in France. We deeply deplore the abandonment of the Tunnel, and if it is not made we shall regret it; but we cannot help it. We are opposed to isolation and separation, and we wish for a frank and cordial understanding between England and France." The real people were opposed to "isolation and separation," for they knew it was the forerunner of war. He (Sir Edward Watkin) believed that that was the opinion of all the working and industrial classes of this country; and he was satisfied that there would be a general feeling of regret if anything were to happen to prevent the opening out of a new source of employment for the industry of the country. He had only one or two more words to say; but if he were permitted, he would like to make use of a quotation, and when he told hon. Members that it was from a paper which was now the Government organ, he thought the House would feel inclined to treat the opinions expressed in it with respect. The quotation was as follows:—

"The opening of such a communication between this country and the Continent will be a pure gain to the commercial and social interests on both sides. It obliterates the Channel, so far as it hinders direct communication, yet keeps it intact for all those advantages of severance from the political complications of the Continent, which no generation has more thoroughly appreciated than our own. The commercial advantages of the communication must necessarily be beyond all calculation. A communication of this nature between the two chief Capitals of Western Europe, which should annex our railway system to the whole of the railways of the Continent, would practically widen the world to pleasure and travel, and every kind of enterprize.

The 300,000 travellers who cross the Channel every year would probably become 3,000,000 if the sea were practically taken out of the way by a safe and quick communication under it. The journey to Paris would be little more than that from London to Liverpool. It is, however, quite needless to enlarge on these advantages of the Channel Tunnel as the crowning enterprize of an age of vast engineering works. Its accomplishment is to be desired from every point of view; and should it be successful, it will be as beneficent in its results as the other great triumph of the science of our time."

[*Cries of* "Name!"] The extract he had read was from *The Daily News*. [An hon. MEMBER: What date?] He was sorry to say that it was not from *The Daily News* of to-day, but from *The Daily News* of January 22, 1875. He quite admitted that *The Daily News* might have changed its opinion; but it would honestly tell them if it had. The Government did not act in the same frank way. He hoped, before the discussion was over, that Her Majesty's Government would tell the House frankly whether they thought that the construction of the Tunnel was a work which ought to be completed at some time or other, or whether they did not. If the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would get up now by himself, leaving the Prime Minister out of the question, and say that this was a dangerous work, and that it would be prejudicial to the interests of the country in the event of a war, or a sudden panic, he (Sir Edward Watkin) would at once withdraw the Bill. He thanked the House for the patience with which they had listened to his remarks, and he begged to move that the Bill be read a second time.

MR. SPEAKER asked if any hon. Member seconded the Motion?

MR. SLAGG said, he would second the Motion; and, in doing so, he would detain the House for a very short time, because the question had already been fully discussed on a previous occasion, and he knew that the House was anxious to proceed with another discussion, which, at the present moment, was more interesting; but, representing as he did a very important commercial constituency, he felt bound to say a few words in support of a project which he considered to be in the highest sense beneficial to the commerce of the country. He had read very carefully the mass of evidence which had been given by various authorities in relation to this Tunnel; and he could not help being impressed by the fact that the objections raised against it were entirely of a military character. Of course, not being a military man, he was not competent to discuss the question from that point of view. He would, however, remark that there seemed to him to be a growing and a most deplorable tendency on the part of Governments—he would not say of this Government especially, but of all Governments—to refer every conceivable question to the judgment of military authorities; whether it was a commercial question, a political question, or any question whatever. Upon every policy now-a-days the Military and Naval Authorities were invariably referred to as the arbiters. He had not one word to say against the merits and ability of the Naval and Military Authorities. On the contrary, he entertained the highest regard for them; he discerned with great pleasure their great zeal and energy, and he admired, as much as anyone could, their great heroism. But it stood to reason that persons of such a profession, intrusted as they were with the defences of the country, were likely, on matters of this kind, to err on the side of over-preparedness and over-fear rather than anything else. It stood to reason that if they asked a professional bombarder his view of the best way of settling a question, he would naturally select the method of bombardment, and the same sort of reply would be given by a person whose habit it was to use the bayonet. They were told that they had the high authority of Lord Wolseley on this point. He admitted that the authority of Lord Wolseley was of the very first importance; but that noble and gallant Lord was not the only authority, although, perhaps, he was by a great many people considered to be our only General. He would read to the House a Memorandum, prepared in 1875 by a very high military authority of that day, Sir W. D. Jervois. That officer said that there appeared to be no military objection to the proposed project, provided that due precautions were adopted; but that should this country in alliance with France be at war with another Continental Power, the existence of a Tunnel might be highly advantageous. Sir W. D. Jervois went on to offer other opinions, and he concluded with this remark—

"If proper defensive arrangements were made, such an undertaking might be rendered impregnable." It would, therefore, appear that our military advisers were divided upon the question. He must, however, decline to regard the question entirely from a military point of view, and he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) that it was in every sense a pacific movement, because he believed that the inevitable result of constructing a Tunnel would be to encourage and increase a sensible understanding between the two nations, and to prevent the possibility of war in the future. The hon. Baronet had alluded to the French Treaty. It was well known that Mr. Cobden had done more, perhaps, than any man of this age to increase the goodwill and good understanding between this country and France. He (Mr. Slagg), as a humble follower of Mr. Cobden, attached the very highest importance to intercommunication between various countries. If full opportunities could be provided for mutual intercourse in regard to the interchange of commodities between one nation and another, it would lead generally to the establishment of a thorough knowledge between the various countries of the world, and he believed would tend to put an end to the fears, suspicions, and jealousies now entertained by nations with regard to each other, and thus knit the world together in a condition of harmony and common sense. Mr. Cobden, on several occasions, spoke of the construction of a Channel Tunnel with the utmost approval. He stated on one occasion—

> "It is not enough to put the Government and the higher classes of each country on a friendly footing; but the same good feeling ought to penetrate the masses of the two nations, and it is our duty to multiply all the means of incessant contact which will certainly put an end to superannuated prejudice and old ideas of antagonism."

Again, Mr. Cobden said—

> "I consider that a submarine Tunnel would be the true arch of alliance between England and France."

It was impossible to overlook the authority of that great man, than whom there never existed anyone in the country who so thoroughly understood and so heartily desired to give effect to the means by which harmonious relations should be cemented between the two countries. It was very remarkable that between England France there existed an almost natural community of interests. Certainly, there was a natural commercial relationship so far as commodities of the two countries were concerned. We sent to France large quantities of manufactures, textile and otherwise, manufactures which, produced cheaply and in enormous quantities, the French industries were not so well adapted to provide for themselves. On the other hand, the French producers supplied to us and to the world articles of luxury and manufactures into which skill, taste, and art largely entered, and which we, on our part, received with the greatest possible advantage. It seemed to him that Nature herself had supplied this commercial link between these two great countries; and he was firmly convinced that a union of this sort, of course duly protected by the simple military provisions that were necessary, would not encourage panics, but, on the other hand, would tend to establish peace and security. Believing, as he did, that the construction of this Tunnel would promote amity and friendship between the two nations and greatly benefit the whole world, he had great pleasure in seconding the Motion for the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Edward Watkin.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he did not think it desirable that he should at any length reply to the arguments with which, on previous occasions, the hon. Baronet (Sir Edward Watkin) had supported the Bill, and which he had repeated that day. The hon. Baronet had postponed the second reading when the Bill was down for consideration a short time ago; and he (Mr. Chamberlain) was much obliged to the hon. Baronet for the courtesy with which he had accepted the suggestion which he (Mr. Chamberlain) had made to him on that occasion. He wished the House to understand, however, that the suggestion was not made for his own personal convenience, but for the convenience of the House, because, on the last occasion when the Bill was down, a matter of very high Imperial importance—namely, the Vote of Credit—was also down on the Paper,

and he felt it almost impossible to intercept an important question of that kind with the present Bill. He had some little difficulty in understanding with what view the hon. Baronet had again brought this matter forward after a precise and definite decision had been given by Parliament with regard to it. The hon. Baronet explained that his object was to obtain the private opinion of the Prime Minister on the question, and he had also suggested that he wished to have his (Mr. Chamberlain's) private opinion as well. He in no way wished to depreciate either the private opinion of the Prime Minister, or of himself; but really it had nothing to do with the matter, and did not very greatly concern the House of Commons. What was of importance was the opinion of the House of Commons, and of the Government as a whole; and speaking on behalf of the Department that had special charge of this matter—speaking for the Prime Minister, his Colleagues, and the Government as a whole—he had no hesitation in saying that they resisted the further progress of this Bill. Their position had been perfectly clear from the first. From the moment the question arose as to whether the making of this Tunnel might not constitute a great national danger, they laid it down that the fullest possible inquiry must be held into that question; and, as a final result, they determined that the whole matter should be considered by a Joint Committee of both Houses, and they agreed to accept the decision of that Committee. The Committee went exhaustively into the subject, and by a majority of six to four decided that it was very undesirable the work should be proceeded with. The Government at once accepted the decision of the Committee, and recommended the House to abide by it. The only question now was whether anything had happened since the decision of the House two years ago not to go on with this Tunnel which should induce them to change their opinion. Was there anything in the present state of Europe or of our relations with France which was likely to remove the objections which were urgently felt by many Members of that House, and by a great part of the public outside to this scheme? He could not follow the hon. Baronet when he urged that, in the event of the relations between the two nations becoming strained, the fact of the existence of the Tunnel would tend to promote the cause of peace. If there were a Tunnel at this moment between the two countries, and if the relations between the two countries became so strained that it became necessary to close or to destroy the communication between them, he ventured to say that the fact of taking steps of that kind would cause relations which had been previously strained to become excited to a really dangerous degree. The hon. Baronet complained of what he called the confiscation of the shareholders' property; but the shareholders had only themselves and the Directors to blame for what had taken place. They had had full warning from the first. They should have taken the warning, which was given them in the first instance when this work was commenced. They were told, in communications from the Board of Trade, that although the question of the foreshore was that immediately in dispute, and although no other was apparently raised at that moment, yet if they went beyond the foreshore into the bed of the sea the Government and the Board of Trade reserved to themselves the right to deal as Parliament might determine with the further progress of the matter. If the hon. Baronet had wanted a guarantee before proceeding with the work, he should have come to Parliament and placed a Resolution before it before inducing the shareholders to spend their money. Indeed, there seemed to have been some idea of putting pressure upon Parliament by the course which had been taken; but having spent their money before ascertaining what course Parliament would take they had only themselves to blame.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, he was sorry to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but he wished to explain that Parliament had sanctioned the scheme on two occasions; and it was only when the right hon. Gentleman interfered with what Parliament had sanctioned that any question was raised.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he was quite aware that in past times a different view was taken of this matter from what had been taken subsequently. He could only say that it was a very remarkable thing that when this proposal was first made it did not appear to have struck anyone, on either side of the

House, or any of the great authorities, that any military danger would result. The moment that question was raised the whole aspect of affairs was changed. What he would say in answer to the interrogation put by the hon. Baronet just now was that although Parliament had sanctioned the previous Bill, yet with regard to the present undertaking and the work carried through in consequence of the Bills obtained by the hon. Baronet and his Company, he had warning from the first that the Board of Trade, on behalf of the Government, reserved entirely the right to deal as Parliament might determine with the further progress of the work; and he must protest against the hon. Baronet making him in any way personally responsible in the matter. He was only responsible in this sense—that he was the organ of the Government and the mouthpiece of Parliament. On the last occasion that the Bill was before it, Parliament decided by a very large majority that the work should not go on; and until Parliament changed its opinion, he should, on behalf of the Board of Trade, interpose every obstacle to the further progress of these experimental works.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT said, he would only intervene in the discussion for a few moments; but as he believed that he was the only Member of the Joint Committee which inquired into the merits of the scheme besides the right hon. Gentleman the Speaker now present, he wished to say a few words in answer to what had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin). The hon. Baronet said that the only desire of the Company was to undertake certain experimental works; but, surely, if experiments were tried, it was expected that something would follow from them. The hon. Baronet said, further, that £80,000 had been spent by the unfortunate shareholders, and he gave that as a reason why the works should be allowed to proceed.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, he wished to correct the hon. Gentleman. He had stated that £80,000 had been expended by France—not in this country.

MR. E. W. HARCOURT said, that made it all the worse. There were two points brought before the Committee by the promoters of this scheme—the benefit it would be to the goods traffic, and the benefit it would be to the passenger traffic between the two countries. All the witnesses agreed in saying that the only goods that would be benefited were of three kinds—light goods, fragile goods, and perishable goods, which it was necessarily of importance to carry as speedily as possible. All the witnesses likewise agreed in saying that the heavy goods would still go by sea on account of the cheaper transit. Then the advantage in regard to passengers seemed to him to resolve itself into this—that French merchants at present did not come over to this country in any numbers, because they suffered so much from sea-sickness; and therefore they sent their foremen. It was further said that if the Tunnel were constructed French buyers would come here themselves instead of sending their *employés*, who had not the courage to make such high bids as their master; and thus the commerce of this country would benefit. Then, as to the expense to the country, the Committee were told by all the professional witnesses, with one exception—there was only one professional witness whom the promoters were able to induce to come forward in favour of the scheme at all—that the expense of defending the Tunnel would be enormous, and that if ever a scare arose it would be necessary to destroy it. However secure it might be made, it would be necessary to incur a heavy and constant outlay for the maintenance of its defence. The Committee had the good fortune to have before them the Chairman of the Erie Railway in America, who told them what certainly had astonished him (Mr. E. W. Harcourt)—namely, that 95 per cent of the goods shipped to Europe from America were sent through England. The witness added that this was only a temporary matter, and that they were awaiting the building of larger vessels, when the goods would be shipped direct. He was asked if the Americans had the same fear of sea-sickness as prevailed in France; and he said that, although sea-sickness was very disagreeable, he thought the Americans were more like the British in that respect, and that sea-sickness was not allowed to weigh with them at all. In face of the decision which not only had the Committee given, but which had been endorsed by

the Government and Parliament, he thought, although he did not wish to use an un-Parliamentary expression, that it showed a considerable amount of cheek to bring this Bill forward again at a time when the British taxpayer was called upon to meet a national deficit of some £15,000,000 sterling, for the benefit of no one except sea-sick Frenchmen and the South-Eastern Railway.

MR. J. HOLMS said, that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had, unfortunately, made an omission which he would repair by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Chamberlain.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he did not imagine the House would care to waste much time over this foolish project, particularly after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. E. W. Harcourt), to whose opinion he was sure the House would attach much value. He had risen, not for the purpose of prolonging the discussion, but to ask a question on a point of Order. He was anxious to obtain the guidance of the Chair as to the course which he ought to take with regard to this Bill. The House was, of course, aware that the hon. Baronet who had moved the second reading of the Bill (Sir Edward Watkin) had a very heavy pecuniary interest in the success of the scheme, and therefore was unable to take any part in the division on the subject. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) had a very small pecuniary interest in the scheme presided over by the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor); and he wished to ask the Speaker whether the fact of his having that small pecuniary interest in a project which was really of the same character as this, and which he believed now to be a thoroughly bad project, would prevent him from voting against the Motion of the hon. Baronet? He should be glad if the Speaker would kindly inform him whether there was any Rule or custom of the House with regard to the matter which would prevent him from assisting in the destruction of his own property?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no Rule or custom of the House on the subject, and I should recommend each Member to be guided by his own feeelings in the matter, and to vote or abstain from voting as he thinks fit. Of course, hon. Members will understand that there is a risk of having their votes disallowed by the subsequent action of the House if the House should think their interest was too direct.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he would not detain the House for more than a minute or two with the few remarks he intended to make; but it seemed to him that there were two questions before the House. One was the making of a Channel Tunnel, and the other was whether the proper time had arrived for the making of that Tunnel. His own opinion was that the Tunnel could be made with great advantage to the trade of the country, and made as an engineering work without any great or insurmountable difficulty. He hoped the day would come when they would be able to see the Tunnel made; but he very much doubted whether to-day was the day in which they ought to facilitate making it. His view was that the country, at the present moment, was under heavy military obligations, and the Tunnel could not be made at the present moment without increasing our military preparations and expenses. Unfortunately, the people of this country had not sufficient confidence in their neighbours on the other side of the Channel to allow it to be made without greatly increasing the military establishments of the country. Seeing that the Naval and Military Estimates were, at this moment, on a very large scale compared with what they used to be; that we were this year spending more than £30,000,000 of money upon them, and that we had already an addition of £11,000,000 this year's expenditure; and being afraid that if the Tunnel were made it would lead to a further increase of the Military Estimates, he did not think the Bill ought to be pressed. He hoped the day would come when there would be more friendly relations between the great European Powers, and when there would be a

general feeling that peace would be better facilitated by closer communication and friendly intercourse, than by a large addition to the Military Forces of the country. He was afraid that the hon. Baronet, if he went to a division, would have no prospect of carrying the second reading of the Bill; and, as he might damage his chances in the future, he thought the hon. Baronet would be acting wisely if he would withdraw the measure, at any rate for the present, until the state of Europe offered greater inducements for such a work than it did now.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR, who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said, he would not keep the House from a division for more than a few minutes; but the question was one upon which he entertained a strong opinion. He had been somewhat astonished at the manner in which the Bill had been received by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The first objection made by the right hon. Gentleman to the proposal of the hon. Baronet (Sir Edward Watkin) was that the House had already expressed its opinion upon the Bill in a sufficiently precise and definite manner. Now, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was old enough in political observation to remember many questions, on which the House had expressed an opinion in a precise and definite manner, which had subsequently been raised, even by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He would recall to the recollection of the right hon. Gentleman an historic incident in connection with the question of flogging, when the right hon. Gentleman was found fault with for continuing a discussion upon a subject on which it was thought the House had expressed its opinion in a sufficiently definite and precise manner. It was among the most creditable portions of the right hon. Gentleman's career that he had persevered in forcing a question upon the consideration of the House and the country in regard to which Parliament had already given an opinion; and fortunately, in the end, the view of the right hon. Gentleman prevailed. He had been somewhat astonished at the general tone of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to imply that the strained relations which existed between this country and France were likely to be perpetual. That was almost assuming that the present Ministry would be perpetual. Now, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), in spite of the many disappointments he had met with in the course of the last five years, was still somewhat of an optimist; and he was just as little inclined to believe that the strained relations between this country and France would be perpetual, as to believe that the tenure of Office by the present Ministry would be perpetual. What was the general argument which had been brought forward against this posposal? It was that there was a possibility of ill-feeling being created between this country and France. He thought there was no idea that was more to be regretted than this—of continued strained relations between the two countries. As he understood the doctrine of Liberalism five years ago, the idea and hope of the Liberal Party was that, if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister came into Office, there would be a gradual softening of the irritation which then prevailed between different countries in the world, and that there would be, in future, less danger of a rupture of the peaceful relations of Europe than at any previous time. The great means of establishing such peaceful relations was by increasing the communications and knowledge of different countries with each other. He knew it was rather a risky matter to talk of the civilizing influences of railway communication; but when in America he was told that if there had been as much railway communication between the Northern and Southern States from 1850 to 1860 as there was now, the Civil War between those two parts of the United States would never have broken out, and the American people would have escaped the loss of life and of treasure which was occasioned by that unfortunate war. In the same way, he believed that the construction of the Channel Tunnel, instead of being a source of danger, would be a means of increasing international good-feeling and good-will.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he was of opinion that the supporters of the Bill had proved a case entirely against themselves. The hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) said that he desired

to establish a second line of communication between this country and the Continent in case the first line should be at any time jeopardized, so that we might at any time be able to provide the country with food and raw material. But would that not be, at the same time, furnishing another line of communication which might be a source of danger in itself? The hon. Baronet had quoted Lord Palmerston, who said that our defences at the present moment by sea were not equal to what they were in former years, in consequence of the facilities afforded by steam for ships to come upon the coast with greater rapidity. If that were so, how was the construction of this Tunnel in any shape or form to give relief? Because the "silver streak" would still remain, and until they could do away with that "silver streak" this Tunnel would in no way obviate the difficulty. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg), in seconding the Motion for the second reading, said that the Tunnel would be of great advantage to our commerce, and he could not imagine how it could be a source of danger if proper precautions were taken. What did the hon. Member mean by "proper precautions?" Had he any idea of what the cost of such proper precautions to this country would be? The hon. Member said he knew nothing of military matters, and, therefore, he did not propose to enter into military questions. But did not proper precautions mean proper military precautions, and a constant expense which the country would be called upon to bear, possibly for an imaginary benefit which might not ever be realized? He contended that the arguments which had been put forward in support of the Bill were no arguments whatever which ought to be allowed to influence the House. Then, again, they had had the working-man's argument. Whenever there was a difficulty the working man was brought in by one side of the House or the other. The hon. Baronet said there was a great work of employment offered to the working men of the country; and, also, that in the event of the Channel Tunnel being opened, a good many working men would go upon the Continent for the purpose of obtaining employment there. He did not think that the working men of this country would do anything of the kind. They took a broader view of the matter. They knew what the wages were on the other side of the Channel, and what the wages were on this; and he apprehended they would be of opinion that the facilities afforded by a Channel Tunnel would be of very little benefit to them, even if their labour were employed in making it. For all these reasons, he supported the view expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, and he should vote against the second reading of the Bill. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had said that he thought the Tunnel an excellent scheme; but that this was not the proper time for making it. The hon. Baronet admitted that on looking along the horizon he perceived some rather dark clouds in the distance; and he thought the public, in addition to the military expenditure now taking place, ought not to be put to the expense of the "proper precautions" for the defence of a Channel Tunnel which had been alluded to by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg). Therefore, the hon. Member for South Durham was not prepared to advocate the construction of the Tunnel now; but he hoped, when the sky was clear and everything agreeable, that the work might be undertaken. The hon. Baronet seemed to forget that clouds might gather again; and, therefore, all the arguments which were adduced in favour of the scheme on the ground of peace and commercial prosperity formed no appreciable ground whatever in favour of the scheme.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he wished to state the reasons why he, for one, would certainly vote for the second reading of the Bill. It was placing the House and the country in a ridiculous position before the eyes of the whole world to say that this Tunnel was not to be made because there was some fear in England that it might be made a vehicle for hostile war operations against this country. Such a reason for not sanctioning the Bill was, in his opinion, a reason calculated to throw upon the Government of this country the supreme ridicule of all civilized people in the world. It was absolutely an unnatural state of affairs that it should be impossible to establish, by means of a railway Tunnel, communication between two great countries. It had been stated by the hon. Member for Oxfordshire

(Mr. E. W. Harcourt) that the Tunnel was to be constructed merely for the benefit of certain French merchants who suffered considerably from sea-sickness in crossing the Channel. He had been much surprised to hear the matter talked of in such a light and flippant manner. There could be no doubt about it that the Channel Tunnel scheme was one which interested not only the people of France and England, but the people of Europe generally; and it ought to be treated in a very spirited and not in the narrow-minded manner in which some hon. Members dealt with it. The hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) had spoken of the working men of England; but the hon. Member absolutely knew nothing whatever of the wishes of the working men of England. The hon. Member said he thought the working people of this country were not in favour of the establishment of this Tunnel and Railway; but he (Mr. Redmond) had not the slightest doubt that if the question were made one of the issues at the next General Election, the working people of the country, on a poll being taken, would, by an overwhelming majority, be found absolutely and completely in favour of the scheme. It was a scheme which must, of necessity, confer great advantages upon the working men of the country, because it would most decidedly tend to create a good feeling between this country and the people of Europe. It would establish better and more friendly relations hereafter between countries which now had no great love for each other. Anything that was for the benefit of commerce, anything that would have a tendency to establish lasting peace, would have the support of the working classes; and if the present Bill were not allowed to be read a second time, it would be because the working classes of England were not represented in the House of Commons as they ought to be. If there were more Representatives of the working classes in that House, the Bill would be read a second time amid patriotic cheers, and the fanciful feelings which had been raised against the measure by hon. Gentlemen, who expected others to call them common-sense objects, would not have been heard of. Instead of the Bill being rejected, as he presumed it would be, it would be carried, under such circumstances, by a large majority, because it would be understood and believed that it was in the interest of the world generally to pass any measure that was calculated to secure peace and tranquillity. He, for one, should vote for the second reading of the Bill.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN, in reply, said, he would only add a word in reference to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord had said that he (Sir Edward Watkin) had a large pecuniary interest in this scheme. He might say that his pecuniary interest did not extend to more than £200 or £300. He took a deep interest in the work, however, because he believed it to be a great work; and he hoped, after the observations which had been made by the noble Lord, that when the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) brought forward his Motion for the abolition of certain pensions, he would consider that it would scarcely be right for him to record his vote upon that question. In regard to the remarks of the President of the Board of Trade, he would only say that the Company had done everything in their power to consult the Board of Trade. They had endeavoured to obtain information from the Government in regard to their opinion as to the desirability of the scheme, but had altogether failed. He was sorry, therefore, that he felt compelled to ask the House to divide upon the second reading of the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 89; Noes 281: Majority 182.—(Div. List, No. 179.)

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

MOTION.

—o—

H. R. H. PRINCESS BEATRICE.

MESSAGE FROM HER MAJESTY.

Message from Her Majesty *brought up*, and read by Mr. SPEAKER (all the Members being uncovered), as followeth:—

VICTORIA R.

Her Majesty, having agreed to a Marriage proposed between Her Royal Highness The Princess

Beatrice Marie Victoria Feodora and His Serene Highness The Prince Henry Maurice of Battenberg, has thought fit to communicate it to the House of Commons.

The numerous proofs which the Queen has received from Her faithful Commons of their loyalty to the Throne, and of their attachment to Her Person and Family, leave Her Majesty no doubt of their readiness to enable Her Majesty to make suitable provision for Her Royal Highness.

MR. GLADSTONE: I move, Sir, that the said Gracious Message be referred to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.

Motion *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SMALL POX.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board to be so good as to inform the House, On what authority his Department states the mortality from small pox to have been 3,000 per 1,000,000 for England and Wales at the latter end of the last century; and, whether the Department possesses any Return, record, or authority showing the number of population in England and Wales, or the number of deaths from small pox there, between the years 1770 and 1799?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: My hon. and learned Friend, in his Question on May 1, asked whether "3,000 per 1,000,000 is assumed to have been the rate of mortality from small pox in the last century?" The answer was that it had been "estimated" that the death-rate had been as stated. The authorities for the estimate were Dr. Lettsom and Sir Gilbert Blane. Until the present century there was no Census of the population of England and Wales, nor was the system of civil registration introduced, and consequently nothing more than an estimate could be given. As regards London itself, the bills of mortality afford material for a more precise calculation; and two tables as to the mortality from small pox, which were compiled respectively by Dr. Greenhow and Dr. Farr, will be found in the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee in 1871 on the Vaccination Acts. According to these tables, the small pox death-rate in London was 3,044 per 1,000,000 in 1746-55; and 5,020 per 1,000,000 in 1771-80. In 1871-80 the mortality, according to the Returns of the Registrar General, was 460 per 1,000,000.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—DUTIES OF BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed a report in *The Cork Herald* of May 2nd, that up to that date the clerk of the Mallow Union was still in doubt whether every owner and occupier of a dwelling-house, the valuation of which is under £10, is entitled to be registered as a voter; whether the clerk stated that he had applied to the Local Government Board for instruction upon the matter, and received a reply stating that it did not devolve on them to advise on questions as to the construction of the Franchise Act, and that on applying to the Chief Secretary he received a similar answer; whether it was stated that the rate collectors would find it impossible to serve the necessary forms on every inhabitant householder in the Union within the three weeks remaining after the clerk had satisfied his doubts by obtaining a legal opinion; who is responsible for the failure to comply with the requirements of the Law at an earlier date; and, what steps will be taken to prevent the threatened disfranchisement of persons entitled to be registered in the Union? At the same time I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been called to the resolution of the Youghal and other Boards of Guardians that it will be impossible to carry out the requirements of the Act in the time specified?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have seen the report referred to. The Question correctly describes the position so far as the Local Government Board and the Chief Secretary are concerned. The Act throw the responsibility in these matters on the Local Authorities, and the clerk is liable to a penalty for each case of neglect. In the present instance I observe that the Board of Guardians referred the Question at issue to their solicitor, who, I have no doubt, will advise them properly.

MR. HEALY: In case of the collection of penalties will the Government prosecute for them?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There is a Question on the Paper relating to that matter.

MR. O'BRIEN: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of my Question. What steps will be taken to prevent possible disfranchisement?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I hope that there will be no disfranchisement.

MR. O'BRIEN: But does not the danger exist?

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE—INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

MR. PELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been given to the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, as reported in *The Times* of January 30th, and to the subsequent letter to *The Economist* of February 21st, asserting that taxation, exceeding seven per cent of their wages, is extorted from the Northamptonshire peasants, and fairly represents the average taxation of labourers' income; and, if Her Majesty's Government share the conviction, whether he will take steps to remedy the alleged injustice?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): The hon. Gentleman asks me a very unusual Question. He refers to a controversy which took place three or four months ago between *The Economist* newspaper, himself, and my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade, having reference to the relative taxation of labourers and persons of property; and he asks me now to peruse the correspondence and to give the House my opinion of the merits of the controversy. I read a part of it at the time, and all I can say now is that if there was formerly an excessive burden on labourers compared with that on persons of property, I have done something to redress it by proposing in the Budget to charge on the payers of Income Tax and on persons of property more than three-fourths of the additional taxation now required, and less than one-fourth on the consumer, whether poor or rich. I may remind the hon. Gentleman that he himself described the taxation of the labourer as equal to 3 per cent of his earnings, the great bulk of that taxation being, according to him, "entirely optional."

ASIA — SOUTH COAST OF ARABIA — H.M.S.S. "DRAGON" AND "ARAB"—CAPTURE OF NATIVE FORTS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, with reference to a statement concerning the gunboat *Arab*, published in *The Daily News* of the 6th current to the effect that in 1880, in concert with Her Majesty's sloop *Dragon*, she—

> "Blockaded Makalph, on the south coast of Arabia, and took possession of six strongly fortified forts from Machy Makiber, a quarrelsome chief, who, with his followers, was made prisoner and conveyed to Aden, whence they were afterwards sent to Zanzibar;"

and, whether any Papers have been presented containing an account of the circumstances under which the seizure of Machy Makiber's forts and his deportation to Zanzibar took place; and, if not, if he would be so good as to inform the House of the circumstances of the seizure and deportation?

MR. J. K. CROSS: With permission, I will answer that Question. The circumstances mentioned by my hon. Friend occurred in 1881, and cannot possibly be explained within the limits of the answer to a Question. It was at that time considered desirable, for political reasons, that the Chief of Shahr, who had long been at feud with the Chief of Makulla, should be secured in possession of Makulla, and for this purpose assistance was afforded by Her Majesty's ships, the result being that the Chief of Makulla was taken to Aden, whence he proceeded to Zanzibar at his own wish, provision for his maintenance having been made from Makulla revenues. The Papers relating to this matter are extremely voluminous, extending over many years, and they have not been presented.

DR. CAMERON: Was there any war going on between these Chiefs?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No; there was no war. It was a dispute between two Chiefs.

DR. CAMERON: What had the India Office to do with that?

[No reply.]

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—ANNUAL EXAMINATION OF TEACHERS—NAMES OF EXAMINERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

Whether the Commissioners of National Education have yet appointed the examiners who are to conduct the annual examinations of National Teachers to be held next July; if so, whether they have any objection to give the names of these gentlemen, with the subject upon which each is to examine, or else place each examiner's name at the head of the examination paper which he writes?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Examiners appointed to prepare the questions for the coming examinations have completed their work. In reply to the rest of the Question, I beg to refer the hon. and learned Member to the answer given by my Predecessor to a similar Question of his on the 20th of June last year, and to repeat the offer then made—if the hon. Member will move for it—to lay upon the Table a Memorandum showing the mode of procedure in these examinations, and explaining how it is impossible that the author's name should be placed at the head of each paper as he suggests.

MR. HEALY said, he would move for the Return.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DELAY IN DELIVERY OF LETTERS AT KEADNE, CARRICK-ON-SHANNON.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Postmaster General, Whether a complaint was lodged on 27th March with the Acting Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin, that a letter addressed to a tenant named Gaffney was detained by the postmistress of Keadne, Carrick-on-Shannon, for a month and four days; whether any, and, if so, what, action has since been taken with reference to the complaint; and, whether note has been taken of the fact that the business of the Keadne Post Office is carried on in a public house?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, he had made inquiries into the matter, and found that the letter was detained in consequence of an omission of part of the address, and also the large number of persons of that name in the district. He thought, however, that there was a much greater delay than there ought to have been, and that an effort should have been made to find out the owner of the letter.

SUPPLY—THE VOTE OF CREDIT—EXPENDITURE.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can roughly state what portion of the sum set down in the Vote of Credit has been already spent, or is due for liabilities incurred?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that, roughly speaking, about £7,250,000 have been spent or are due for liabilities incurred under the Vote of Credit. But, in addition to this, it is probable that the retention of the Force in Egypt and at Suakin necessary to give effect to the policy announced last night will require the expenditure of a further sum of about £750,000 over the amount provided in the Estimates. So, speaking in very general terms, I may say that we stand committed to an expenditure of £8,000,000 out of the sum set down in the Vote of Credit.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Prime Minister whether any money would be asked from the House in connection with the railway along the Nile Valley, and also with the further prosecution of the Suakin-Berber Railway, and also whether the questions might be fairly raised in Committee on the Consolidated Fund Bill? He supposed the margin of expenditure of £2,500,000 alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer comprised the sum estimated for these works?

MR. GLADSTONE: I said last night, with regard to the raising of this question in Committee on the Consolidated Fund Bill, that it was part of a specific proposal which was entirely rejected by the right hon. Gentleman. The starting point must be taken from the circumstances as they now stand, and I do not know whether it is the desire of the House to make any postponement of the Committee on the Consolidated Fund Bill. I have no information on that subject, and, consequently, I am not able to give any opinion. Neither am I able to answer the first part of the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, which appears to me rather to rest with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but my impression certainly is that in the £7,250,000 are included the whole cost

—I think I cannot be wrong in saying that—the whole cost which has been incurred, both by laying down and ordering a certain portion of the railway.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that £750,000 would have to be spent in the Soudan. If £7,250,000 have already been spent, how much of that has been spent in the Soudan?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I answered a specific Question, and I had to obtain from my Colleagues at the War Office and at the Admiralty the information. I cannot give the details unless Notice is given of the Question.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that it was an important question, and if it was as he supposed a fresh Vote of £750,000 would be required. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that the Prime Minister had undertaken that no portion of the Vote of Credit beyond £4,500,000 would be expended on the Soudan. He had to ask if that £4,500,000 had been spent, and, if so, whether any of the £750,000 was for Soudan purposes?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have stated already that my hon. Friend the Member for Northamton put a specific Question, asking if I could give, roughly, the figures. I have given that estimate roughly, and if the noble Lord wants further details, he must give Notice of the Question, and address himself to the Ministers who have cognizance of those details, rather than to myself.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether the £7,250,000 included the raising of 38,000 men?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): It includes, I am told, everything expended or incurred up to the present time.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN IRELAND—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. SEXTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, having regard to the fact that only one of the seventeen members of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes is representative of the interest of Ireland in the question, measures will be adopted, before the sittings in Ireland are held, to cause the appointment to the Commission of some other persons who may be regarded as directly representing that Country; whether it is expected that adequate evidence of the state of the housing of the working classes in Dublin, and also in the greater and lesser provincial towns, and in the rural districts of Ireland, can be obtained at sittings held in Dublin alone, and limited to one week; and, whether before the sittings, any public instruction will be issued by the Commission as to the reception by them of the evidence of persons who are conversant with the subject of the inquiry?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Two Commissioners were added as the special representatives of Scotland and Ireland respectively, with very satisfactory results, in connection with the sittings held in Scotland, and it is not proposed to make any different arrangement for the Irish inquiry. At a meeting of the Royal Commission held in April it was resolved, on the motion of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. E. D. Gray) that, as a Select Committee of the House of Commons had taken full evidence last year upon the condition of agricultural labourers in Ireland, the Commission did not consider it necessary to take further evidence on this question. Four long days' sittings were found quite sufficient for the evidence from the whole of Scotland, rural as well as urban, and it is considered that a week will be enough for the urban evidence alone which it is proposed to take in Ireland. If it should prove insufficient I shall be prepared to extend my stay in Dublin, and I daresay I could introduce a quorum of my colleagues to remain. The preliminary arrangements are being carried out according to the plan which was followed with successful results in England and in Scotland, and the Secretary is now in communication with the Corporations of Dublin and of the principal Provincial cities. If the hon. Member has himself any information to give upon the subject I shall be very glad to act upon it.

MR. SEXTON: How could a particular person desiring to give evidence ascertain the time when he could be examined?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: By writing to the Secretary of the Commission.

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—PAPERS.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will present to the House Papers in continuation of the former Papers on the state of affairs in Bechuanaland?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that he intended before the House rose at Whitsuntide to lay further Papers on the matter before the House.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked whether the Papers would be in the hands of hon. Members before any Vote was taken in connection with South Africa?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he could not give a definite answer. The Question should be put to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS—THE APPELLATE COURT—CERTIFICATE "IN FORMA PAUPERIS."

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether a certificate, signed by the parish priest and two prominent parishioners of the parish in which a person desirous of prosecuting an appeal to the House of Lords resides, will, as regards Roman Catholic poor persons resident in Ireland, be accepted by the Appeal Committee of that House in substitution of the certificate at present required to accompany the Petition to be lodged for liberty to appeal in forma pauperis, signed by the Protestant minister and churchwardens, who are as a rule utterly ignorant of the extent or nature of the resources of such Roman Catholics as also sent?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that this Question only appeared on the Paper to-day; but, at the same time, he might say that this was a matter for the House of Lords itself.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether France has made any proposal to place the enforcement of the various regulations agreed upon by the Suez Canal Commission, now sitting at Paris, under the control of an International Committee, consisting of the Consuls of the European Powers who are represented at Cairo; and, if so, whether such a proposal is an infraction of Lord Granville's proposals, in accordance with which this House was assured the Commission was to conduct its deliberations; and, whether the introduction of any such proposal will lead to the immediate withdrawal of the English delegates from the Commission?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I must refer the hon. Member to the reply which the Prime Minister yesterday gave to a similar Question.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—GWEEDORE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any of Her Majesty's vessels have been employed to carry forces to the scene of the proposed evictions at Gweedore to-day; whether the relieving officer has received the notices required by law; and, having regard to the fact that after a number of recent evictions in that district hundreds of men, women, and children were left for days and nights together to lie in the ditches, under rain, whether the relieving officer is now instructed to prevent the recurrence of such suffering?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: None of Her Majesty's vessels have been employed to carry forces to the scene of these evictions. One of the most experienced Resident Magistrates in Ireland, Mr. M'Leod, has been sent to co-operate with local Resident Magistrate on this occasion; and there is no reason to suppose that any of the necessary preliminaries to the carrying out of the law have been overlooked. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the relieving officer, having been informed that these evictions were to take place, is unaware of the duties devolving on him, or without instructions from his Board of Guardians.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (WALES)—LEGISLATION.

MR. RICHARD asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council When he intends to introduce the Bil for Intermediate Education in Wales. which has been promised for three Sessions, and twice mentioned in the Queen's Speech?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, he must ask his hon. Friend to extend his

patience a little longer. On Friday the Prime Minister would make a statement with reference to that and other Bills, and he sincerely trusted that the expectation of his hon. Friend would not be disappointed.

PUBLIC HEALTH — SMALL-POX AT MANCHESTER BARRACKS—THE 5TH DRAGOON GUARDS.

MR. LEAHY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that small pox is very bad in the vicinity of the barracks occupied by the Fifth Dragoon Guards in Manchester; and, considering the danger (although there may not have been recent cases amongst the men) of transmitting the disease by followers of the regiment, and taking into account the alarm which prevails in the neighbourhood of the Curragh and Newbridge, he will reconsider the decision to send them to Ireland, in view of the danger of spreading the epidemic on the route?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Military considerations render the movement of the regiment necessary; but every precaution will be taken that none of the soldiers' families shall accompany it unless they can show that they are quite free from small-pox.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—DUTIES OF BOARDS OF GUARDIANS—CLONES UNION, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will telegraph the Irish Local Government Board to ascertain if it is the fact that the officials of Clones Union, county Monaghan, have not up to the present served requisition forms under the Franchise Act on the rated occupiers in Monaghan and Fermanagh within the Union, and have declared their intention not to serve them? He would also ask whether the penalties would be enforced by the Government or by private individuals?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN, in reply, said, he had no information as to the first paragraph. The Local Government Board were not aware of any Unions in which the Guardians refused to take the necessary steps to issue the forms of requisition. The Donegal Board of Guardians directed their Clerk not to proceed until they received instructions, and the Local Government Board informed the Clerk of the Union that he was liable to a penalty for every name omitted, and he had since served requisition forms. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, this was not the time to express an opinion upon it.

MR. HARRINGTON: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, arising out of this Question, whether he has since looked at his own letter to which I referred last night, and did that letter intimate to the Clerks of Unions that further instructions would be given, and if so, having now altered his mind, will he take any steps to disavow his intention of sending instructions, and to notify duly to the Clerks of Unions that they are not to await any such instructions?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, there was no altering of mind in the case. He had sent a subsequent letter in which the Clerks of Unions were told that these duties devolved upon themselves.

MR. HARRINGTON: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, as a matter of fact, he did not point out to to the Clerks of Unions that they were to serve requisition forms under the Act, and that further instructions for that purpose would be issued in a few days; whether it was not in that connection that the words "further instructions" were mentioned; and whether he will now say that no further instructions are to be issued, and that the Clerks are to proceed themselves?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he would see that no difficulty arose.

MR. HEALY: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman is it not the fact that not a single English or Scotch Member has had occasion to complain with regard to the working of the Franchise Act?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: There are two or three deductions that might be drawn from that. English Members or persons properly representing English localities may have made complaints and received communications from the English Local Government Board without the complaints passing through the form of a Question in the House.

MR. HARRINGTON: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that I applied to the Local Government

Board for such information, and drew attention to the irregularities connected with the issuing of these forms, and received a bare acknowledgment of my letter without any promise of action?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I cannot answer the Question of the hon. Member without making inquiries.

CONVICT PRISONS (ENGLAND)—REGULATIONS AS TO CONVICTS' MEMORIALS.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Would there be any objection in practice to an English convict being allowed to peruse a memorial prepared on his behalf outside, with a view to his making additions or alterations therein?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, it was impossible to lay down a rule applicable to all cases; but as a general principle there would be every desire to facilitate the action of a convict in bringing before the Secretary of State any facts which bore upon his innocence, or upon the grounds for mitigating the severity of his sentence, and generally on the application of the facts in any manner which might tend to elucidate his case.

COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES — THE LOVAT PEERAGE—REMOVAL OF COFFIN PLATES FROM VAULT AT KIRKHILL.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Lord Advocate, If he has received a letter from the Reverend Ewen M'Kenzie, giving an account of the removal of the coffin plates from the Lovat Vault at Kirkhill; and, if he will communicate that account to the House?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he had received this letter, but, unfortunately, he had not got it with him; but if the hon. Gentleman would put down the Question for Thursday, he would be able to reply to it.

THE PAPAL SEE—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE VATICAN—MR. ERRINGTON.

MR. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been drawn to the following telegram, dated yesterday, from the Exchange Telegraph Company's agent at Rome, published in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and other journals, last evening:—

"I yesterday had shown to me Mr. Errington's credentials to the Vatican. They are signed by Lord Granville, and are in the form of letters commending Mr. Errington to the favourable consideration of the Secretary of State to his Holiness. The recommendation reads like an official introduction from the State Department of Queen Victoria to the State Department of the Pope, and has been acted upon by Mr. Errington as de facto establishing diplomatic relations between two Powers;"

and, whether any such credentials as those described were furnished to Mr. Errington?

MR. GLADSTONE: When the hon. Member put the Question to me yesterday my recollection about the letter was rather vague; but I have made it my business to inform myself about the matter. I find that it is now nearly four years ago that Lord Granville addressed a letter to Mr. Errington, in which he told him that if he went to Italy he would go there as a person of whom the Government had a high opinion with respect to his competency and trustworthiness. Mr. Errington carried that letter with him, and no doubt mentioned it in a judicious manner. What the letter is the hon. Gentleman quoted from the other day I have no idea. It does not appear to me to at all correspond with Lord Granville's letter to Mr. Errington, and could hardly be treated as fulfilling in any way the description given of it by some papers in Rome. Lord Granville, besides giving this general testimony to Mr. Errington's ability, high character, and trustworthiness, did also inform Mr. Errington that he might perhaps make some use of him for the purpose of making some representation on matters connected with the interests of the Queen's subjects abroad in regard to questions important to their interests.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN BOUNDARY—THE RUSSIANS AT AK TEPE.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Russian Forces are in occupation of Ak Tepe and Penjdeh, which General Komaroff seized on March 30th; whether the new Boundary Line assigns Penjdeh to Russia; and, for what reasons Her Majesty's Ministers have decided upon the Boundary in London

before the arrival of Mr. Stephen or Sir Peter Lumsden?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have no positive information whether the Russian troops are in occupation of Ak Tepe and Penjdeh. I must decline to give the terms of an arrangement while negotiations are still going on. Her Majesty's Government are in possession of the necessary information and excellent maps, which have been already supplied by Sir Peter Lumsden.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT gave Notice that on the next stage of the Vote of Credit he would call attention to the retention by Russia of Penjdeh seized by General Komaroff in violation of the "sacred covenant," and to the withdrawal of Sir Peter Lumsden, especially in view of the Prime Minister's statement of Monday that nothing had occurred between his firm speech of April 27 and his surrender speech of May 4 to change the views of Her Majesty's Opposition towards the Ministry.

MR. GLADSTONE: It appears to me that under cover of skilfully giving Notice of a Question, the hon. Gentleman has delivered himself of a very considerable portion of a speech which he might have addressed to the House. I wish to ask the permission of the House to advert to a statement I made yesterday, and which in one point I am bound to say is open to some misconstruction. In reply to the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), not in the course of debate, but before the debate began, I described, and Lord Granville described in "another place," what we believed to be the state of the negotiations between Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley on the part of the British Government and M. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador, assisted by M. Lessar. Upon reading that description, as reported, M. de Staal is under the impression that it might be construed as implying that he and M. Lessar were Plenipotentiaries empowered to conclude a Treaty, in the possession of what are termed full powers for that purpose. I do not know whether the House received that impression from what I said; but I used an expression which undoubtedly might have encouraged it, and which was a wrong expression to employ. I stated that the result of the interviews of those personages had been transmitted to the Emperor of Russia for ratification. Ratification is a technical word, and only applicable, I think, strictly to a Treaty concluded in regular form. What I ought to have said was—transmitted to Russia for approval. M. de Staal has sent to Lord Granville the form in which he would wish to communicate, on his own responsibility, what has taken place—

> "Lord Granville, Lord Kimberley, M. Lessar, and himself (the Russian Ambassador) have agreed to a draft arrangement relating to the delimitation of Afghanistan. He has submitted the draft for the judgment of his Government, giving it his support."

I have no objection to state, and the House will observe, that it does not imply that any point is any longer in dispute between the two countries, so far as represented by M. de Staal and M. Lessar, and by the two Ministers on the other side, but that the judgment of the Emperor and the Russian Government is reserved.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is it intended that the Agreement, when it is settled, shall be embodied in a Treaty?

MR. GLADSTONE: I stated yesterday what I conceived would be the upshot, the final step to be taken; but I also stated that it was matter for consideration whether the time for acting upon that intention would not be after the actual tracing of the frontier rather than when the principal points were approved by the Russian Government.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF KASSALA.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention had been called to the gallant way in which the Governor and garrison of Kassala had up to the present time and for more than a year sustained a siege, and to the fact that their provisions were now nearly gone, and whether in any way or by any means it was proposed to attempt to relieve the gallant garrison?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a Question that would be more properly answered upon Notice. I have very great doubt as to the policy of its being put and answered in this House. The Government have declared their policy. It is a subject of great interest. I entirely agree with what the hon. and gal-

lant Gentleman has said with respect to the gallantry of those persons, and the interest which their fate excites; but I cannot at present go further in answering a Question, and I do not undertake to say without reflection and consideration it would be expedient for me to go further, or how much further it would be expedient for me to go.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked What would be the Business of the House for the remainder of the Session up to Whitsuntide? He was aware that the Prime Minister was going to state on Friday what other measures the Government would proceed with; but it was an independent question how their time was to be occupied to-morrow, Thursday, Friday, and next week.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I am not able to go very far at present in explaining what the order of Business will be, in consequence of its being not quite certain at what time we may dispose of the Registration Bills. The Registration Bills are of very great urgency indeed, and it is undoubtedly our duty to make use of the time placed at the House's disposal mainly for the purpose of advancing them until we have cleared them. Directly I can see my way at all with respect to them I will do my best to give further information about the Business down to the time when the Whitsuntide Holidays begin. One statement I have already made—namely, that I shall take the subject of the provision on the marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice as the first Business on Thursday, and I hope that we may be able to arrange so that the next Business, but at any rate upon that night, as soon as we are able, will be the introduction of a Bill intended to meet the case of the Scotch crofters. All that is further decided I will communicate to the House as soon as I have more light upon the subject through the progress made with the Registration Bills. I take it for granted we shall finish the Registration Bills this night, but if not they will be taken on Wednesday.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was afraid he could not consent to forego the opportunity of moving the Motion of which he had given Notice with respect to the Inland Revenue Bill. It would be useless to postpone it, because other Members had put down Motions which they would not postpone. It would, therefore, be convenient if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say when he proposed to proceed with the Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that he proposed not to take the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill until the first Monday after the House met again after the Whitsuntide Recess.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the Secretary for War, whether he was now able to communicate to the House the information he was unable to communicate last night with reference to the holding of Suakin and the retention of troops there; and also, whether he proposed on Friday to give to the House any Papers relating to the Soudan policy of the Government, in the same manner as it was proposed to give to the House Papers relating to the Afghan policy?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have directed some further Papers on this subject to be prepared as speedily as possible; but I cannot say that they will be ready to present by Friday. I cannot state exactly when I shall be able to give any further information respecting the orders given in regard to the troops in the Soudan, but I hope to do so shortly.

MR. PULESTON asked if the Navy Estimates could not be taken next Thursday week?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was afraid he could not undertake to give any pledge until he saw what progress was made with the question of Registration.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE ROYAL IRISH RIFLES—DISTURBANCE AT DOWNPATRICK.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With the permission of the House I wish to make a correction in the reply I made yesterday to a Question by the hon. Member for Sligo County (Mr. Sexton) as to alleged rioting at Downpatrick. I read a telegram to the House in which occurred the words—"It is known that Colonel Waring recently attended Orange meetings."

From the written Report I have received this morning it appears that, as I thought might be the case, there was an important omission in the telegram, and that the sentence quoted should have commenced—"It is not known."

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL.—[Bill 163.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. H. H. Fowler.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Sir MASSEY LOPES, in rising to move the following Resolution:—

"That the Bill be re-committed for the purpose of receiving a Clause providing for the repeal of so much of any Act or Acts relating to Parliamentary Registration in Counties and Boroughs as makes the expenses of Overseers of the Poor and Clerks of the Peace or Town Clerks, a legal charge upon the Local Rates,"

said, that in the Motion which he had submitted to the House he thought that no one could accuse him of factious obstruction to the course of the Business of the House. He hoped that the Prime Minister and every other hon. Member of the House would give him credit for being actuated by earnest convictions and by honest intentions. He thought that he was justified in taking the course which he had done by what had fallen on a previous occasion from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, who had said that he thought it was quite fair to raise this question on a Bill of this kind, and that he was sure there was no desire to obstruct the Bill. The Home Secretary had also said that the incidence of taxation upon real and personal property was most unfair and was radically unsound. He would put forward two statements in the most plain manner possible, in order that the question at issue might not be evaded, misrepresented, or misunderstood. The first was that he was making no claim whatever for counties which he did not equally make for boroughs, and the second was that he made no demands whatever for any county or borough in England or Wales which he did not make equally for Scotland and Ireland. He was going to confine his observations to the immediate question before them, and his contention was this—that the franchise and the exercise of it was a national and not a local responsibility, and that the increase of the franchise was a national and not a local benefit. He recollected that when the Prime Minister introduced the Franchise Bill he had said that the chief object of the Bill was that it was going to enlarge the basis of our Constitution. Was not that a national concern—a national object? He should like to ask the Prime Minister to tell the House whether the franchise was going to give any exclusive privileges to the class which he intended to saddle with the expenses of the franchise. The Government had already admitted the principle for which he was contending by giving a contribution towards the expenses, and by so doing they had admitted the justice of the claim which he now made. Why should they stop there? Why should they not pay the expenses of the overseers, who would be given a large amount of time and trouble by this Bill? Why should not the same boon be granted to boroughs as to the counties? Again, the Revising Barristers were appointed by the Government, and paid out of Imperial funds, and these Revising Barristers took the sole control of all matters of registration. If they were paid by the Imperial Exchequer, why should not their subordinates also be paid from the same source? He thought that the whole gist of the speech of the Under Secretary for the Home Department strengthened his position. The hon. Gentleman had objected that he had only spoken of the counties, but he had never made a single demand for any grant for the counties which he had not made for the boroughs; he had never made a claim for land which he had not made for houses; and he had never made a demand for the country which he had not made for the town. In proof of that he would remind them that when the late Government had given subventions towards this purpose, the lion's share of those subventions had gone to the towns and not to the counties. The Under Secretary for the Home Department had told them that rates were heavier in towns than in counties. The valuation, of course, was a matter of assessment. Formerly the property in land had been larger than that in houses; but now things

were very different, the property assessed in land amounting to £66,000,000, whereas that in houses was £125,000,000. There was another thing which must be kept in mind. In towns they had rates which included gas, water, markets, washhouses, free libraries, and numerous other matters; but in the country if they wished to have these conveniences they had to pay for them voluntarily and out of their private means. With regard to the proposal of the Government upon this matter, they put forward three contentions—in the first place, that it was inadequate in point of amount; secondly, that it was only temporary in its effect; and thirdly, that it was proposed to give nothing whatever to the boroughs. He did not hesitate to say that if additional duties were thrown upon the overseers they would require remuneration. In many parts of the country overseers were not paid at present, the farmers in the locality doing the work. He wished to know, if the Government were going to pay a rate in aid to the overseers in the counties, why they would not contribute towards the expenses of the overseers in the boroughs? He could see no reason why the Government should endeavour to shift their responsibility for providing for the additional burdens which they were now going to throw upon land. It was true that this was a small matter; but it was an additional burden, and they were met by the old story that they must wait for the County Government Bill before the injustice was remedied. In 1869, when he brought forward a Resolution in favour of the appointment of a Royal Commission into the incidence of local taxation, the Prime Minister met him by saying that the Government would be a Royal Commission themselves, and would deal with the matter much more rapidly than a Royal Commission would. But the matter had not been dealt with, and the promises of the Government had not been redeemed. They had found by experience that precedents were very dangerous in this matter, and they had become wary in consequence. Frequently they found that the Government, in proposing a small addition to local taxation, declared that it was an infinitesimally small matter, and thus it was allowed to pass, like the education rate, which began at 3*d.* in the pound, and now amounted, in many rural parishes, to 1*s.* in the pound, and not unfrequently to even a larger amount. There were numerous other matters, such as the police, highways, &c., in which the same thing had occurred. This was not so much a question of amount as of principle. When once an addition was thrown on local taxation it grew, it crystallized, and then the right hon. Gentleman afterwards told them that it had become an hereditary burden. They had reason, therefore, to be cautious before allowing the thin end of the wedge to be inserted, and they were determined in every possible way to oppose the imposition of any fresh burden. He maintained that the imposition of every fresh charge was a breach of faith on the part of the Government. Only last year the President of the Local Government Board admitted that a Government measure of relief was distinctly promised in 1883. Although the right hon. Gentleman said that the measure was actually in existence, they had never seen it, and he doubted if ever they would. Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer had admitted that some relief was required in respect of local burdens. How had the Chancellor of the Exchequer fulfilled the pledge which he had given? He proposed now to put fresh burdens upon them, and now he sought to take away from real property the only slight indulgence at present accorded to it—the difference which existed between real and personal property with respect to the Death Duties. In 1853 the Prime Minister, speaking on this question, said—

> "I say boldly you cannot defend the present incidence of the Income Tax on real property. Real property should not be subject to unequal taxation. We must not forget the amount levied off real property of which personalty knows nothing."

Then, again, the Prime Minister said—

> "Some remission ought to be granted to property which is now subject to a great weight of peculiar and exceptional taxation; and we think that the best mode of framing that provision would be to charge the succession of rateable property upon the life interest of the person succeeding in the net annual income."—(3 *Hansard*, [125] 1398.)

At the time the Prime Minister spoke the amount levied on real property, of which, as he said, personalty knew nothing, amounted to £12,000,000. Now local burdens had risen from £12,000,000 to £28,000,000. In other words, since the time when the Prime Minister stated

that real property was subject to exceptional burdens, nearly 300 per cent increase had been made in those burdens, and yet the right hon. Gentleman and his Government now proposed to take away the only trifling indulgence real property enjoyed. This question had not been brought forward by him in any manner as a Party question. When he brought the matter forward in 1868, he was then an independent Member and a Conservative Government was in Office. At that time he was a borough Member, and the question was brought forward by him in the interest of the boroughs rather than of the counties. It should be distinctly understood that the question was now brought forward by them under pressure from the Government. They did not desire to bring it forward. The battle ground had been chosen by the Government, and the gauntlet thrown down by them, and they had had no option but to take it up. On frequent occasions the grievance of which they complained had been admitted and recognized by the Government, and yet the Government had hitherto disregarded the votes which the House of Commons had passed on this subject. They asked for no favour; they claimed no privileges; all they asked the House of Commons to give them was equity, equality, and justice. They said that it was neither right nor just that one description of property—one section only of the community—should pay for objects which were in themselves national. On the present occasion it was not a question of amount so much as of principle, and as a question of principle he was satisfied that the House of Commons would deal with the question justly, dispassionately, and free from Party prejudice. He would conclude with the Motion standing in his name.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be re-committed for the purpose of receiving a Clause providing for the repeal of so much of any Act or Acts relating to Parliamentary Registration in Counties and Boroughs as makes the expenses of Overseers of the Poor and Clerks of the Peace or Town Clerks, a legal charge upon the Local Rates."—(*Sir Massey Lopes.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman has addressed himself to this question with the ability that he invariably shows whenever he handles it. He has emphasized the statement that he never moved it as a Party question. I entirely admit the truth of that allegation; but I must say if he had moved it as a Party question, he would have shown a very great deficiency of that faculty of clear sightedness as to the best means of attaining the end he has in view which he has invariably manifested. But the admission is made at once. Now, Sir, I have to deal with the speech and with the Motion of the hon. Gentleman. If I look to the speech, I find parts of it which afford ground that would perhaps provide the means for an accommodation. If I look to some other parts of that speech, it is formidable indeed. For example, the hon. Gentleman lays down in one part of his speech this principle, that all charges which partake of a national character, as I understand him, should be met from the Exchequer, and all charges which relate to national objects should be paid from the Exchequer.

SIR MASSEY LOPES: I did not say all.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Motion of the hon. Gentleman, I think, Sir, goes further than his speech. I think that, in the former Motion, the doctrine was laid down that charges having national objects in view ought to met from the Exchequer. I want to know how far that goes, and how much, if that principle is fully applied, there will be left of charges to be met by the rates? How many charges are there now defrayed from the rates which do not at present assume a national character as regards their substance and their aim. If we take the Poor Law, the greatest of them all, who will deny that the relief of the poor is a matter of the deepest and most profound national interest and policy? In truth, Sir, I believe that, with the most insignificant exceptions, the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman goes to the transfer to the Exchequer of nearly every important item now met by local rates. That is a very formidable doctrine, and I differ entirely from the hon. Gentleman in his idea of the principle upon which the partition has heretofore been made between local and national charges. I believe that the principle, and the wise principle, on which the Legislature of this country has mainly proceeded, and especially until a very recent period, was this—that those charges should be met locally which could be better, more economi-

cally, and more effectively dealt with locally than if they were made national charges. That is my contention in opposition to the hon. Gentleman, and I am afraid, on the grounds, the very broad grounds, which have been laid down that it is impossible for me to hope that I can be reconciled with him. But when I come to other parts of his speech, I do not find the same amount of difference between us. His doctrine is summed up in a most emphatic passage which bore this character. He spoke of the introduction of "the thin end of the wedge;" of its being necessary for those who think with him to be on their guard against proposals made from time to time to increase local burdens, and he used these emphatic words—

"That the imposition of any fresh charge upon the rates would be a breach of faith on the part of the Government."

Well, Sir, that is a doctrine which, at all events, lies within limits much more rational and much more manageable and approachable than his former proposals as to national objects. It is not necessary for me to say now, but I will say by-and-bye, what we have done and what, under the circumstances, we are prepared to do for the purpose of meeting the case presented to us—that no new charge should be by the present Bill and at the present time laid upon the rates. I reserve that for a more particular explanation afterwards. I turn now from the speech of the hon. Gentleman to the Motion, and I will say at once that it is impossible, for reasons I will presently give, to accept it. I will not dwell upon what may be called the argument of the principle of this matter. It was most ably dealt with by the Home Secretary in a recent discussion, and dealt with in a manner which, I think, no one has been able to cope with. The case of the hon. Gentleman, as I understand him, is this. Realty is unjustly burdened in comparison with personalty. Personalty, in his view, owes a debt to realty. I say, if that is true—I am not going to argue it, nor am I prepared altogether to deny it—but I say that if personalty owes a debt to realty, let personalty pay the debt that it owes. What does the hon. Gentleman propose? He proposes to transfer charges from a property fund—a fund which, according to Lord Beaconsfield's estimate, quoted by my hon. Friend, is five-sixths a property fund, to another fund, which is two-fifths, although I believe a juster estimate would be three-fifths—not a property but a labour fund, and that debt, which he believes to be due by personalty to realty, he wants to be paid, not by personalty, but in the main by labour. I must say I have never felt that argument to be just. I am obliged to enter my protest against it as I go along, although I have myself, in deference to the opinion of this House, perhaps not acted in complete conformity with it, because I felt that special circumstances might arise. But there is an inequality—a lack of justice—in that mode of dealing with the question which, undoubtedly, will have to be taken into consideration when some general adjustment arises. As to that matter of general adjustment, the hon. Gentleman says that the day is indefinitely postponed for dealing with the matter of local government and large readjustment of taxation, in the only manner which really satisfies justice—namely, not by throwing the burdens upon labour, but by adjusting the questions fairly between realty and personalty. He says that day is indefinitely postponed. I think, Sir, if I may say so, it does not lie in the mouths of hon. Gentlemen opposite to charge us with that delay. Our contention has been for years past that the House of Commons had now got inadequate means of dealing with its duties, and that legislation was in lamentable arrears. No person has been more earnest in pressing these doctrines upon the House than myself, and there is not a more grievous case of arrear than this question of local government and the readjustment of taxation. It has been postponed from year to year. It is a grievous case even as regards England and Scotland. It is a far more grievous case as regards Ireland. But what have we done? Have we done nothing in consequence of that opinion? We have endeavoured to persuade the House to enter upon the remodelling of its Procedure, to multiply its means of action, and to make other arrangements to enable it to overtake the arrears; and it is an historical fact that the views entertained by hon. Gentlemen opposite—no doubt, conscientiously—have made our task very difficult.

They have steadily resisted our efforts at every point in that direction. ["No, no!"] What! The faculty of contradiction has been well developed in that portion of this House. Gentlemen who indulge their genius in those cries cannot have been in this House in 1882, when all through the Session we endeavoured to make efforts in this direction, and when we found obstacles were such that we could make no progress, we obtained an Autumn Session, and it was only after 35 days of incessant labour that we at length procured the adoption of a system merely initiative, which made the most timid and tentative efforts to introduce and carry the principle of devolution, by which alone this question could be grappled with. Surely it is a matter of fact, no more to be denied than the diurnal motions of the sun, that those efforts were steadily, and no doubt conscientiously, resisted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that, in consequence, we have never been able, never been allowed, to appoint a Grand Committee without its being made a subject of contest afresh. But what happened in connection with the Grand Committees? We have done, I must say, nothing—[*Opposition cheers*]—wait until I finish—excepting that we have proved the capacities of the Grand Committees to cope with the overwork. That, at least, has been proved satisfactorily in practice. The day will come, in our opinion, when this system will be largely and effectively adopted; and I tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that it is my firm conviction that if this question of devolution and reform of Procedure had been accepted and acted upon, this subject of local government and re-adjustment of local taxation would have been settled on a large scale, and would have been the law of the land at this moment. Therefore, I hold that it is not ourselves who must take the responsibility for the delay which has occurred. We ascribe it to the unfortunate error of hon. Members opposite—and I am afraid it is not the only case of error into which hon. Gentlemen opposite have fallen in offering steady resistance to our attempts at effecting a reformation. I pass from the question of delay, and I pass from the question of principle. We do not wish to fight this question as one of principle, because we ourselves have already made a concession which puts an end to the principle. We are not, therefore, going to contest this matter as one depending upon any principle of abstract justice, but rather upon those mixed considerations to which a Government must often have recourse. Having said that I now come to the two propositions which I have to lay before the House. I have, in the first place, to state to the House frankly, clearly, and as strongly as I can, that I cannot accept the Motion of the hon. Baronet; and, in the second place, I have to show to the House what it is that we can do and will do which will make a considerable approximation to the more moderate and limited portion of the proposal of the hon. Baronet, with the object of satisfying, if we can, the general sentiment, and of facilitating the attainment of a great Constitutional settlement—that is, the settlement of the Acts for the better representation of the people, to which the Registration Act essentially belongs. We have been labouring at this as the main object of our domestic legislation for more than a year, and we have entered into engagements connected with that object, which we will not fail in endeavouring to give the fullest effect to, not only in the mere letter of those engagements, but in their spirit. We are bound by those engagements not only to secure the passing of the Representation of the People Bill, but also to secure the passing of the Registration Bill, and of the remaining Bill, the passing of which will be absolutely requisite, in order to bring about, at the proper time, a General Election. I am not contradicted in making that statement, and therefore I may assume that I have stated a case which is undisputed. That is to say, that we are engaged to pass the Representation Bill—the passing of which is, at least, now hopeful, if not certain—and the Registration Bill, and a short Bill, which cannot be the subject of difference in detail, to bring about a General Election at the latter part of the autumn of this year. That is the effect of the engagements into which we have entered with regard to this subject—that is the purpose which we have before us, and it is one with regard to which the country ought not to be disappointed. The Motion of the hon. Baronet, however, is altogether inconsistent with the fulfilment of that purpose; and the reason is

not because it goes beyond our views, or because we have doubts as to the principle upon which it rests, but because it would be impossible for us to take up the complex and difficult task it would impose upon us compatibly with our carrying out the great engagements to which I have just referred. Let me point out to the House how that incompatibility is to be shown; and here let me say that I do not think that the second Motion of the hon. Baronet is an improvement upon the first. The first Motion might, it is conceivable, have been dealt with by some proposal of a general or modified character; but now the hon. Baronet goes right into the heart of the old system of registration, and requires us, by positive Resolution of the House, to introduce into the Redistribution Bill a clause which is to repeal parts of every Act of Parliament which imposes registration charges in any form upon the local rates. Has the hon. Baronet considered well the meaning of the proposal which he makes? The registration system of this country depends not only upon a number of complicated Acts of Parliament, but the subject of registration is so greatly mixed up with other subjects that it would be totally impossible, by any brief or simple method, to effect its separation from them.

SIR MASSEY LOPES was understood to say that the object might be effected by the repeal of only three sections.

MR. GLADSTONE: I never said there were such a multitude of sections that a clause would not repeal them. But the important question is, what the repeal of the existing law upon the subject would leave behind it? It would involve a total reconstruction of our whole system of registration as it now exists by law. And what does that mean? How is our present registration system worked? Why, it is worked through over 16,000 officers, who are local officers appointed by the Local Authorities; and yet the hon. Baronet proposes that those local officers, so appointed by the different Local Authorities, should be paid out of the Consolidated Fund. How is the Consolidated Fund to control the charges which such officers may make? On the principle laid down by the hon. Baronet's Motion, we should have no right to do that—he makes no provision for the reasonableness of those charges, and he makes no provision for checking those charges.

SIR MASSEY LOPES: The Revising Barristers, who are the officers of the Government, would check them.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Revising Barristers are not officers of the Government—they are merely responsible to the Judge. The hon. Baronet appears to suppose that charges for Parliamentary registration are altogether separate from charges for other work, but they are nothing of the kind; they are mixed up inextricably with charges for wholly distinct work, such as those for municipal registration and for the preparation of the jury lists. But the matter does not stop there—the overseers are local officers, the assistant overseers have salaries paid them—they do not receive so much for registration, so much for this duty, and so much for that duty; but they are paid upon the aggregate of their complex duties. How, therefore, does the hon. Baronet propose to legislate, when he says all these registration charges are to be charged upon the Consolidated Fund? That leads me to the conclusion which will be obvious to the House. In order to carry out the principle of the hon. Baronet's Motion, the Government would have to undertake a large, a difficult, and an elaborate inquiry into a multitude of details which would require an amount of time, which I cannot define, but a minimum of time which would compel them to postpone for many months the giving effect to the large arrangement that has been entered into, and under which the law relating to the representation of the people has been remodelled. This is no obstinate determination on the part of Her Majesty's Government to join issue unnecessarily upon financial and economical points with hon. Members opposite, with whom we have had a satisfactory and hearty co-operation with regard to the Representation of the People Bill; but we have entered into a compact, and with that compact we are determined to go forward. I know that there is not in the letter of that compact any obligation to bring about a Dissolution at the earliest possible moment; but that obligation is included in its spirit, and it is vital to the success of the measure itself that it should be fulfilled. Those who

have examined the subject, and who are aware of the large understanding into which we have entered, know that we are bound, not only by general principles, but by convictions and principles which have been expressed in confidence, to give this new vast constituency about to be added to the old an opportunity at the first moment we can, under the arrangements which we are making, of exercising the franchise which has been conferred upon them. Let it be well understood that I will not venture upon all the details necessary to develop fully the proposition I have laid down; but that proposition, in general terms, is this—that the question of arranging the relations between the Government and the vast multitude of local officers who now stand upon a totally different footing, and of providing channels through which a large sum of public money—estimated by an hon. Member at £500,000 a-year, and quite certain, in my judgment, to exceed that sum if the amount of charges be left to those Local Authorities, and if the function of the State be reduced to that of paying—can only be done by a careful and well-considered measure. That careful and well-considered measure cannot possibly be made a portion of the present Registration Bill. As we will not consent to break up the great arrangement thus far prosperously advanced with respect to the representation of the people, and as we conceive that, without breaking up that arrangement, it is impossible to give effect to the hon. Baronet's Resolution—for I presume he does not mean there is to be no provision at all for Parliamentary registration—he casts upon us the framing of a system which cannot be framed in the time laid down, which has been run pretty nearly to the last sands, and which we cannot undertake to frame. That is my case as regards the Motion of the hon. Baronet. But, as I have said before, we have already made one step in the direction in which that Motion points, and we are prepared to take another in the same direction. We must reserve the general subject of the final decision of the important question whether the registration charges are *in toto* hereafter to be placed upon the Consolidated Fund; and with that reservation I will now undertake to state to the House what is the further step that we propose to take in this matter. The hon. Baronet has laid the ground for us in objecting to the introduction, in connection with this or any Bill, of new charges upon the rates. What we are prepared to do is to meet what he has said with regard to overseers by an attempt, at any rate, to make an allowance which will meet the amount of charge due to the excess of labour about to be imposed by the Franchise and Redistribution Acts. The excess of cost arising out of that will be the basis of the proposal which we intend to make. For this year it will assume this form—that we shall impose on the Exchequer by means of Votes for England and Scotland and as regards Ireland by another machinery, an estimated additional charge caused by the Franchise Act besides the 2*d.* for each name on the Register that we have already promised to the county funds in England and Scotland. We consider that many weighty considerations have been urged for a grant in respect of county parochial expenses which, we admit, will be much increased. In boroughs, I may say, there will not be a sensible increase. The position in which we propose to stand is to meet at the present time the increase growing out of the Act. That may involve an allowance such as I shall describe. We estimate an increase at another 2*d.* per name upon the Register so far as the county franchise is concerned in England. The same principle will be applied to Scotland, and we are prepared to add to the £20,000 already promised another £20,000 for England and a corresponding sum for Scotland to meet the additional charge. Great administrative difficulties were pointed out by the President of the Local Government Board in the way of making payments to 16,000 overseers; and we have prepared a plan for meeting this difficulty upon the basis we have described, which is a basis of our own estimate of what may be a fair allowance, under the circumstances, to be made in the present year. As regards the payment of the expenses of overseers, we propose that the total sums to be paid for all the parishes in a Union shall be sent to the treasurer of the Union, the Clerk of the Guardians at the same time being informed of the proportional amount to which each of the parishes will be entitled, and the Guardians being requested to

cause the several parishes to be credited with the sums thus paid. By this arrangement the trouble and expense of making separate payments to the overseers of the parishes will be avoided, whilst each parish will have its contribution to the Union reduced by the amount repaid by the Government. That is an equitable and a simple system which may be adjusted by a Vote of this House, and which will not be liable to those fatal delays which would be caused by any attempt to legislate seriously on this subject during the present year. In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the amount with which a parish is to be credited in consequence of the grant, we propose to inform the overseers of each parish of the amount paid to the treasurer of the Union with a view to its being placed to the credit of their parish. Thus they will, so to speak, have a security as against the Union. This arrangement will render it unnecessary for the Department to undertake the Herculean and probably the impossible labour of obtaining receipts from all those 16,000 overseers. So much for the case of England. In Scotland there will be the same increase in the proposed grant, and there no additional difficulty will be caused.

MR. GORST: I understand that no part of that grant will go to boroughs.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have stated already that the principle on which we proceed is to meet serious additional cost, and as far as we are aware there is no serious additional cost in boroughs. Therefore, we shall get on a different basis if we include boroughs.

MR. PELL inquired whether the proposed subvention would be given only in respect of new names added to the Register in consequence of the new franchise, or to all names on the Register?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; we could not conveniently draw that distinction, and consequently the form of the subvention is so much per name on the whole Register; but this is our contribution in regard to the new labour to be imposed. I come now to the case of Ireland, which is different in various respects, and in this respect above all others—that the addition about to be made to the Irish constituencies extends as largely, or, at all events, very largely indeed, to boroughs as well as to counties, and consequently that the principle of meeting increased cost must be appled to boroughs in Ireland. I will go one step further and say that the total augmentation of the constituencies in Ireland relatively to the population will be, I think, very considerably larger than in England and Scotland. Therefore, the new labour will be larger. Another point in the case of Ireland is this—that a precedent was set for us in 1868, when remuneration was given out of moneys provided by Parliament to the officers employed in the work of registration—namely, to Clerks of Unions, Clerks of the Peace, and Town Clerks. The amount was £6,000 in 1868, and, with reference to the fruit produced in the addition to the constituencies, I think it was a liberal amount. We now estimate that the number of voters likely to be added to the Irish registration under the operation of this Act is no fewer than 500,000.

MR. PARNELL asked what class of voters that £6,000 was provided for the registration of in 1868?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not think it was confined to a particular class of voters. The reason why I have quoted it as a precedent is that the basis of the Vote was just the same as that upon which we are now proposing to proceed. The aim was to accelerate the registration and to make it run smoothly, so as not to delay the attainment of a great national object.

MR. SEXTON inquired whether the grant was confined to the counties?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think it was not confined in any way to the counties. There is, however, one other distinctive point in the case of Ireland which I ought to mention. In England and Scotland we have only to deal with officers now known to the law in connection with this subject, and who now discharge functions belonging to the subject of registration; but in Ireland we have a new class of officers—namely, the rate collectors, for whom, of course, payment must be provided, and it is more expensive to impose new duties upon officers who have previously had nothing whatever to do with them. Without entering into details, I think I may say that the proposal with regard to Ireland will be found to be on the same general principle of equity as those

with respect to England and Scotland; but it includes an item with regard to a new class of officers with which we have not to deal in England and Scotland. Having regard to the work to be done, and the desirableness of its being readily and well done, it is considered that a sum not exceeding £15,000 may be paid to the officers named in respect of their new and additional duties during 1885. I think I have shown where we can get a clear and definite ground of action—namely, in paying on a fair computation for the new duties to be performed—and at the same time an opportunity will be afforded, before the House has again to consider the question, for an endeavour to devise a sound system of dealing with the question at large. That, I think, is all I need lay before the House upon this occasion. I trust the House will be disposed to recognize the spirit of moderation in which we have endeavoured to proceed. We thought it our duty to prefer the greater public good to the smaller. If we had preferred the smaller to the greater, we might have adopted a basis more clearly defined. But the great object we have in view is not to disappoint in any way the hopes of the people, or to defer the accomplishment of the great work in which we have been engaged. It is upon that basis that we make these recommendations to the House. We meet the hon. Gentleman, I think, fairly as regards the more moderate and more limited view of the case which he was content to present to us as his main and cardinal object; and, under these circumstances, I hope the propositions we have made, though not embodied in any Motion, may receive the approval of the House.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The great powers of the right hon. Gentleman are never more conspicuous than when he has to maintain an untenable position, by imputing intentions to his opponents which they do not recognize as their own, and making historical statements the accuracy of which we cannot admit. On those occasions he can make mountains out of molehills in order to induce the House to consider as difficulties those precise objections to which his own proposition is at least as liable as anything recommended on this side of the House. I will not attempt to follow the right hon. Gentleman in the earlier part of his speech except to say that my hon. Friend the Member for South Devonshire has never proposed or contemplated the placing of all local burdens upon the National Exchequer. He recognizes as fully as the right hon. Gentleman that certain taxation must be local in its administration and in the way in which it is levied. All that my hon. Friend has contended for in this matter is what the right hon. Gentleman has himself admitted — that personalty owes a debt to realty, and that this question cannot be settled until that debt is paid. The right hon. Gentleman imputed it to the fault of this side of the House that this question had never been dealt with by the present Parliament. When Her Majesty's Government asked for an increase of the powers vested in the Chair for the regulation of debate, they practically obtained from this House all the powers which they asked for. If the result has not been satisfactory, it is because their proposals were not framed in a way to meet the difficulty, rather than from any alterations which were made at the instance of the Opposition. This is not the time to enlarge upon the general question of local taxation. The point at issue is a small one—namely, whether in what remains of the time of this Parliament the debt from personal to real property shall in any way be paid; or whether, on the contrary, the proposal of the Government which would increase instead of diminishing that debt shall be accepted by the House of Commons? The right hon. Gentleman has conceded the principle contended for by my hon. Friend so far as to promise that the expenses of Clerks of the Peace and other county officers shall be a charge upon the Exchequer, and that with regard to these officers the legislation of this year shall not impose any new charge upon the rates. But he does not carry that principle into complete effect; for if he did so, by recognizing the debt due from personalty to realty, we should completely settle the question, so that what is a national charge would be imposed entirely upon the National Exchequer. My hon. Friend would never for a moment accept as a fair settlement a proposal which, while it meets these new charges in the counties, does nothing whatever to relieve the ratepayers of boroughs. The right hon.

Gentleman dwelt upon the impossibility of passing these Registration Bills in due time if this matter were thoroughly dealt with. We say that it would be perfectly possible to proceed with this legislation as rapidly as might be required, and settle the question in ample time for the work of this year. The right hon. Gentleman has contended that without legislation of a complex nature it would be impossible to make such an alteration, in the law as would impose these charges upon the Exchequer; but he himself proposes to impose upon the Exchequer a part of these expenses by a far more difficult and complex arrangement than if he imposed the whole. It would be perfectly possible, by putting a single clause in the Bill, to provide for the repayment by the Treasury to the different Boards of Guardians and Local Authorities in the country of all the expenses incurred in this matter of registration, precisely as the right hon. Gentleman now proposes with regard to a part. Why does he require any greater check upon the expenditure than that which at present exists, and which is as great a check as any which can be enacted by Parliament—namely, the allowance by the Revising Barristers, who are certainly not officers of the Local Authorities, of the expenses of registration? Really, I think that in making this proposal the right hon. Gentleman has answered his own objections. I will only say with regard to the remaining points that there is nothing more remarkable in the further concession made by the Government than the way in which Great Britain is treated as compared with Ireland. I should like to know, if the proposal to grant £15,000 a-year for the expenses of registration in Ireland, which now, from the Poor Law Returns, appear scarcely ever to exceed £10,000, is equitable, why no more than £20,000 a-year should be granted to England for the same purpose? [Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: £40,000.] Even then there is an enormous discrepancy, for if the right hon. Gentleman refers to the Return of the Local Government Board he will find that the present expenditure on registration in England is more than £100,000. Everyone knows that under the new legislation this expenditure will be increased in all the English counties as much as in the Irish counties. But the great objection to the proposal is that it does not completely recognize as a national burden that which in principle the right hon. Gentleman admits ought to be imposed upon the National Exchequer, and that, so far as he does recognize it, he does nothing whatever for the more heavily burdened classes of ratepayers in the boroughs. Therefore, I trust my hon. Friend will take the sense of the House upon his Resolution.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, who spoke amid loud cries of "Divide!" said: I will not stand five minutes between the House and the division. I think it is only courteous and right that I should make a very few observations in reply to the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman asks why we should not provide for the whole charges of registration. I thought my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister showed very clearly the impossibility of repaying the whole without completely reforming the system. If we take the whole charges the result will be that they will increase until they reach the formidable figure mentioned by my hon. Friend below the Gangway of £500,000 a-year. The right hon. Gentleman asks why the Revising Barristers cannot check these charges; but the work of Revising Barristers is not to revise financial accounts. As a matter of fact, the examination I have made of these accounts show that the sums vary in the most singular way for the work which is performed; and, of course, there is a temptation to allow liberal sums, because the more money allowed the better the work is done, and it would be to the interest of the Revising Barrister to allow charges, and there would be no check upon the Revising Barrister. ["Divide, divide!"] The right hon. Gentleman asks me why £15,000 is allowed in Ireland and only £40,000 in England? We have promised to consider this question between now and this day next year, and we make this proposal for this year only, and in the meantime the question will receive full consideration. The grant of £15,000 for Ireland as compared with £40,000 for England is justified both by the enormous increase of voters in Ireland, out of all proportion to the increase in England, and also by the fact that borough voters are increased in Ireland when no change is made in England.

Question put.

The House *divided :*—Ayes 258 ; Noes 280 : Majority 22. — (Div. List, No. 180.)

Bill *considered.*

Clause (Informalities not to invalidate claims or notices of objection,)—(*Mr. Tomlinson,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he refused to accept the clause, on the ground that it would enable overseers to display partizanship in the publication of the notices.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. HORACE DAVEY, in moving a new clause providing that—

"Medical or surgical relief and the giving of medicine shall not be deemed to constitute parochial relief within the meaning of the Representation of the People Acts,"

apologized for bringing forward this subject again after it had been discussed in Committee ; but its importance, he thought, justified him in the course he was taking. There was in the Irish Registration Bill a clause precisely similar to that which he now proposed ; and he could not understand why it was right in Ireland that the acceptance of medical relief should not disqualify the elector while in England it should. The relief was given in Ireland by a different machinery from that in England ; but it was exactly the same in substance. The question in both the cases of England and Ireland was absolutely identical. The reason for the principle that the receipt of parochial relief should disqualify an elector was founded on the idea that a man who lived at the expense of the public ceased to be an independent citizen, or to be fit to exercise an independent judgment ; but in the case of the acceptance of medical relief the reasons vanished. He denied that medical relief pauperized a man so much as to make him too dependent to exercise the right Parliament had conferred upon him. If the receipt of medical relief were to disqualify a man, why should not the receipt of educational relief ? It was argued in the latter case that the law compelled a man to have his children educated, and that if he was too poor to do it himself he must have recourse to the rates for relief. But the same argument applied to the question of medical relief. The moral duty upon a man of supplying medical relief to his wife and family was at least as strong as the moral duty of supplying them with education. Moreover, it was a duty which was recognized by the law. But there was another consideration which, it seemed to him, made it expedient to consider this matter, and that was the inequality with which it acted upon the rural and the urban populations. In the large towns there were hospitals and public dispensaries not supported out of the rates, but out of charity, or by endowment, which provided the inhabitants with medical relief which was not paid for out of the rates, and, therefore, did not come within the definition of parochial relief. In the country the case was far differrent. The rural population had no other source to apply to except the parish doctor. This disqualification would have the effect of taking away the franchise from a very large number of those only just enfranchised. A calculation made by one correspondent, who, he believed, was within the mark, was that at least one-fifth of the new voters would be thus disfranchised. It would be a grievance which would be seriously felt by the rural population, who were looking forward to the exercise of the franchise. It might be said that this was not a proper Amendment to be introduced into a Registration Bill ; but he again turned to the analogy of the Irish Bill. There was a clause in that Bill when it was introduced, and that showed that the Government thought it proper to introduce the subject in a Registration Bill.

Clause (Medical relief not to disqualify,)—(*Mr. Davey,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time.

MR. STAVELEY HILL opposed the clause, on the ground that it was impossible to distinguish between gratuitous medical and surgical assistance and other parochial relief which at present disqualified a voter. Agricultural labourers, for the most part, belonged to clubs, through whose agency they ob-

tained the medical attendance which they required; and he should be very sorry to do anything which interfered with the incentive to join such clubs. By agreeing to the clause the House would discourage men from joining such clubs, and teach them to be dependent. Undoubtedly the whole matter might be reconsidered; but he did not think that this was the time to do so.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS expressed great surprise at the extraordinary views of the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down (Mr. Staveley Hill). He held that it would be a great mistake to punish poverty by attaching political disabilities to the receipt of medical relief, and pointed out that many labourers were too poor to join such clubs as the hon. and learned Member opposite had spoken of. Unless the clause were inserted in the Bill, Conservative overseers would be able to disfranchise the labourers right and left. In case of an accident in the harvest field the parish doctor would be called in, and away went the man's vote; or in his absence from home the parish doctor might attend his sick wife or child, and the man would be disfranchised. He appealed to the Government to support the clause.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he could not personally accept the clause of the hon. and learned Member, though he did not wish to press his views too strongly upon the House, for he knew that many, whose opinion he ought much to respect, were strongly in favour of the clause. A very few days ago this question had been very fully discussed; why, then, raise it again? The time for such discussion was when the question was raised on the Franchise Bill. There was no reason why they should enter upon the question of enfranchising or disfranchising upon a Registration Bill. He would point out that if the clause were accepted, they ought to take away disqualification in respect of all parochial relief. He thought they should be careful before they held out to the poor any inducement to receive gifts by law, instead of endeavouring to obtain such relief by means of their own industry.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he hoped that they would not discuss the question on its merits. The question had been discussed on the Franchise Bill, and they arrived at the decision that certain conditions should be attached to the granting of the franchise, one of which was that a man receiving medical relief should be disqualified. That was a condition which had existed for many years past. He hoped the House would refuse absolutely to disturb that settlement in a Registration Bill.

MR. HENEAGE said, he thought that it was far more demoralizing and degrading for labourers to run up bills with doctors which they could not pay, and in consequence of which their children were half starved and badly clothed, than to apply, in cases of accident or illness in their families, for the assistance of the parish doctor, who would only do what was required; besides which, the present law would hereafter place too much power in the hands of the overseers of the poor and the medical officer with regard to the disfranchisement of agricultural labourers.

MR. PELL said, he thought that this question ought to be left to the good sense of the electors of the future. The better part of the new constituencies would, in his opinion, hesitate for a long time before they assented to such a proposal as that of his hon. and learned Friend. In the Lobby the other day he heard an expression made use of by a not very insignificant Member of the House to the following effect—"I think this medical relief will be a good horse to run at the General Election." When he heard that expression he said to himself that he would have nothing to do with any Party that ran that horse.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had been a Guardian of the City of Oxford for 12 years, and he had always thought that the most pedantic element in the new Poor Law was the disability inflicted upon the working classes on the receipt of medical relief. In the country districts the labourers must procure medical relief either by running up a bill with the local doctor or by going to the medical man of the parish. It was derogatory to the Poor Law administration that the medical man, perhaps the most highly educated man in the district, should be compelled to accept a remuneration at a rate far below that of any other professional man. Moreover, he thought that the highly skilled labour of the doctor in country places ought

not to be one of those things which the working classes should be compelled to run into hopeless debt for, or incur the penalty of disfranchisement by accepting medical relief from the parish.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 87; Noes 50: Majority 37.—(Div. List, No. 181.)

MR. E. STANHOPE complained that the Government had failed to carry out the arrangement which had been come to between the two Parties, by not having their supporters in the House, and asked whether they intended to take any steps to support their own views in this matter? He had done his best to assist the Government in carrying this Bill through; but after what had just happened the Government could hardly expect assistance from the Opposition.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), while acknowledging the assistance which the Government had received from the hon. Member, thought that the charge which he had brought against the Government was a strange one. He maintained that the Government could not have controlled the decision of the House. It was a matter upon which hon. Members had a right to form their own independent opinions, and they, including even some of his Colleagues, had done so. Though he personally regretted the decision to which the House had come, it was impossible to say that this was a question upon which Members should be expected to follow blindly the dictates of Party. Taking that view, he would ask the hon. Gentleman whether the Bill ought to be put in danger on account of what had occurred?

MR. PELL said, he hoped that the House and the country would now go further, and not permit any parochial relief to be a disqualification.

MR. HORACE DAVEY remarked that in the wording of the clause he had followed almost exactly the clause in the Irish Bill introduced by the Government.

COLONEL NOLAN was not prepared to go so far as the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) in holding that no parochial relief should disqualify a man from voting, although he thought that some accidental outdoor relief might be excepted.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, that he had voted for the new clause as a protest against the state of the law which allowed a criminal to vote, and, at the same time, disqualified an honest man for accepting relief. He had last year proposed a clause imposing a temporary disqualification upon persons convicted upon crime, but failed to pass it. If that clause had been carried he would have been content to let the disqualification of paupers remain; but he thought that it was an outrage to the moral feelings of the community to refuse to paupers a privilege granted to criminals.

MR. D. DAVIES said, that he always supported the Government when he believed they were right, and he had generally thought that they were right. On this occasion he had voted against the Government. He did not want to say much against the Government before a General Election, for it would only make them unpopular. He thought, however, that it was too bad that the Government had put them in the wrong, and he was determined to put himself in the right.

Clause *added.*

New Clause (Informations as to persons disqualified by parochial relief,)—(*Mr. E. Stanhope,*)—*brought up,* and read the first and second time.

Clause amended, and *added.*

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 15, by inserting, after the word "of," the words "the holding of."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 15, by leaving out the word "each," and inserting the word "a,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—instead thereof.

Question, "That the word 'each' stand part of the Bill," put and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made, in Clause 6, page 6, line 13, after "apply," by inserting—

"And revising assessors shall continue to be elected in accordance with 'The Municipal Corporations Act, 1882,' as amended by any Act of the present Session with respect to municipal elections."

Amendment proposed,

In Clause 13, page 9, line 11, insert, as separate paragraphs,—"Where a Parliamentary county forms part only of a county at large, the local authority, for the purpose of dividing that Parliamentary county into polling districts, and assigning polling places, shall appoint a committee for such Parliamentary county, consisting of members of the local authority resident therein, and such committee shall, in accordance with such regulations (if any) as may be made by the local authority, take into consideration the division of the said Parliamentary county into polling districts, and the assignment of a polling place for each district, and for that purpose shall hold meetings at some convenient place or places in the said Parliamentary county, and hear applications for, and receive evidence respecting, districts and polling places, and shall report to the local authority the polling districts and polling places which they consider will be in conformity with the enactments relating to the division of counties into polling districts and with this Act, and will best meet the convenience of the electors in the said county in recording their votes.

"Where a Parliamentary county extends into more county quarter-sessional areas than one, the said committee shall be a joint committee consisting of members of the court of county quarter sessions of each of such county quarter-sessional areas who are resident in the said Parliamentary county."—(*Mr. Heneage.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had no objection to the Amendment in its present form, which was different from the form in which his hon. Friend the Member for Great Grimsby had introduced it in Committee. The proposed Committees were only to report, and not to finally decide the question.

MR. BULWER opposed the Amendment as wholly unnecessary.

MR. MELLOR supported the Amendment.

MR. J. G. TALBOT opposed the Amendment on the ground that this matter had already been taken in hand by the Quarter Sessions in many cases, one of which he instanced to be in his own experience in Kent. If this Amendment were carried, it would impose upon these counties the necessity of doing again what they had already done, causing unnecessary trouble and expense.

MR. E. STANHOPE, in opposing the Amendment, said, that it would be likely to excite Party feeling in quarters where no Party feeling existed at present.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 116; Noes 36: Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 182.)

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 9, line 24, by leaving out from the words "a court" to the words "this Act," in line 25.—(*Mr. John Talbot.*)

Question put, "That the words 'a court' stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Other Amendments made.

MR. JAMES STUART said, in pursuance of a Notice he had already given when addressing the House before, he rose to propose an addition to Clause 15 to provide that no person *in statu pupillari* should be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of his occupation of any chambers or premises in any of the Colleges or Halls of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge. By this and a subsequent Amendment he desired to define exactly and to make operative the enfranchisement which the House desired to make by the decision it had already come to on this subject. He desired to exclude from the operation of the enfranchisement it proposed those who were *in statu pupillari.* These words, however, included a larger number than were ordinarily understood. They included those between the first degree, Bachelor of Arts, and the subsequent degree, Master of Arts, and those between degrees of a similar character. It had been suggested to him to substitute for the words "*in statu pupillari*" words to designate undergraduate members only. He did not wish to be pedantic in the matter, and, therefore, he should move the Amendment in a form different from that of which he had given Notice. It might, perhaps, be supposed that he regarded undergraduates as incapable of exercising the franchise. On the contrary, however, he thought that undergraduates of full age were as capable of exercising the franchise as any other class of persons in a similar position. He entirely denied, also, that undergraduates would be a "rowdy" element at the elections. He believed that if they had responsibility attached to them they would exercise in the most "unrowdy" manner all the functions assigned to them. Much misapprehension appeared to prevail as to what the

politics of the undergraduates were. When he was himself an undergraduate, no doubt their politics were very largely Conservative; but it was not so now. The record of the recent debates at the Union, Cambridge, indicated the style of mind of the undergraduates, and would enable one to judge whether they would be such a bad addition to the constituency. In regard to crotchets like the nationalization of land, the Cambridge undergraduates had pronounced against them in the Union by two to one. On February 10 the undergraduates, meeting in the Union under the same influences of panic as that House itself met shortly afterwards, voted by a majority of 149 to 80 that the present Government was unworthy of the confidence of the country. Again, a motion expressing regret at the disintegration of the Conservative Party and at the inability of its Leaders to control its action was carried at a full meeting of the Union by a majority of one. Now, what were the limits and scope of the question before the House? He had lately found that there were resident within the walls of the Colleges of the University of Cambridge the following numbers, roughly speaking, of undergraduates:—Of first-year undergraduates, 200; of second-year, 500; and of third-year, 500, or, in all, about 1,200. At the period of registration next before they entered as freshmen almost exactly one-half of the undergraduates entering Cambridge were under the age of 19, and the other half were over the age of 19; and, remembering that they began their residence in October and resided till the following June, it would be found that there would be to be put upon the Register on any given date nearly 250 persons from the list of undergraduates, 100 of whom would be, when on the Register, in their third year, and the other 150 would be in their fourth or higher year. A very slight change made in the method of entering undergraduates into their rooms and of making them terminate their occupation —arrangements that were entirely in the hands of the tutors or the governing body for the time being of each College —might increase the number of undergraduates that would be put on the Register from 250 to 800. That was a dangerous position to place a body of persons in. He did not say that they would be likely to yield to any temptation; but, even though they did not yield to it, they would be exposed to suspicion and unfair accusation when they took action affecting the entrance and occupation of rooms. If the election were to take place between January and July, then, of all that number, whether of the 250 or the 800, only 100 roughly, or, it might be, 150, would be actually in residence in the University. The others would have gone clean away, and would be brought back as voters in a place where they had ceased to reside. If the election took place between July and January, not one, with the rarest possible exception, of the voters in question would be actually in residence. The position then of the undergraduates was exceptional, and their treatment, whether they received votes or not, would require to be exceptional; and he thought matters should remain as they were, on the ground of their non-residence and of the circumstances of their occupation. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 10, line 20, after the word "repealed," to insert the words,—"Provided, That no person shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary voter in respect of his occupation of any chambers or premises in any of the colleges or halls of the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, if he shall not have obtained a degree in one or other of the said Universities before the end of his period of qualification, as defined by 'The Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878.' "—(*Mr. James Stuart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had listened to the interesting speech of the hon. Gentleman with very great pleasure; but before the debate was continued he asked the House to allow him to call attention to the practical question before it. He pointed out that if this Amendment were adopted the law would be left exactly in the same position in which it at present stood. The Amendment would create no difference in the position of things which at present existed. He pointed out that no undergraduate ever occupied his premises for the whole 12 months. He had made inquiries with respect to the practice at Oxford and Cambridge, and he found that undergraduates took their rooms for cer-

tain terms, the authorities having power to enter them, and the undergraduate not being allowed to leave the rooms without permission of the authorities. The hon. Member, indeed, did nothing by his Amendment but declare what the law was at present; and he hoped that the House would not pursue a subject any further which had been adequately discussed on a previous occasion.

MR. HARRINGTON maintained that this clause was not unnecessary. It seemed to him that the hon. and learned Gentleman would have done better in opposing the Amendment if he had devoted his argument chiefly to the points of the lodger franchise rather than to that of the household franchise. He pointed out that the practice in Ireland was to place on the Register every student of Trinity College who had the right to obtain a vote and who voted on his qualifications for the City of Dublin. In this way no fewer than 300 students holding College rooms were placed by the Revising Barrister on the Register to vote for the city.

MR. J. LOWTHER reminded the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Stuart) that in 1867 a Motion substantially identical with that now before the House was made by Mr. Cardwell, introducing into the Act of that day disqualifying words which existed in the Act of 1832. On that occasion the subject was fully discussed. In the first instance, Mr. Cardwell, succeeded by a narrow majority in obtaining the assent of the House of Commons to the proposition, although the late Mr. Fawcett condemned in strong terms Mr. Cardwell's disfranchising proposal. On a subsequent occasion he himself had made a Motion, on the Report stage of the Bill of 1867, to expunge that provision, which was similar to that now brought forward by the hon. Member for Hackney. The House decided upon that occasion, by a majority of 60, that provided the students at Oxford and Cambridge were entitled by law to vote, no objection ought to be thrown in the way of their exercising the franchise merely on account of their being students. He had at that time presented a Petition from the Council of the Senate of the University of Cambridge praying for a removal of this monstrous disqualification which was introduced into the Act of 1832. In "another place" Lord Cairns introduced words which rendered the intentions of Parliament free from any ambiguity; but by a comparatively narrow majority, those words were struck out when the Bill returned to the House of Commons, which resulted in the claims of College occupiers being disallowed by the Court of Common Pleas on appeal. He trusted, however, that upon this occasion the House would decline to be led into the commission of so gross an injustice as to place upon adult undergraduates the stigma of being the only class amongst Her Majesty's subjects who were unfit to exercise electoral rights, and would decline to convert what had been introduced as a measure of enfranchisement into one of disfranchisement, in direct violation of the distinct assurances of the Prime Minister.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (MR. OSBORNE MORGAN), in reply to the question of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), who had asked whether the students at Universities would not have a right to vote as lodgers, remarked that the students were not in any sense lodgers, inasmuch as for 25 weeks in the year they had no absolute right even to enter their rooms, from which they were always liable to be turned out at a moment's notice. He held in his hand a letter from a distinguished authority at Oxford, who stated that the undergraduates of the University had no more connection with the City of Oxford than the soldiers in the barracks had. He was strongly in favour of giving votes to graduates residing at the University; but he maintained that it was manifestly unjust for the City of Oxford and the town of Cambridge to have a number of voters placed on their Registers who had no local connection whatever with them.

MR. GORST observed that the arguments of the Judge Advocate General and of the Attorney General were in direct contradiction. He should support the Attorney General, as he thought there was no need for special legislation on this subject. He saw no reason why they should not leave the students at Oxford and Cambridge to be dealt with by the law applicable to other classes of persons. But for a section of the old Reform Act of 1832, a large number of graduates and undergraduates would have been placed on

the Register. The Attorney General said that, if left to the operation of the ordinary law, those not resident would not come on the Register. What reason, therefore, was there for any special proviso?

MR. BRYCE said, that the necessity for introducing this proviso arose from the fact that the provision in the old Reform Act had been repealed in Committee. It became necessary, therefore, to see that in consequence of that repeal they did not allow the occupation of College rooms, for which there was no parallel anywhere else, to give a right to the franchise. He was inclined to think that the Attorney General was right in saying that as the law stood undergraduates could not acquire the franchise; but there was uncertainty about the matter. They knew that the students of Trinity College, Dublin, had been placed on the Register, and it might be in the power of the authorities at Oxford and Cambridge to make such regulations as would enable their students also to vote at the borough elections. If undergraduates were given the franchise, the discipline of the University would be seriously interfered with. Undergraduates were at present forbidden from taking part in elections; but it would be impossible to prevent a voter from attending political meetings. There would, if the Amendment were agreed to, be a conflict between the general law of the land and the disciplinary law of the University. Another reason for refusing to grant the franchise to undergraduates was that the town had nothing whatever to do with the University. They had separate jurisdictions, and the jealousy between them had sometimes been very keen. Undergraduates were at the University to complete their education, and were not supposed to intend remaining there. Their position was, therefore, different from that of lodgers or occupiers in every other part of the country. The difference between the position of undergraduates and that of the senior men was that the latter made the University their home. According to the statements in the Press, the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford had agreed to a resolution deprecating the extension of the franchise to undergraduates, and the Vice Chancellor of the University had written to him expressing his disapproval of the proposal.

MR. RAIKES said, he could not help thinking that hon. Gentlemen opposite had not shown any disposition to act on the advice of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, and the first person to offend in this respect had been the hon. and learned Gentleman's Colleague, the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Osborne Morgan). It appeared to him that, however long they continued the discussion, they were not likely to get very much further, in view of the circumstances the hon. and learned Gentleman had pointed out. They were rather beating the air—in fact, there was something that savoured of an academic disquisition in the debate. He ventured to believe that they would do well if they retained exactly the position at which they had arrived after the discussion in Committee, and if the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart) withdrew his Amendment. The Attorney General had pointed out that it was only fair to treat members of the Universities at least as human beings. They were entitled to as much consideration, surely, as the meanest of mankind. The Legislature was about to grant electoral privileges to every capable citizen found in every part of the United Kingdom; yet, in the opinion of two or three Professors in the sister Universities, it appeared that there was only one human being unfit to exercise the franchise—namely, the undergraduate for whose benefit the Universities existed. The hon. Member who had moved the Amendment had alluded to the active interest which the undergraduates took at the present moment in public affairs; and he (Mr. Raikes) was glad that no false modesty had precluded the hon. Member from mentioning the resolution of the Union Society in which his own candidature for Parliamentary honours had been supported. He did not know whether, after the speech the hon. Member had made to-night, the result would be the same if the Union were now to give a decision. He was anxious to press the House to consider whether or not—considering that they had on former occasions been unwilling to accept, as a fancy franchise, the possession of a University degree—they were now prepared to lay down the converse principle that the

non-possession of a University degree was to be a disqualification. If they were prepared to assert that principle, and push it to its logical conclusion, the only electors in the University would be Professors and Masters of Arts. As some outside opinions with regard to this subject had been offered, he might be forgiven if he referred to a communication he had received from one of the leading Liberals in the University of Cambridge. This gentleman said that he hoped he (Mr. Raikes) would support the Amendment for giving votes to the undergraduates; that he had asked all kinds of people—tutors, proctors, old residents, young men, &c., &c., and they were all in favour of it, and could not see that it would do any harm; that, as a matter of fact, if the law were amended, very few undergraduates would get upon the Register, because, coming up to the University at the age of 18, they very frequently changed their rooms or lodgings; that to exclude people *in statu pupillari* from the franchise would be to keep out people who ought to have the vote; that the political results would be very doubtful, and that the change would not be detrimental to discipline. [*Cries of* "Name!"] This communication was from Mr. Oscar Browning, of King's College, Cambridge, a Liberal, from whose Liberal opinions it was a pity his Friends on the Ministerial side of the House had departed on the present occasion. He trusted the discussion would be now allowed to come to a conclusion, as he did not think it would lead to any practical result.

MR. W. FOWLER said, that if he understood the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General aright, the clause under discussion would be merely declaratory of the law as it stood, if it were carried. If that were so, he could not see what harm it could do. If it were passed, it would, at any rate, put an end to doubts as to whether the undergraduate, under the law as it stood, could vote or not. He wished to see that doubt cleared up. He agreed with hon. Gentlemen opposite that there was something peculiar in voting the disfranchisement of any class of persons over 21 years of age, and properly qualified in other respects. But this was a peculiar case. These undergraduates were a body of men who came into the town, and yet were not of the town. They came into it for a temporary purpose, and that purpose fulfilled left it again—at any rate, that was the case with most of them. Then there were some other considerations which had not yet been mentioned which he should like to suggest. The registration of voters for the town of Cambridge would be greatly disturbed if a large number of persons had to be put on every year and a large number taken off. With regard to the question as to how discipline would be affected if undergraduates were to be allowed to vote he had received letters from both sides. Some thought there would be no difficulty in the matter, whilst others believed the system would very much disturb the Universities, both in term and out of term—in term, because it would be impossible to command the non-participation of undergraduates in elections; and out of term, because a great many undergraduates would come up to the University to vote, and it would be impossible to prevent them coming, although their presence in the town out of term, and at election time, might be most undesirable. He would suggest to hon. Gentlemen opposite that if the clause were carried they would take away one of the greatest arguments in favour of University representation. They were told they had University representation, because the Members of the Universities had no votes for the towns; but if this clause were carried, and all Members of Universities had votes in towns, that argument would no longer hold good. It was not proposed to refuse votes to real, *bonâ fide* residents in the Colleges who paid rates. The clause passed the other day would give a vote to those who were *bonâ fide* occupiers in the Colleges; but if the present proposal were accepted, it would extend the franchise to temporary occupiers, who were not really occupiers at all. He must say that if these undergraduates were to have votes, their votes should be limited to the Universities. Why should they not vote for the Universities? They were Members of the Universities, to which they therefore belonged; but they should not vote for a town to which they did not belong. That, he thought, was a clear and obvious argument. Something had been said with regard to Ireland—to undergraduates of Trinity College having re-

ceived the franchise. But if a mistake had been made in regard to Ireland, it was no reason why they should make a mistake in regard to England also. They ought rather to endeavour to put the law right in Ireland than to make it wrong in England because it was wrong in Ireland. The Irish case, so far as it went, was an argument in favour of the Motion of his hon. Friend. It was quite clear that this case was a most peculiar one; and whilst he would be the last person to desire to disqualify anyone—anyone, he meant, really fitted in other respects to enjoy the franchise—he thought these gentlemen should not vote for the town to which they did not belong, but for the University to which they did belong.

MR. HEALY said, there never had been an occasion on which there had been more chopping and changing on the part of the Government than there had been on the present occasion. Hardly five minutes ago the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had delivered an admirable homily on the evils of undergraduate voting, and had read out a letter from a gentleman at Oxford, who had said that undergraduates were like soldiers—they did not pay rent, taxes, and so on. These were exactly the same arguments which he had himself lately used about the students of Trinity College, Dublin; but, on turning to the Division List, he found that "the right hon. G. Osborne Morgan" was amongst those who had opposed him on that occasion. To give an instance of the manner in which hon. Gentlemen voted on Irish questions without having regard to the merits of the case, the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart) himself, who now wished to disqualify the students of Oxford and Cambridge, on that occasion voted against him. What regard could they have to the declarations in the House of such hon. Gentlemen? They seemed to be voting for expediency. All the Irish Members wanted was even justice. If the students of Oxford and Cambridge were to have a vote, let the Dublin students have a vote also; if the Irish students were not to have a vote, then withhold it from the students of Oxford and Cambridge. The Irish Members wanted no more—they would be contented with no less. He would ask the House for a moment to go back to what happened in Committee. When he (Mr. Healy) had pointed out that the Irish students had a vote, it was pointed out to him that the English students could not vote, because there was a clause in an Act of Parliament which said that they should not. The Government said that was the reason the English students were debarred from voting. That being so, they were asked to repeal the clause; but in reply they said—"Repeal or no repeal these students have no right to vote." Had any attempt been made to explain how 300 Trinity College students found their way at one time on the Register of the City of Dublin? Could the English Attorney General explain how it was that, even though the clause referred to were repealed, English students would not have a right to vote, yet Irish students would be able to get on the Register? There was no other reason which prevented the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge from getting on the Register, that he knew of, than this clause; and yet, when its repeal was proposed, the Attorney General said—"You may repeal away, but the law will be still the same." He (Mr. Healy) could not follow that at all; but, be that as it might, he would ask the House to give a vote consistent with that they had given on the subject of the Trinity College students, so as to bring about uniformity in the matter between the two countries.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (MR. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he was under the impression that the Amendment on which he had voted had been an Amendment to disfranchise all members of Dublin University, and not students only.

MR. HEALY: Distinctly students.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he did not understand the circumstances under which the graduates and undergraduates of the University of Dublin had votes, and he should like to know what they were. He should be rather disposed to think that those who were interested in these persons being disallowed the privilege of voting for the City of Dublin had not tried the legality of the question.

MR. HEALY: We have no appeal in Ireland.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS: Then they ought to have an appeal—they were in a bad way. With regard to the par-

ticular case now before the House, he thought it probable that the situation was precisely as the Attorney General had stated. He had told them that no undergraduates would come on the Register. Well, he (Mr. Thorold Rogers) did not believe that any graduates would come on the Register; he did not believe that a single Fellow would come on it. A Fellow of the University was not a freeholder in the strict sense of the word. The hon. Members for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), Hackney (Mr. James Stuart), and the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) were in such a position that if they were to misconduct themselves the visitor of their College could turn them out, neck and crop, without any appeal whatever. He thought he was right in saying that the authorities of the Universities and of the Colleges had power to dispossess a man at a moment's notice. The Fellow or Head was by no means a freeholder of property. [An hon. MEMBER: You can appeal.] There was no appeal; but he thought it quite possible that graduates had not even occupation, and that the right of any one of them to vote could be disputed under this clause. What was the situation? It was this—the undergraduate had an absolutely precarious tenure of his rooms. In most cases, his tenure was so precarious that he was not even in the position of a lodger, even the furniture in his rooms belonging to the College. ["No, no!"] Well, it was so at his College; it was gradually becoming the case at all; and, as a consequence, the undergraduate was only occupying furnished lodgings at the risk of being sent away from the College at a moment's notice. Even those who lived in the Universities had no rights as against the Universities. The rule at the University of Oxford was this—that the non-collegiate students and those, being members of the Colleges, who lived outside the Colleges, were in the position of occupying lodgings for which they were obliged to pay for eight weeks three times a-year. He had been one of the delegates of lodgings once himself, so that he was acquainted with these facts. A student might be required by the delegacy of unattached students to leave his lodgings at five minutes' notice, and he would have no rights as against anyone. He had no right to prevent anyone going into his rooms, the owner of the lodgings being bound to go in if the authorities requested him to. He had no rights as against anyone whatever. Therefore, he (Mr. Thorold Rogers) did not believe that any one of these persons—he would even say that from the Heads of the Colleges down to the lowest clerk no one in the University possessed the *status* which entitled him to be put upon the Register of the town. But that was a very different thing from what might occur under the Revising Barristers. He thought something had been said to-night about the incompetence of those gentlemen, and he had heard it said that some were not over-honest. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, he had heard it said so—and that, therefore, there might be some sort of dodging, the constituencies being jerrymandered. In this way a great many people might be put to considerable expense, through the necessity of vindicating principles of law in consequence of this clause. And that was not all. It was a question of what in the future would be the relations between the University of Oxford and the city, and between the University of Cambridge and the town. Members of the University knew perfectly well that for many years, even for centuries, there had been the worst possible blood between the city and the University, and between the town and the University, and it was desirable not to recall that state of things. The position of the undergraduates in the Universities was unquestionably precarious. If he were to describe the undergraduate, he should say he was a kind of educated gipsy who camped at the University for eight weeks at a time, and then went away, having no interest in the place, and leaving no connection behind him beyond, it might be, his debts. He (Mr. Thorold Rogers) did not think it was desirable that these persons should be pitchforked into local politics. But what he was shocked at more than anything else was that on both occasions when this subject had been under discussion the two Members for the University of Oxford opposite (Sir John Mowbray and Mr. Talbot) had never said a word about what would occur between the University-and the City of Oxford if the undergraduates were enfranchised, though they knew that the authorities of the University had deprecated the change

by a formal vote. He had not believed in University Members before, and he was still less in favour of them now, and he thought that the sooner the anomaly was done away with the better. He did not know how the senior Member for the University would explain his entire silence on the matter. He (Mr. Thorold Rogers) had never voted for the right hon. Member in the past, and it was not likely that he should ever do so in the future; indeed, he earnestly hoped he should be spared to use his best endeavours to prevent the right hon. Member and his brood from ever coming into the House again.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, he apprehended that the House would not expect him to remain silent after the reference which had been made to him by the hon. Member for Southwark. That hon. Gentleman had taken the opportunity of departing from that which had been called an academic discussion by indulging in a great variety of thought and idea. He had attacked the Revising Barristers, declaring that they were incompetent and prejudiced—he did not know that the hon. Member had not even gone the length of charging them with dishonesty. The hon. Member had also attacked the undergraduates, describing them as a set of camping gipsies. In spite of the privilege the undergraduates in the University of Oxford had had for years past of availing themselves of the political genius of the hon. Member, it was clear they had never profited by it, but remained as ignorant as they were before the hon. Member was called to the professorial chair. Then, having disposed of the Revising Barristers and the undergraduates, the hon. Gentleman had attacked his (Sir John R. Mowbray's) Colleague and himself. He had said he had never voted for them. Well, they had never asked for his vote. From the position they were in they were never in the habit of soliciting the votes of their constituents. He did not know how the hon. Member had voted—he had certainly never asked him for his vote or expected it. He (Sir John R. Mowbray) had not voted with the hon. Gentleman on this question; and when asked why, as representing a University, he had not said anything on the subject—his answer was because this was not a University question. It had not been raised by University Members, or even by Professors sitting opposite. It came from a quarter below the Gangway—a quarter, he must say, rather to be viewed with suspicion. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* He did not wish for any votes from that side of the Gangway any more than he wished for them from the other side. The question was one rather for the City of Oxford and the borough of Cambridge than for the Universities; it was a question whether the House would disfranchise a particular class of people. If the undergraduates were of legal age, and in occupation of a tenement which would qualify them otherwise for a vote, they should be treated as other people. The head of the house, the Professors and resident tutors, if they were in such occupation as would give them a vote under other circumstances, were entitled to have that vote. It was unnecessary for University Members to intervene, first, because it was not a University question; and, secondly, because he thought the case had been well put by the Attorney General to-night, when he had said it was unnecessary for any clause of this kind to be added to the Bill. The only regret he had was that the Attorney General, having given them wise advice not to be led into all these questions as to the number of undergraduates, the political opinions they entertained, and the relations between "town and gown"—the Attorney General having a desire to avoid all these subjects—his Colleague sitting by his side should have proceeded to read letters and open all these subjects again. It was for the House to judge of the policy of that proceeding, and it was also, as he had said, for the House generally to discuss the question at issue. It was not a matter which was to be decided one way or other by the Universities, or on which the opinions of the University Members could be expected in any way to guide the House. It was unnecessary to add the clause to the Bill; and, therefore, considering this not so much an academic question as one concerning the City of Oxford and the town of Cambridge, he should vote against the Amendment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the Attorney General had commenced the discussion in a proper manner. He had asked the House to discuss a single point; but, unfortunately, owing to the Rules of the House, the hon. and learned

Gentleman had since been precluded from speaking, and his Colleague, who had followed him, had not pursued the line of thought initiated by him, the result being that the House had been wandering now for some time. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would ask the leave of the House to speak again —and doubtless, under the circumstances, that leave would be at once accorded—in a few words he would be able to clear the debate of matters which confused it at the present moment. This was the position in which they stood. He understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to agree with the Irish Members on two points—first, that it was undesirable that undergraduates should have votes; and, secondly, that the law on the subject, whatever it was, should be the same in the three countries. If the House thought undergraduates should not have votes at all in Oxford and Cambridge, did they not think the same with regard to the undergraduates of the University of Dublin? If the Attorney General desired the law to be the same in the two countries, he wished to ask how was it that students in Dublin were allowed to qualify as lodgers; and if they were allowed so to qualify, would not the hon. and learned Gentleman take means to prevent their being allowed in the future, as undergraduates in Oxford and Cambridge were prevented? This was the difficulty of the Irish Members—there were 312 undergraduates in Trinity College on the Register of the City of Dublin at the last registration; but the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), who had interested himself in this subject, had got the number reduced to 146 by proving cases of joint occupation — cases in which students joined at their lodgings instead of occupying rooms separately. But the new franchise would abolish this distinction. There would be now a possibility of two men getting a vote for the same lodging if it were sufficiently highly rented. The 146, therefore, would, in the future, be raised to 312, because joint occupancy would be held to be a good qualification. Well, did the Government seriously contemplate a state of things in which all the undergraduates in Oxford and Cambridge would be disqualified and those allowed to vote in Dublin would be increased from 146 to 312? The hon. Member for Westmeath called his attention to the fact that under the single Member system the grievance would be much greater in Dublin than it had been hitherto—although he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) could not see that that was altogether germane to the subject. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart) had been reminded by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) of his inconsistency in regard to the subject under discussion; and certainly the hon. Member should be pressed for a more satisfactory explanation of his conduct than he had yet given. If it could be declared in distinct words in the English Act that the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge were not to have votes, it was absurd for the House of Commons to insist on leaving the franchise to undergraduates of Trinity College, Dublin. He hoped an answer would be given sufficiently lucid to show hon. Members what they were voting for.

MR. GIBSON said, he desired to make a few observations upon this Amendment before a vote was taken upon it. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the town of Galway, who had just sat down, asked for an assurance that the Attorney General would take means to prevent undergraduates and members of the University of Trinity College at present on the Register of the City of Dublin from voting for the city; or, in other words, in connection with a scheme of general enfranchisement, he asked the Government to pledge itself that it would bring forward a measure of disfranchisement—the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister having, in all his great speeches in reference to this matter, indicated that his desire was to enfranchise all capable citizens, and to do nothing which could in any shape or form be called disfranchisement. In connection with the Dublin University at the present moment—not in reference to a future registration, but at the present moment—there were a substantial number of internal resident students of Trinity College on the Register of voters for the City of Dublin. The Government were asked in this discussion, in reference to Oxford and Cambridge, to give a pledge that they would remove from the Registers in Dublin such existing qualified voters. Such a pro-

position could not be considered for a moment. With regard to appeals against the decisions of the Revising Barristers, the highest Court in Ireland—namely, the Court of Exchequer Chamber—to which such a case could be taken, had been applied to on the subject of the legality of the vote of the undergraduates of Trinity College, and that Court had decided that those gentlemen were entitled to be on the Register, and there they were, and there they would remain. A few days ago the House, when in Committee, determined to repeal the section which had disqualified residents in the Oxford and Cambridge Universities from voting; and now the hon. Member for Hackney asked, notwithstanding that repeal, that the provisions so repealed should be virtually re-enacted, so as to prevent those who might now be able to get upon the Register from arguing their case. A man living within the walls of a College to have a qualification must be 21 years of age, in possession of qualified premises duly rated; and now, for the first time in the history of Reform legislation, it was sought to apply to these people coming within every single one of the qualifying clauses a positive statutory disqualification, so that the Registration Courts would not be able to listen to the arguments they might have to submit on the state of facts. He was not surprised that the Attorney General had suggested that it would be wise to leave the consideration of this matter to the ordinary tribunals who had to consider electoral law. What case had the hon. Member for Hackney, who had introduced the subject, made out for the favourable consideration of the House? He had admitted that undergraduates, if of full age, were as capable citizens as any other electors who were to be found on the Electoral Roll. The hon. Member admitted, not only their possession of a technical qualification, but he declared that if they were of full age they were as capable as any other citizens described by the Prime Minister. It was said that the occupation of the undergraduates was precarious; but that was not a question which could be considered by the House. If they were entitled to be on the Register, by reason of the possession of the ordinary qualification, they were entitled, and that was all that could be said. It was not for the House to say what period of actual occupation in the year should qualify a particular class of persons; that was a matter for the Registration Court. As to the question of assimilating the law between the two countries, surely the 15th clause had been introduced for the purpose of putting the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge on a level with Trinity College, and of taking away from the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge the disqualification which did not bind and fetter the Dublin University undergraduates. There was nothing to compel the students to live within the walls of the University. If a student elected to pursue his studies in the City of Oxford, the town of Cambridge, or the City of Dublin, he would have a vote. Was it not, then, abhorrent to common sense to say that if he came into rooms in College in order to study more quietly that was a reason why he should lose the right to vote? But he would not detain the House longer. The matter did not admit of wide argument. It had been discussed on a former occasion, when the Government, after argument, deliberately withdrew their opposition; and he could not imagine, for the reasons he had given the House, that this clause would meet with any general acceptance from the majority of the House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that, with the permission of the House, he would intervene for one moment — particularly because the right hon. and learned Gentleman had misunderstood what he had said. When the question was discussed in Committee he had been opposed to the repealing clause. He desired to see no vote given to graduates or undergraduates; but he had been completely overwhelmed by the arguments used, and had found it useless to attempt to take any objection to the repeal of the clause. When this proposal affecting undergraduates was made two hours ago by his hon. Friend (Mr. Stuart) he had endeavoured to deprecate the discussion, and had been in hopes that his hon. Friend would withdraw the Motion, as he had thought the law sufficiently clear. But his suggestion had not been accepted, and they had discussed the question at full length. With regard to assimilating the law of England and

Ireland, he was not sufficiently familiar with the conditions under which students of Trinity College lived in the University of Dublin to be able to say why it was that they were admitted to the lodger franchise. They had not in Oxford or Cambridge such conditions as would entitle undergraduates to the lodger franchise. In England the question had been decided by the Court of Appeal.

MR. HARRINGTON: What are the conditions deemed essential in Oxford and Cambridge?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): There are no conditions deemed essential. The condition of the law is that undergraduates are not voters.

MR. HARRINGTON: What is the difference between the condition of students in a College and lodgers in an ordinary dwelling-house?

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General that he is departing from the ordinary practice in making a second speech.

DR. CAMERON said, he thought it would be highly undesirable to allow the discussion to terminate without something being said by an hon. Member from a Liberal point of view. He had been astonished during the past two hours to hear the most liberal sentiments, with one exception, expressed on the Conservative side of the House, and to find all the reactionary speeches coming from the Liberal side from below as well as above the Gangway. This showed that Radicals, as well as other people, were no judges of the merits of their own case. During this discussion much had been said about the discipline of the Colleges, and how the proposed enfranchisement would disturb the minds of the heads of the Universities, and would disturb the undergraduates if the latter were allowed to take part in local elections. Did the House consider that an interest in politics—an active interest in politics—was of no use to students? He regretted to see that, while that question had been dealt with affirmatively by hon. Members on the Conservative side of the House, an opposite view had been adopted by the Radicals. So long as he had thought the Government were going to stick by their original proposition he had remained silent; but he must say that the manner in which they had behaved in regard to the matter to-night passed all comprehension. The Attorney General, when the clause was proposed the other day, said that he could not accept it; but he now declared that he had been overwhelmed by the arguments which had been adduced.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): No; by the numbers.

DR. CAMERON: Well, if not by arguments, by numbers. The hon. and learned Member had not yielded to numbers to-night. He had changed his front, and had not even challenged a division. When a decision had been come to to-night which did away with the decision of the Committee the hon. and learned Gentleman told them, at the commencement of the debate, that he could not entertain the proposition. Then he told them that it would make no difference to the electorate. He (Dr. Cameron) trusted that the Prime Minister, for the sake of the consistency of the Liberal Party, would take an opposite view to that of his Colleagues; and that, if the clause went to a division, he would follow his own professions, and not vote for the imposition of a statutory disability on a class of citizens who would otherwise be entitled to vote.

MR. DAWSON said, that the great measure of which this Bill was a part, being a Bill for enfranchisement, he did not see why they should now attempt to disfranchise anyone. It had been said of the students that their tenure of their rooms was precarious. Well, the service franchise was also precarious; the tenure of the coachman or the gardener was precarious, because he was liable to be dismissed at any time. It was admitted that young men at the Universities were a class who were perfectly capable of exercising all Constitutional privileges when they reached the age of 21 or 22 years. If these young men would ever be able to form a political opinion at all, they would be as capable then as at any other time. He believed the Prime Minister himself had commenced, not only his political career, but his career of statesmanship at a very early age. There was a reason why, though he could on general grounds, he could not on particular grounds, give his adhesion to the proposal before the House. Ireland was a Catholic nation, yet the Catholics had no residential University. Although

there was a so-called Catholic University, it had no students who were required to reside in College. It was a mock University—merely an Examining Board without professors, teachers, halls, or studies. He did not think, therefore, that the people of an alien faith should have political power through University representation, whilst the great mass of the people were deprived, not only of University representation, but of a real University at all. That was the only reason why he was opposed to the granting of the franchise to this particular class in Trinity College. But if there were a similar class of Irish Catholic young men, it would be far from his wish to deprive one undergraduate, however different might be his political views from his own, from the exercise of the franchise when that undergraduate had attained the age of manhood and the maturity of his intellect.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 84; Noes 81: Majority 3.—(Div. List, No. 183.)

MR. JAMES STUART said, there were certain clauses in the Cambridge Award Act of 1856 which repeated the Act of 1832 to a certain extent. He had, therefore, to move an addition to the clause which had been already adopted by the House.

Amendment proposed,

To add at the end of the foregoing Amendment, the words "Provided also, That nothing in 'The Cambridge Award Act, 1856,' shall prevent any occupier of such chambers or premises from having a right to be registered as a Parliamentary voter."—(*Mr. James Stuart.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. RAIKES said, the impression left on his mind by the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman just now was that graduates, bachelors, or any other persons occupying rooms in Colleges, were neither owners, tenants, nor lodgers. If that were so, this Amendment would not give graduates the right to vote.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the premises were only occupied for 24 weeks in the year, with the exception of those occupied by the heads of Colleges. The Amendment proposed by his hon. Friend was for the purpose of meeting that difficulty. If the clause were not repealed, no Fellow or graduate, or other person entitled to vote, would be able to be rated to confer upon him the right of voting.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, after the extraordinary decision which the House had just arrived at, he was disposed to the opinion that no member of the University ought to be allowed to vote for the town. This was a specimen of Professorial Liberalism. It was well known which way the majority of resident members and undergraduates were likely to vote; and the Liberal Professors had, therefore, deliberately set themselves to work to disqualify that class of voters. In saying this he was simply stating facts which must be well within the knowledge of any persons acquainted with Oxford and Cambridge; and there were the two Members for the town of Cambridge in their places who had voted for the last Amendment because they knew that the students would vote against them. These men were to be disqualified because they were students, although they might be of full age and have the necessary qualifications; and the two hon. Members for the town of Cambridge knew very well what the effect of those votes would have been in relation to their seats. For himself, he thought it was a very questionable matter whether, looking to the great difference there was between the University franchise and the town franchise, any member of the University should have a vote for the town; but he must say that if they were to qualify any member of the University on account of residence in rooms, either in or out of College, as voters for the town, they ought to qualify them all, and that nothing could be more unfair than to qualify a special class and disqualify the rest. He should, for these reasons, certainly vote against this Amendment.

MR. HEALY said, the effect of the last Amendment being, as he understood, to disqualify undergraduates in England, he wished to know whether the Government would apply the same principle to the case of the Irish undergraduates? ["Hear, hear!"] Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would reply to his inquiry.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not think he should be in Order in entering into the question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) with regard to the undergraduates in Ireland on this Bill. He had, however, expressed his view of the matter by cheering what the hon. Member had just now said—namely, that there was one law for England and another for Ireland.

MR. GIBSON said, he did not want to re-open the discussion on the question of undergraduate voting; but he thought it right to speak before the hon. and learned Attorney General rose, in order to give an opportunity of a case being stated. He believed he had given the hon. and learned Gentleman an opportunity of stating to the House his opinion on the Amendment just disposed of, based on the principles of fair play; but the hon. and learned Gentleman had elected to give them an astonishing opinion on that Amendment, which had been followed by the Prime Minister's leaving the House rather than vote in support of it. He was at a loss to understand how the Attorney General was able to present as his opinion, to be adopted by the House, that the last Amendment was but declaratory of the law and unnecessary. He thought that the position of the House with reference to this Amendment was in the last degree unsatisfactory, and he thought it a very hard thing not to be able to use the strongest and harshest language in reference to what had occurred. Personally, he had a very strong feeling in reference thereto; and bearing in mind what had been pointed out by the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board as to the urgency for passing this Bill rapidly through the House, and taking that in connection with the sanction which the Government had given to the course taken to-night with reference this Amendment, he was bound to say that, in his opinion, it would lead necessarily to the re-examination and re-discussion of certain important matters.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, they had hitherto managed to keep tolerably cool in the course of the discussion, and to avoid imputations of a kind which arose solely from Party considerations and had only a Party effect. Certainly he felt a little startled by the vehemence of the language which had been used by the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite and by the arguments which they had addressed to the House on this Amendment. It was surely a matter for fair consideration how far it was desirable that those members of the Universities who were still under pupilage should be introduced into the field of Party warfare while they were at the Universities for educational purposes. That was a question which he thought might well influence hon. Gentlemen in dealing with such a matter as this. But it seemed that right hon. Gentlemen opposite could not give any Member on the Ministerial side of the House credit for anything but Party motives in the course they were taking with regard to this question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, he supposed, judging others by themselves, only dealt with the effect of the vote; their argument was that the vote was the result of Party motives. [*Dissent.*] He was using the argument of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, not his own. They said that inasmuch as the vote would have a particular Party result, it could only have been dictated by Party motives—that was what their argument came to. But against that argument he protested as not being sound or valid. He was inclined to say rather what right hon. Gentlemen opposite would perhaps say, on further consideration, that it would be a fair and legitimate subject for consideration whether those persons who were in a state of pupilage should have the right of being registered as voters. But right hon. Gentlemen opposite had put before the House that hon. Members on that side were voting in a particular way because their vote would have a particular result; they said that hon. Members who supported the Amendment asked that those who were of full age and who would be entitled to vote should be deprived of their votes because those votes would be given against themselves. He submitted that there was no such motive. The question was whether it was desirable to bring those students who were at the Universities for the purposes of education within the arena of the politics of a University town—and that was a totally different question from that of whether those to whom no such argument applied should be deprived of the franchise because, as right

hon. Gentlemen opposite said, they would vote against the Conservative Party.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, he desired to explain the vote he was about to give. He should unhesitatingly vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart). He looked on the question simply as an academic question; and, totally independent of any possible politics of any Profession, he should forget for the moment the proceedings of his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. It was simply a matter of fact whether undergratuates had a right to vote or not, and of policy whether it was desirable to confirm the claim. Undergraduates lived under very peculiar and exceptional circumstances. But the graduates of a University were in the position of any other gentlemen who lived in a town. They had, either within or without the Colleges, their houses, which should be put on the same footing; many of them were family men; they paid their rates and taxes; they mixed with the affairs of the town, and in many of their relations they were simply and absolutely citizens. He knew that was so in Cambridge, and no doubt it was the case at Oxford; and to deprive these graduates of their votes as a *vendetta* for what had taken place in the case of undergraduates—with great respect to his right hon. Friend—was as good a piece of nimble logic as he had ever heard. He trusted the House would simply look at the matter as a question of common sense and common justice, and would vote for the Amendment.

MR. W. FOWLER said he protested with all the force he could use against the insinuations conveyed in the insulting speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He considered it rather hard that an insinuation of the kind which had been made should have been thrown out against him; and he thought that the right hon. Baronet would to-morrow, on calmer reflection, be sorry that he had made it. He pointed out that the object of this clause was merely to put Cambridge in the same position as Oxford. Under the Statute of 1856 the resident graduates even would not be able to have a vote. Its object was to put the matter on the same footing that it would have been upon if the peculiar Statute in question had not been passed. He could conceive of nothing more fair and reasonable than that; and he did not see why the Cambridge men should be in a position different from that occupied by the Oxford men.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he had a suggestion to make which might meet the views of hon. Gentlemen near him, —that was to say, of those who objected to this invidious and indefensible distinction between graduates and undergraduates in connection with a matter which had nothing to do with their academic *status*. He thought the position of his hon. Friends would be best retained by moving the re-committal of the Bill. He thought right hon. Gentlemen opposite misapprehended the feeling of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House if they were under the impression that they were going to allow any petty considerations, such as the convenience of Her Majesty's Government, or any view of cramming this measure through the House of Commons, to prevent their seeing justice done in this matter. He was afraid that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General had not had his brief given to him soon enough, because he said that the matter was to be decided on the question as to whether undergraduates as opposed to graduates should or should not have the vote. But that had nothing to do with the Amendment, which was a distinct proposition put forward by the hon. Member for Hackney for a Proviso being introduced into the Bill with regard to the Cambridge Award Act of 1856. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General had the Act in his hands he would see that it dealt with an arrangement made between the University authorities on the one hand and the Municipal authorities on the other for the apportionment of local burdens in the town of Cambridge; it had nothing whatever to do with graduates or undergraduates; it was simply an arrangement with regard to College property being made subject to local taxation. The hon. and learned Gentleman had misapprehended the case entirely.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): I beg pardon; that was just my argument.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, the Solicitor General had stated that the Question before the House was that of undergraduates as opposed to the question of graduates, and had wholly ignored the fact that the disqualifying section of the Award Act applied equally to both. If the hon. and learned Gentleman would refer to the Bill he would see that such was the case; and he must say that the remarks of Gentlemen on those Benches were strongly called for in connection with the Government, who, he was compelled to say, had stultified themselves in every stage of these proceedings. He trusted that by some means, whether by re-commitment or other mode of procedure, they might yet get the opportunity of bringing this matter again before the House.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, that up to the moment of the last division hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House were not aware that it was the intention of the Attorney General, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to repudiate the engagement into which they had entered on an earlier stage of the Bill, when the hon. and learned Gentleman accepted the original Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. J. Stuart), and consented to a clause being moved later on. He (Mr. H. S. Northcote) was entirely unprepared at the time at which the question was again raised for what had taken place. He and his hon. Friends had no idea that the Government had come to this decision; and that being so, he did not think there was very much ground for surprise if some warmth of feeling had been manifested in the course of this discussion. He was, however, ready to acknowledge that the speeches of hon. Gentlemen who represented Cambridge had been more courteous in tone than that of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers), who, he regretted to observe, was not in his place. The hon. Member in the course of his remarks had alluded to the undergraduate as a kind of gipsy, who left with no connection with the University except, perhaps, through his debts. In his opinion, the Professor had a much better claim to that title, because when he left the University he might be said to be without a place for the sole of his foot. He thought there was just ground for complaining of the political "Billingsgate" of the hon. Gentleman, and was glad that the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire had announced his intention of opposing this Amendment.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he would not imitate the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, but wished to express his surprise at the somewhat spiteful manner in which the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had shown his feeling on the result of the last division. He (Mr. Horace Davey) had voted in that division, and should vote for the present Amendment. Again, he utterly repudiated the insinuations of the right hon. Baronet and those of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) that the Members who voted in the majority on the recent division were actuated by Party spirit. He had no conception as to whether the undergraduates would, on the whole, give a larger vote on one side than on the other; indeed, he was quite indifferent as to how they might vote; but he did care that undergraduates who went to the Universities for the purposes of education should not be mixed up in town politics. He had some interest in one undergraduate, at least, at Cambridge.

MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that he is travelling beyond the Question before the House.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he would not follow the bad example that had been set by hon. Members opposite, but would conclude his observations by saying that, although he was not sure, he was under the impression that there was an Act similar to the Cambridge Award Act, relating to Oxford. Speaking from memory, he believed that there was the same clause in the Act as that which was the subject of the Amendment before the House, and, if so, it would have to be dealt with in the same way.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he should vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney. He wished, however, to say that he agreed with his right hon. Friends in thinking that Her Majesty's Government had behaved badly in this matter; and, though declining to be led by what had happened into violent language, he must add that the Liberal Party had behaved

badly also. He was not going to follow their example, however, and behave badly to the graduate members of the University. He did not know what their politics were; but as the Amendment would remove a disqualification, he intended to vote for it.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he did not wish to say anything further with regard to the job that had been perpetrated.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think that the observation of the hon. Gentleman is one which ought to be allowed to pass.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, in that case he would at once withdraw it, and substitute "the attempt of the Liberal Party to manipulate the franchise for their own benefit." After what had passed he thought it was perfectly clear that they could not go on with the Bill to-day. The Government did not seem to know their own mind on this subject. After two hours' discussion the Attorney General had risen to support the last Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. J. Stuart), and since this Amendment had been moved with regard to Cambridge, they had had a similar clause suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) with regard to Oxford. It was evident that they could not proceed under the circumstances, and he, therefore, begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, they had now discussed this University question for two days, and they had arrived at a decision about which there could be no possible controversy. The Government had always laid stress on the necessity of passing the Bill without delay, and no one knew the importance of that better than the hon. Member who had moved the adjournment of the debate. But they had now come to a deadlock, and unless the Bill were proceeded with at once, it would not be passed before Whitsuntide, and there was no Town Clerk or Overseer who would be able to perform the duty required of him by the Act. They would be imposing upon the Clerks of the Peace the duty of issuing their precepts at a time when they could not perform them. He asked, under the circumstances, that the hon. Gentleman would allow the debate to proceed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was anxious to address a few words to the House, because he wished to say that if he had given the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) any personal offence, he was sorry for it. He had felt warmly, and had spoken warmly, and although he still held his original opinion on this subject, he should be exceedingly sorry if he had hurt the feelings of the hon. Member. If the discussion on this Bill went on for another week, the responsibility rested with the Government for not adhering to their original proposals. He hoped his hon. Friend would persevere in his Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there would be no inconvenience to the Government personally if the discussion on this Bill was delayed. It was of no special interest to them if the Bill was not passed for a considerable time. It was no question for the Government at all. It would not specially inconvenience or distress the Government if the House did not pass the measure at all; but it would throw the whole electoral machinery of the country into confusion, and would undoubtedly have the effect of delaying the General Election, which was not desirable.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he thought it was most unfortunate that the Government should have changed completely round in the last division, and had taken a course which was altogether opposed to the principles upon which the Bill was founded. He could not understand how this question of the educational position of a voter could be brought in to alter the qualification of the voter. He was bound to say that, after the change which had been made in the spirit of the Bill, he did think it would be desirable to postpone any further proceedings at present. He thought it would be their best plan, in order to get rid of the little heat which existed, and not unnaturally, as he thought, to take the remainder of the measure at a later Sitting.

MR. BULWER said, he desired to make a personal appeal to be allowed to move the next Amendment which stood

in his name on the Paper. He believed it was not opposed by the Attorney General, and if it were not agreed to to-night, it would occasion him great personal inconvenience.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR thought the Front Opposition Bench had been a little unkind to the Attorney General. With regard to the question of adjournment, he would point out that there were very few Amendments remaining on the Paper, and they were all very anxious to have these measures settled as soon as possible, so that the work of registration could be proceeded with at once. They on those Benches were very anxious that they should be passed as soon as possible, and should not be postponed in this way.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 89; Noes 24: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 184.)

MR. J. LOWTHER: I beg to give Notice that, on the Motion for the third reading of this Bill, I will move that the Bill be re-committed with a view of inviting the House to reconsider the decision to which it arrived on the previous Amendment.

MR. BULWER said, he wished to move to add, in Clause 18, page 11, line 27, "and includes the Justices in General or Quarter Sessions assembled for the Isle of Ely." The object of this and consequential Amendments was to restore to the Isle of Ely its ancient jurisdiction.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 27, add "and includes the justices in General or Quarter Sessions assembled for the Isle of Ely."—(*Mr. Bulwer.*)

Question, "That those words be there added," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. H. J. TOLLEMACHE said, he desired to move an Amendment to Schedule 2, of which he had given Notice. It was in page 14, line 12, after "list," to insert—

"As published in the report of any election court or election commissioners who have held an inquiry within the limits of the said constituency during the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty."

The effect of the Amendment would be simply this. Under the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 the Clerks of the Peace had to prepare and send to the overseers a list of all persons in every township in a county scheduled as guilty of corrupt practices. The Clerks of the Peace had to give descriptions of these persons; but they had no means of identifying them or of finding out what qualification they possessed. It was impossible, therefore, for the Clerks of the Peace to give proper descriptions of the scheduled persons. All he asked in his Amendment was that the Reports of the Election Commissioners should be sufficient for the purpose of identification, and that if the Clerks of the Peace should send round the schedules annexed to the Reports of the Commissioners, nothing more should be expected of them in this regard. In the case of a portion of the county of Chester two boroughs had been scheduled as having been guilty of corrupt practices. Something like 4,000 voters had been scheduled, and unless the Bill were amended as he proposed, the Clerks of the Peace would have to obtain particulars of the qualifications of these persons, which they had no means of doing.

Amendment proposed,

In page 14, line 12, after the word "list," insert the words "as published in the report of any election court or election commissioners who have held an inquiry within the limits of the said constituency during the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty."—(*Mr. Henry Tollemache.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, this was merely a question of the precept which would be issued—a matter of instruction, or form of telling the overseers what the law was, and the Amendment could not alter the law, or assist anyone in carrying it into effect. Whatever was the duty of the officials would not be affected by this precept. No doubt, it would be impossible to provide a special description of 4,000 persons. The description given would be that which would be found in the Report of the Election Court.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he now begged to move to add the Amendment on the Paper, at the end of line 25, on page 34. The Amendment was an attempt to attain some solution of the difficult reform to which the right hon. Gentleman

would, in the case of such holdings, specify the ownership in general terms by saying that in the case of such and such a lane the landlord occupied the whole of it, and it would be impossible, from the requisition form, to distinguish between the different persons residing in the premises.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. TOMLINSON said, he desired to add, in page 37, after line 37, the following words:—

Declaration of Correctness of Claim.

I am acquainted with A.B. of . I have read his claim, and believe it to be correct. My means of knowledge are derived from my being [*Landlord, Brother, &c.*] of the claimant.

E.F.

[State residence and calling of deponent]

Witness, G.H.

[State residence and calling of witness].

He had brought this Amendment forward in Committee, and he should not have submitted it again if it had not been very generally pressed upon him in the meantime. Representations had been made to him to the effect that the present form gave rise to serious mistakes. The witness to the filling in of the form should not be the person who testified to the validity of the lodger's claim. When the lodger was absent from home it was impossible to find anyone to fill up the form properly, and a man might fill it up without being able to testify for both purposes. The object of putting in the words "My means of knowledge are derived from my being," &c., was to call the attention of the deponent to what he was really doing. He (Mr. Tomlinson) thought that if this Amendment, or one like it, were inserted, it would tend to prevent mistakes.

Amendment proposed, in page 37, line 32, to leave out all the words after the word "claimant," to end of line 33.—(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that in this matter they were not making new law, but were simply adhering to the form of 1878, which was a most useful one.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that he himself had had heard complaints on this subject since the question had been brought forward in Committee.

MR. H. G. ALLEN said, he thought the Amendment, if adopted, would be found very useful, as, under existing circumstances, the law might be greatly abused. Unless there was some provision requiring one person certifying to correctness of claim to state his means of knowledge, a person might certify without hesitation, and, subsequently, when cross-examined upon the subject, he might reply—"Oh! well, I stated what I believed to be correct—I do not know that what I said is not correct; but I really do not know much about it."

MR. WARTON said, that, practically, the two Amendments relating to this matter constituted one only, and therefore he apprehended that the few remarks he had to make would not be out of Order if he applied them to both. He was strongly of opinion that there ought to be a clear statement with regard to the witnesses to these forms, because he had a distinct recollection that it was brought out in evidence before the Commissioners that in several places the Liberal election agent himself had signed as witness. He need not say that that was a very great abuse, and that every precaution ought to be taken in the case of persons put on the Register on account of a form of the franchise which was peculiarly liable to fraud. In his opinion, no one ought to be put on the Register under this qualification unless there was some person who was prepared to state in plain words in what his knowledge of the individual claiming to be registered consisted.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendments made:—Schedule 2, page 39, line 2, after "should," by inserting "if there is more than one list;" page 41, line 27, at end, by inserting—

"Note.—In the case of a declaration by a person on the old lodgers list this form must be adapted so as to suit that list."

Schedule 3, page 47, line 30, in margin, by inserting "In a parish in the city of London substitute twenty-five for seven miles."

Amendment proposed,

In page 49, line 12, leave out "vote," and insert "be registered as a voter."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'vote' stand part of the Schedule."

MR. WARTON said, he should be glad to hear from the hon. and learned Gentleman the meaning of the words—

"A person entitled to vote in respect of any right reserved by sections thirty-one and thirty-three of the Reform Act of 1832?"

What was the reserved right? There was no definition.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the definition would be found in the Act of 1876, which said that the term "dwelling house" was to include a separate portion of a dwelling house. There was no express definition.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that when the Bill was in Committee there had been some discussion on the Definition Clause, and it had been proposed to include all the definitions that were required in the Redistribution of Seats Bill and to adopt them by references in this Bill. As nothing, however, had been heard of the matter since that time, he supposed it had escaped notice.

Question put, and *negatived;* words *inserted.*

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendments made:—Schedule 3, page 70, line 4, leave out "name and situation," and insert "description;" Schedule , page 73, line 16, at end of line, insert—

"Note.—This form must be adapted to suit the various lists."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, all the Amendments on the Paper having been disposed of, he should be glad to have the permission of the House to read the Bill a third time. But having regard to the Notice of Motion given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) for the recommittal of the Bill, he scarcely liked to do so in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman unless he had the assent of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope).

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was quite ready to give the hon. and learned Gentleman his assent. So far as his right hon. Friend was concerned, he did not think he would be disposed to oppose the taking of the third reading to-night, and he should therefore offer no opposition.

Motion made and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time," —(*Mr. Attorney General,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 151.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. HENDERSON said, there was a clause in the Bill which provided that where several lodgers were jointly occupying a lodging at a yearly rent of not less than £10 for each lodger, they should be entitled to be registered as voters. The meaning of that clause appeared to him to be obvious; it was perfectly clear that it applied to lodgers who were to be all equally qualified to be registered. But there was a proviso at the end which said that of such joint lodgers only two should be entitled to vote. Now that proviso he proposed to condemn. It seemed to him to be taking away with one hand the very little that was given with the other. The clause which appeared in the Bill was taken from the Parliamentary Registration Act of 1868, and it was said, as a reason for putting it in the Bill, that it placed Scotland on an equality with England in this matter. But he did not know that Scotland would derive any benefit from the clause. He had been endeavouring to ascertain whether the clause in question had been operating in England; but he had not been able to get information that any person had ever been enfranchised by the clause, or derived any benefit from it. And he was not surprised at that, because, since there might be four or half-a-dozen persons qualified to vote, there was nothing provided for the purpose of making a selection as to the persons who should vote in respect of this qualification. Therefore, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Advocate would see his way to improve the clause and agree to the improvement he sug-

gested, by which it might be made practicable. He had no doubt that the answer he should receive would be that it would then be necessary to alter the law as it existed in England at the present time; but when they knew that England had enjoyed this privilege for years, and that Scotland had not enjoyed it, he thought it was not unreasonable to say that Scotland should be placed a little in advance of England in this respect. He was at a loss to see why they should have a clause that had proved to be inoperative in England extended to Scotland without some alteration which would make it operative and give it effect, and that was the object he had in view. He could find no record at the time when the Act of 1878 was passing through the House of any discussion having taken place upon the clause. The clause appeared to have gone through the House without any discussion, and he was quite at a loss to understand why it had remained so long on the Statute Book. He begged to move the recommittal of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "now read the third time," and, at the end of the Question, to add the word "re-committed,"—(*Mr. Henderson,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'now read the third time' stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, as the author of the clause in the Bill of 1878, to which allusion had been made by the hon. Member who had just sat down, he might tell the hon. Member that it was not discussed at the time; it was passed through the House without a single word being said with regard to it. And that was because the matter had been very fully considered upstairs by the Select Committee which had the Bill before them for a long time. The clause was felt to be necessary at a time when there was not any reasonable probability of Parliament going in the direction of granting the franchise to lodgers. It was intended to cover cases of wealthy persons chumming together, such as often occurred.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the Government could not complain of the progress they had made that evening. There had been a large number of Amendments to the Occupation Voters (England) Bill, but they had all been disposed of, and the Bill had been read a third time. The proposal of the Government now was that the Scotch Registration Bill should be passed on to the House of Lords to-night; but he wished to remind the right hon. Baronet that a pledge had been given to his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork that the three Bills were to be taken side by side in regard to their several stages. He did not think that that pledge would be fulfilled if the Scotch and English Bills were sent to the House of Lords before the Report stage of the Irish Bill had been taken; and, therefore, in the name of his hon. Friend, he could not agree that the Bill should be read a third time at that Sitting.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the House of Lords would not sit again till Thursday, and he had every reason to hope that the three Bills would be in the same relative positon to each other on that day.

MR. HENDERSON said, that being satisfied with the explanation given by the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade, he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion for the recommittal of the Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. DAWSON said, the Bill had reached a stage when very little remained to be done with regard to it in that House, and it could be very well taken to-morrow. The right hon. Baronet had said that the House of Lords would not sit for two or three days, and that in itself was an argument against going any further with the Bill at that Sitting.

MR. SEXTON appealed to the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade, in proceeding with this Bill, to show the same regard to the convenience of Irish Members, in the matter of the Irish Registration Bill, as he had shown for the convenience of the House in conducting the Scotch and English Bills.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he should probably have to press the Motion for the third reading of the Bill; but he could assure the hon. Member that he should endeavour to keep to every engagement entered into with respect to the Irish Registration Bill.

MR. WARTON pointed out that the 14th clause was drawn in a very absurd manner. It would be seen that at line 10 more than one lodger was spoken of. That, of course, would mean any number; and then the proviso went on to speak of two only. The wording was most inconsistent, and some alteration of it was necessary. His object was to avoid having a clause in the Bill which set out by speaking of any number of lodgers, and ended by speaking of only two; and he trusted that in "another place," where Business was not so much hurried as it was in the House of Commons, the matter would be rectified.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Verbal Amendment made.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSURANCE.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the best system of National Provident Insurance against pauperism."—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 13*th May*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Friday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 13*th May*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — National Provident Insurance, *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Tithe Rent Extraordinary Limitation * [177]; Land (Compulsory Registration of Incumbrances) * [178]; Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) * [179].

Second Reading — Honorary Freedom of Boroughs * [153].

Considered as amended—Registration of Voters (Ireland) [150], *debate adjourned.*

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 3),* and *passed.*

Withdrawn — Income Tax Administration Amendment * [20].

MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEES — ASCENSION DAY.—RESOLUTION.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he had to make the usual Motion with regard to Ascension Day—a day the observance of which was recognized by the Church to which the vast majority of the Members of the House belonged.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Committees shall not sit To-morrow, being Ascension Day, until Two of the clock, and have leave to sit until Six of the clock, notwithstanding the sitting of the House."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he should not trouble the House with a speech, but he must take a division.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 54; Noes 4: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 185.)

PARLIAMENT — ORDER — COURSE OF PROCEDURE—REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I rise, Sir, to draw your attention, and that of the House, to what I think is a very important question affecting the Procedure of the House of Commons, which arises out of what occurred at an early hour this morning. It will be in the recollection of some hon. Gentlemen now present that a discussion of some length, involving points of considerable interest, took place with reference to certain clauses of the Registration Bill. The result of that discussion was that there was a very narrow majority in favour of the proposal of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart). That the question raised was open to a considerable amount of difference of opinion was proved by the fact that while one Member of the Government spoke one way, another spoke in the opposite sense, and that while one section of the Administration voted in one Lobby, and another section voted in the other

Lobby, a third section, headed by the Prime Minister, bolted, and did not vote at all.

MR. GLADSTONE: I know not whether I caught the expression of the right hon. Gentleman correctly, but I think he said I "bolted," which is a phrase of an invidious and offensive description. I think I can show even the right hon. Gentleman that what I did was reasonable in my particular position.

MR. SPEAKER: I did not catch the expression. I thought the term used was "voted."

MR. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman objects to my manner of characterizing it, and I will not follow that matter up. I was merely pointing out what occurred, with the view of showing that the public Notice which I subsequently gave was a most legitimate one.

MR. HEALY: I rise to Order. What is the Question before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: I understood the right hon. Gentleman was rising to a point of Order.

MR. J. LOWTHER: A point of Procedure, Sir. The point I wished to raise was whether, having given public Notice, as I did, that it was my intention, on the third reading of the Registration Bill, to move that it be recommitted, with the specific object of giving the House an opportunity of reconsidering the decision it arrived at, as I have said, by a narrow majority, an opportunity should not have been given me of making that Motion? That Notice, publicly given by me from my place in the House, was handed to the Clerk at the Table. Subsequently, a discussion occurring at considerable length on some minor points that remained to be dealt with in the Bill, and as it was getting on for 2 o'clock in the morning, I relied upon the Forms of the House and the general practice of Parliament that an opportunity would be afforded me, in accordance with the Notice I had publicly given, to raise the question again on the third reading of the Bill.

MR. HEALY: I rise, Sir, to a point of Order. I wish to ask you whether questions on points of Order should not be addressed to the Chair?

MR. J. LOWTHER: My question is addressed to Mr. Speaker.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is going into the question at great length. I am waiting to hear the point of Order on which he appeals to the Chair.

MR. J. LOWTHER: My remarks, Sir, have been delayed by the interruptions which have come from both sides of the House. They have been protracted beyond the length they would ordinarily have attained by these interruptions. The point I wish to put is whether it is in accordance with the practice of the House of Commons, when public Notice has been given of an intention to move the recommitment of a Bill upon the Order of the Day for its third reading, with the object of raising a specific question, that the third reading of the Bill should be moved and carried at the close of the Report stage without any opportunity being afforded to the Member who has given such Notice to make the Motion for the recommitment of the Bill?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Before you give your ruling, Sir, upon the question of Procedure submitted to you by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, I trust that, with your permission and by the courtesy of the House, I may be allowed to state what actually occurred on the occasion. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should have sought to introduce any controversial matter in reference to the conduct of the Prime Minister in submitting his question. We have nothing to do with that. As a matter of fact, what occurred last night was this—and I am speaking in the presence of Gentlemen who were in the House at the time—the Attorney General, when the Report upon the Registration Bill was completed, proposed to take the third reading to-day, after the Report of the Irish Registration Bill had been disposed of, or, in case that Bill was not finished to-day, then to-morrow, after the grant to the Princess Beatrice had been agreed to; whereupon the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), without rising from his seat, observed—"Why not now?"—a remark that was received with cheers from all parts of the House. The Attorney General thereupon said that, looking at the extreme urgency of the Bill, he should have been prepared to have asked the House to read it a third time then; but in consequence of the

fact that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther) had give Notice of his intention to move the recommitment upon the Order of the Day for the third reading, he felt that he could not make the proposal unless the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire could state that, in his opinion, there was no reason why the third reading should not be taken then. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, who at the time represented the Opposition, saw no reason why it should not be taken, and it was with his distinct sanction that the Bill was read a third time.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to say that, in my recollection, the statement of the right hon. Baronet opposite with regard to what occurred last night is substantially accurate.

MR. SPEAKER: The statement of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board is correct. It is quite true that the right hon. Gentleman gave Notice that on the third reading he would move to recommit the Bill; but I certainly understood that that Notice had been withdrawn with the sanction of his Colleague sitting beside him, and, consequently, I allowed the Motion for the third reading of the Bill to be made. It was a matter for the discretion of the House, and the House gave its assent to the proposal for the third reading of the Bill.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I wish to say that I was no party to the withdrawal of the Notice. I had fully intended to move the re-committal of the Bill, and to take the opinion of the House upon the question I had intended again to raise.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 150.]

(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.)

CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

MR. HEALY asked the President of the Local Government Board whether he had received any complaints regarding the registration of voters in England such as they had to make regarding Ireland?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had received a few complaints, but letters on this subject were always addressed to the Home Office.

MR. SEXTON said, it would be interesting if the Chief Secretary would now state what would be the sequence of dates as regards the work of registration?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that as he understood the procedure it would be as follows:—On the 1st of June the Clerk of the Peace would send his precept to the Clerk of the Union, sending the old registration lists and blank forms for the supplementary lists, and give orders to mark the old Registers, and make out a supplementary list of the newly-qualified persons. Rates were to be paid by the 1st of July, and Clerks of the Unions must return all documents on the 8th of July. The Clerk of the Peace thereupon printed and posted the lists publicly on the 20th of July, and on the 22nd of July the Clerk of the Peace issued his notice calling for new claims, and then these claims and objections would come in. The Courts of the Revising Barristers would commence on the 8th of September.

MR. SEXTON asked the latest dates when notices of objection could be served?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the 20th of August would be the date of delivery, and the 22nd of August would be the date of publication. The dates for lodgers would be different; the date of delivery would be the 4th of August, and the 11th of August would be the date of publication.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be re-committed with respect to new Clauses regarding temporary provision for remuneration of local officials, and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Dublin by townships of Pembroke and Blackrock."—*(Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.)*

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill *considered.*

New Clause (Amendment of date in section seven of "The Representation of the People Act, 1884,")—*(Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland,)—brought up,* and read the first and second time, and *added.*

MR. DAWSON moved, after Clause 5, that the following new clause be added to the Bill:—

"Every occupier of any rateable property of any value, or of any tenancy, weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly, shall be returned by the

rate collector on the rate book for every qualification dependent upon rating, no matter who pays or is liable for the rates, and anything contained in the sixty-third and sixty-fourth sections of the twelfth and thirteenth years of Victoria, chapter ninety-one, notwithstanding."

This was to meet the case of such occupiers in Dublin. There, the Collector General of Rates considered that it was not his duty to place such persons on the Register, although they were duly qualified, and so large numbers of persons were disfranchised.

New Clause (Rating weekly and monthly tenants,)—(*Mr. Dawson,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that the clause proposed was unnecessary, as its object was already sufficiently provided for. The Collector General was advised that it was his duty to place such persons on the Register.

MR. HARRINGTON, in supporting the clause, said, that it was unfair that occupiers should have to serve claims every year. Moreover, the clause was necessary for the purpose of making the law clear. Even Dr. Webb, an eminent Q.C., advised the South Dublin Board of Guardians that it was not the duty of the Clerk to place such persons on the lists.

MR. GIBSON remarked, that it would be necessary to know the case placed before Dr. Webb before discussing his opinion.

MR. HEALY said, that if the law was admitted to be as stated, where was the objection to making the law clear? It appeared to him that the object of the Chief Secretary and the Solicitor General for Ireland was to allow the law to be so confused and involved that those having charge of the machinery of registration might be enabled to throw any obstacle in the way of placing persons on the Register. The position of all the officials concerned in the administration of the Act would resemble that of the angel with the fiery sword at the gate of Paradise, and as every person passed in the sacred company of the Registrar these gentlemen would dread an earthquake would follow. Or, to change the simile, every official in Ireland being in his heart opposed to the extension of the franchise would, as far as he could, act the part of the spider to the fly and kill as many votes as he could manage to get into his web.

MR. SEXTON, in supporting the clause, contended that if it were not inserted in the Bill large numbers of these poor people would be disfranchised by the subordinate officials who had to do with the preparation of the Register in Dublin and other parts of Ireland.

MR. R. T. REID, while not believing that the Government were actuated by the motive imputed to them by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan, thought the Amendment ought to be accepted, even if the clause did nothing more than to make clear that which at present was apparently obscure, and as to which eminent legal authorities differed. He could not understand why the Government should oppose the insertion of some clause of this sort.

MR. J. LOWTHER opposed the clause on the ground that the insertion of unnecessary provisions tended to confuse those charged with the preparation of the Register. He thought the Solicitor General for Ireland ought to give the House his definition of what the law really was.

MR. BARRY said, the object of the clause was that the matter should be placed beyond doubt.

MR. MARUM said, that the Government had already accepted Amendments which they did not deem necessary, but others did.

MR. WARTON said, that the clause referred to an Act which applied only to Dublin. The position of the Government was ambiguous as to the alleged non-necessity for or danger of the clause.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN appealed to the House to make progress with the Bill, the passing of which was a matter of extreme urgency. The desire of the Government was to meet the reasonable wishes of hon. Members; but they maintained that the clause now proposed was unnecessary, Clauses 1 and 2 of the Bill itself covering the point now raised when taken in connection with what was known as Mr. Goschen's Act; and it was undesirable to encumber the Bill with useless provisions. The Government had accepted from the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan,

Clause 2 in the Bill; and yet they were charged with doing nothing to assist qualified persons in getting on the Register. They were as anxious as any hon. Member could be for the largest addition that could consistently be made of properly qualified persons to the Register of Voters in Ireland; and he should be prepared, if necessary, to propose the insertion of words later on to make the matter still clearer in regard to that class of occupiers.

MR. PLUNKET remarked, that he had been very much opposed to the extension of the household franchise in Ireland, and he had stated very fully at the time the grounds of his objection to it. But that measure having been passed, they had now only to see that it was properly carried out; and as far as he was able to form an opinion of the action of the Chief Secretary and the Solicitor General for Ireland, nothing could have been more earnest than the desire they had evinced to give fair effect to the legislation which had been adopted by Parliament.

MR. DAWSON asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, after Clause 10, insert the following Clause:—"A sufficient supply of copies of all the Forms and Notices of Claim and Objection set forth in the Schedule to this Act shall be kept in every county at the office of the clerk of the peace for such county, and at the office of each clerk to a Board of Guardians of a Union any part of which lies within such county, and in a Parliamentary borough at the office of the town clerk, and copies of such forms and notices shall be given free of charge to any person applying for the same on any day, except Sunday, up to the end of the period within which such notices and forms respectively may be served."

New Clause (Clerk of the peace to keep sufficient supply of forms, &c.,)—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that, although this matter was sufficiently provided for by Section 27 of the Act of 1850, he would not object to the clause for that reason. It was desirable that this Act should contain some such provision as that proposed by the hon. Member.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *added.*

MR. SEXTON begged to move a new clause providing that registers and lists should be open to inspection and perusal by every person desiring to inspect and peruse them, copies to be given to applicants. This was an endeavour to extend to Ireland the same facilities which were provided by the law of England.

New Clause:—

(Registers, &c. shall be open to inspection, and copies given.)

"A copy of every register, list, or other document made out or otherwise dealt with for the purpose of registration of voters by any clerk of the peace, clerk of the union, town clerk, or other official, shall be open to inspection and perusal by every person desiring to inspect and peruse it, at any time between ten of the clock in the forenoon and four o'clock in the afternoon of any day except Sunday, during a period of not less than fourteen days after such official has completed such register, list, or other document, and the official having custody of notices of claim and notices of objection shall submit them to the like inspection and perusal; and, during the said period, every official having the custody of such register, list, or other document shall supply a copy of it to every person requiring the same according to the rates set forth in form twenty-nine of the First Schedule to this Act, and every such official shall give public notice of his readiness to allow such inspection and perusal, and to provide such copies, at one place at least in every poor law union situate wholly or partly within the county, to be specified in such notice,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) thought that the clause might be accepted for the reason which had been mentioned in the previous case.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was of opinion that some provision should be introduced in the clause whereby the lists should be open to some person or persons recognized as being interested in, or connected with, the election, in order to prevent persons coming forward to examine the lists with the object of embarrassing the officials or for obstructive purposes.

MR. GIBSON said, he was also of opinion that some restriction of the kind should be placed on persons desiring to inspect the lists. He moved that the lists should be open to inspection by every person "on the list of voters."

Amendment proposed, in line 4, after the word "person," by inserting the words "on the list of voters."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SEXTON ridiculed the exaggerated and visionary fears of the hon. and gallant Member as to the business of the officials being impeded by persons examining the lists. He remarked that as the bulk of the voters were likely to be sympathizers with the Nationalist Party, the persons who would probably be interested in impeding the work of the officials would be the supporters of the Party of the hon. and gallant Member.

MR. H. G. ALLEN pointed out that the 8th section of the English Registration Act provided that a copy of the lists should be kept for the purpose of examination "by any person without payment." No inconvenience had been found to result from the generality of this facility of inspection. He thought, therefore, that it was desirable that the law in the two countries should be assimilated, and that the form adopted in the English Act should be introduced in the Irish Act.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Clause, as amended, *added.*

MR. SEXTON said, that the object of the next clause he begged to propose was merely to strictly apply the provisions of the English Bill to the case of Ireland with regard to the publication of the register.

New Clause:—

(Publication of register, &c.)

"A copy of every register, list, notice, or other document directed by this Act, or by any other of the Parliamentary Registration Acts to be published, is to be published by fixing a copy thereof in a conspicuous position near the outside of the outer door or on the outer wall of every building used for religious worship, and outside every court house, petty sessions court, municipal hall, poor law dispensary, constabulary barrack, office of clerk of the union, office of clerk of the peace, post office, and postal telegraph office, and everything so published must remain there during a period including two consecutive Sundays at least next after the first day of publication; and if any portion of a register, list, notice, or other document so published is destroyed, mutilated, defaced, or removed, the person responsible for its publication is forthwith to place another to the same effect in its place,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) thought that this clause was a reasonable one, and he would offer no objection to it.

MR. LEWIS took exception to the last sub-section of the clause, and contended that it would be impossible to apply it with any satisfactory results. It would be impossible for postmasters and sub-postmasters to prevent the destruction or the mutilation of lists unless they had an army of assistants to look after them.

MR. HEALY said, that this was a most laudable attempt on the part of the hon. Member for Derry to obstruct the Bill. Unfortunately, however, for him, the clause was taken out of the English Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 116; Noes 36: Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 186.)

Clause *added.*

MR. SEXTON moved, in page 8, after Clause 19, to insert the following new clause:—

"A revision court shall be held in every town which, according to the Census of 1881, had a population exceeding three thousand, and whenever it shall appear that any considerable number of voters or claimants cannot attend the ordinary sittings of the court without loss or inconvenience, evening sittings of the court shall be appointed."

He maintained that evenings sittings would be of great advantage to people in manufacturing towns, where a man might lose half-a-day's wages by having to attend a Court during the day. This was a clause which would be operative in the Northern manufacturing towns for the benefit of the Conservatives as well as everywhere else.

New Clause (Revision court to be held in every town with population of 3,000,)—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. LEWIS said, that the clause went a great deal further than any clause of the kind had ever gone before. It would also operate in towns where there was a lack of railway accommodation involving on the part of the Revising Barrister a delay of three or four days. [Mr. SEXTON: No, no!] The hon. Member said "No, no." He had no doubt that the hon. Member knew everything; but he wished to say that he also had experience of railway travelling in Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that he had no objection to evening sittings.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN was understood to undertake that a clause should be introduced into the Bill on re-committal, providing that every borough of more than 10,000 inhabitants should have at least one evening sitting, and that in every town with 3,000 inhabitants they would be held in every place where the Lord Lieutenant thought fit to order.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

New Clause (Lord Lieutenant may extend time by Order in Council,)—(*Mr. Deasy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he could not accept the Amendment, which he considered would tend to a relaxation of activity on the part of the officers in question. He would, however, look into the matter and see that the Act was enforced.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

New Clause (Devolution of tenancies,)—(*Mr. Marum,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the said Clause be now read a second time," put, and *negatived.*

New Clause (Revising barristers shall report on conduct of officers executing this Act,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HEALY moved the following new clause:—

"It shall be the duty of the clerk of the union to object to the names of all freemen voters who have been inmates of any workhouse during the year for which the voters' list is made out in the same way as objections are now made under the thirteen and fourteen Victoria, chapter sixty-nine, section one hundred and eleven, to persons other than those on the freeman roll."

The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board had said that if the freemen of Dublin were not disqualified by pauper relief he would see that they were made so.

New Clause (Pauper relief to disqualify freeman,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, it was the duty of the Clerk of the Peace, and not of the Clerk of the Union, to make the objection. There was no reason why a freeman who accepted pauper relief should not be disqualified under the existing law.

MR. SEXTON said, there was no machinery whereby they could secure that a freeman who received pauper relief should be kept off the Roll. If it was no part of the duty of the Clerk of the Union to object, the word "Peace" could be inserted in the clause instead of "Union."

MR. LEWIS pointed out that the general law applied to freemen as well as to other persons who were paupers. He objected to any one class being particularized in the way proposed.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the reason why they insisted upon the insertion of

some such provision as this was that freemen who were in workhouses were allowed to come out and vote at elections. That was one of the well-known scandals of the Dublin electoral system.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he would consider whether words could be inserted in the Bill to the effect that—

"The disqualification under the thirteen and fourteen Victoria, chapter sixty-nine, section one hundred and eleven, shall apply to freemen."

MR. HEALY said, that in that case he would withdraw the clause.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HEALY moved the following new clause:—

"Nothing in this Act shall entitle any person *in statu pupillari* to be registered as a voter, or to vote, in respect of the occupation of premises in any College."

New Clause (Occupation by person *in statu pupillari,*)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. PLUNKET expressed surprise that the hon. and learned Gentleman should have proposed so important a Motion without justifying the course he was adopting.

MR. HEALY: It was to save time.

MR. PLUNKET said, that the proposal of the hon. Member was to disqualify a number of voters who would be otherwise qualified to be placed on the Register for the City of Dublin simply because they happened to reside within the walls of Trinity College. Even if the extreme view were adopted which the House affirmed last night with regard to the students at Oxford and Cambridge, the case of Dublin was different. A provision in the old Reform Act which was held to be incorporated in the Act of 1867 disqualified undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge from being placed on the Register of voters. But there never had been such a statutory disqualification of students in Ireland. If able to satisfy the requirements of the law in respect of age and the occupation of their chambers, there had never been anything in the law of Ireland to prevent them from voting. In Dublin the students lived in their rooms, and paid for them like other occupiers. If they lived in lodgings outside the walls of Trinity College they would still, if this clause were carried, be entitled to vote; and there was no just reason why they should be disqualified because they happened to live within the College precincts.

MR. CROPPER opposed the clause, and expressed his regret that he was absent from the division last night with regard to the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge. He saw no reason why students, if qualified in respect of age and occupancy, should not be allowed to vote. The disqualification was unreasonable, and would act unjustly. For instance, two young men of the same age might pursue different paths in life. One might serve behind a counter, live in lodgings, and have a vote; the other might wish to improve his mind and study at a University, in which case he would be disqualified from voting. That seemed to him entirely unreasonable.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he was not surprised that the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had moved this Motion without a word. So sincere a Liberal as he believed the hon. and learned Member to be could not speak in favour of so illiberal a proposal without pain. If the Attorney General had not last night made two speeches directly contradictory of each other, the Motion disqualifying students at Oxford and Cambridge would not have been carried. He and other hon. Members left the House after hearing the Attorney General's first speech under the distinct impression that Her Majesty's Government intended not to accept the Motion. He deeply regretted the course taken last night by Her Majesty's Government, and he hoped that they would offer a firm resistance to-day to the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, that last night the Attorney General expressed the opinion that, as undergraduates would not be entitled to vote as the law now stood, it was unnecessary to make a declaration of the law in the Bill. After considerable discussion had taken place, his hon. and learned Friend said that he would not be prepared to negative a clause which asserted what he believed to be the law of the land. He did not think, therefore, the Attorney General

could be accused of any inconsistency. The view they held on this subject was that a student at a University had nothing to do with politics. He was placed at the University, *in statu pupillari*, for the purpose of education; and it was their opinion, as well as that of University authorities, that it was undesirable, on the ground of public policy, to introduce the element of politics. It was entirely, therefore, on educational grounds that he was in favour of the Motion made last night; and he should support the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan, because he believed that the laws of the two countries on this subject should be identical.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR pointed out that up to the last Register there were over 300 students of Trinity College who had votes. His hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath had succeeding in reducing that number to about 100, because many of the students "chummed together." The distinction of joint qualification had been abolished, and so the number of students having votes in Trinity College would be largely increased. Perhaps by the energy which the Conservative Party in Dublin had always shown the number might be increased to 500 or 600. The question was simply this—Was the House, which had for purely academic reasons disfranchised the students of Oxford and Cambridge, going to enfranchise the students of Trinity College, Dublin, for political reasons?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, that, as the rule that students should not be allowed to vote had been applied to Oxford and Cambridge, the question was whether it should be also applied to Dublin. It seemed to him that every argument that applied to Oxford and Cambridge applied equally to Dublin. Even if he laid himself open to the charge of inconsistency with Liberal principles, he should vote as he voted last night on the Amendment, as he could not see the justice of adopting one principle in the case of an English and another in that of an Irish University.

DR. CAMERON said, that when the Franchise Bill was introduced there was in the Press of Scotland an extraordinary unanimity in the opinion that Ireland should be excluded from the operation of the Act; and he believed he was the first Member sitting for a Scotch constituency who made this the subject of his address, and urged in the strongest terms he was capable of that Ireland should be included, on the ground of its being a simple measure of justice. That being so, he thought he was entitled to be credited with having his action guided, not by any fear or desire with regard to any particular election, but by principle. But in the consideration of this matter it should be remembered that there was a third country embraced in the United Kingdom, and that was Scotland, and there they had no proposal in the Registration Bill such as the one with regard to England, and the one now proposed for Ireland. In Scotland students would be entitled to vote, and if, as he hoped, Halls would be established, and the students residing within them should be held by the judicial interpreters of the law to be qualified, they would be entitled to vote under the Scottish Registration Act. Therefore, if they proposed to apply a similar law to the Three Kingdoms they should include a similar clause to the one under discussion in the Scottish Registration Bill. He entirely dissented from the view that, on grounds of public policy, it was for the advantage of the country that students should be prevented from taking part in political affairs. In Scotland the students took a particularly lively interest in political affairs, and politics entered very largely into the constant recurrence of the election of Lord Rector, and in nine cases out of ten they were chosen from eminent men. The students on these occasions engaged in political matters, and they obtained the advantage of hearing the orations of some of the greatest orators of the day. He objected altogether to this grandmotherly care of students. Hon. Members who wished to disfranchise the students of Dublin University appeared to lose sight of the fact that they had strenuously urged—and, he hoped, obtained—the establishment of some University conducted entirely in accordance with their views; but if this clause were introduced those students would also be disqualified. [*Irish cheers.*] Hon. Members cheered that; but he doubted if they saw the force of the application of the principle in the one case as deeply as they did in the other. The

possession of the franchise was a right and not a privilege; and he thought the House ought not, therefore, to impose any disability on any people or any special class of persons, but should leave the Courts to decide who was in possession of the requisite qualifications and allow him to vote as he chose. In a Session devoted to enfranchisement it appeared to him to come with a bad grace from the Representatives of a country whose population had been so widely enfranchised.

MR. J. LOWTHER remarked that those hon. Members who, regardless of apparent Party interest, had vindicated Liberal principles had not stood alone in their treatment of the question, for the late Mr. Fawcett said he would support a proposal to enfranchise undergraduates, even if he knew that the vast majority of the votes thus conferred would be given in favour of Conservative candidates. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General had spoken of the necessity of proving his consistency by voting to-day exactly as he voted last night; but he might observe that the present proposal was somewhat different from that brought forward yesterday, inasmuch as it would disqualify not only resident undergraduates, but also Bachelors of Arts. The Representation of the People Act was an enfranchising Act; but the present proposal was essentially one for disfranchisement. No properly constituted University authority had pronounced an opinion in favour of this monstrous proposition.

MR. BRYCE said, he mentioned yesterday that the Hebdomadal Council of the University of Oxford had recently passed a resolution to the effect that it would be subversive of discipline to allow undergraduates to vote at Parliamentary elections.

MR. J. LOWTHER went on to say that the question to be considered was whether they should, for the first time, introduce into an Act of Parliament a disqualifying clause of this kind for the purpose of disfranchising the occupiers of College rooms on the distinct ground that they were already represented by the Members for the University. The present proposal was illogical from every point of view; and if it were carried the adult undergraduate would be the only human being living under the Constitution of the Queen who was entirely debarred from the exercise of Constitutional rights.

MR. BUCHANAN said, his hon. Friend (Dr. Cameron) had referred to the case of Scotland; but everyone who knew anything about the Scottish Universities knew that there were no students who lived within the walls of those Universities. His hon. Friend had alluded to the possibility that there might hereafter be University Halls in Scotland; but he was not aware that there had ever been any serious proposal to that effect. He was clearly of opinion that the same rule ought to be applied to those who might live in Scottish University Halls as to English or Irish students. Could it be alleged that these students had any interest in the cities of Oxford or Dublin? They would be in those constituencies a totally foreign element. He had heard his hon. Friend declaim in equally vigorous language as to the foreign element which had been imported into the constituency of Peebles and other Scottish counties; and those students, he considered, would be an equally foreign element in the burgh constituencies. If they adopted this Amendment they would undoubtedly be departing from the principle of one man one vote, because they would be giving a double vote to many of those students. He was sure, if the House would only look at this question apart from Party considerations, and would consider the interests of the Universities and of the students themselves, they could come to only one conclusion on that subject. He looked at the matter primarily and solely in the interests of the Universities, and of the due maintenance of discipline in the Universities; and he certainly should vote for the Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS pointed out that the Prime Minister, in introducing the Reform Bill, said what he desired to do was to give the franchise to all capable citizens. Where would the right hon. Gentleman find more capable citizens than men who had been trained for the University, and who must have stayed there probably for two years before they could enjoy the franchise? The hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Buchanan) had said these students would have a double

qualification; but that was just exactly what they would not have. He ventured to say that 99 out of every 100 of these students would be men who had no vote elsewhere. They were the sons of other people, and the only votes they would have would be in respect of the chambers they occupied. There was another objection to this proposal that was equally strong. When the Prime Minister brought forward the Franchise Bill, he stated that no one was to be disfranchised under it; and in Committee the Postmaster General admitted that the Government were precluded from voting for the Amendment, since in doing so they would be infringing the rule laid down by the Prime Minister. Even if the Universities did object, he maintained that after the House had declared that every capable citizen should have a vote they were going beyond their province in venturing to recommend that undergraduates should be disqualified. He regretted the vote which had been given last night with reference to the Oxford and Cambridge Universities; but the question as to the University of Dublin stood on a totally different footing, because, while the students at Oxford and Cambridge had not the right to vote, the students of Dublin University had. He called upon the Government to stand by their declarations made openly in that House, and concluded by stating that if the Amendment were carried, he would, on the third reading, move the re-committment of the Bill in order to raise the question again.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that as his name was on the back of the Bill he should like to say a few words, although he was not in a position to speak with authority on behalf of the Government. Since the debate in Committee a good deal had taken place, and the whole question had assumed a different aspect. Personally, he had not been able to take the same view as some of his hon. Friends on that side of the House, and as some Members of the Government had done. His contention—and he did not see how it could be overset—was that if young men occupied rooms, or in any other way possessed qualifications which would be valid if they were not students, they ought not to be deprived of the franchise because they were students. That principle was simple and universal in its application. If these students were not duly qualified, that would be settled by the Courts. He did not pay much attention to what had been said about breaches of discipline. As to Oxford and Cambridge, they were reduced to this ludicrous position—that that which was to upset discipline in the case of an undergraduate living in a College was to be harmless if he lived in lodgings. Those who lived in lodgings were subjected to more discipline than those who lived in a College; and it had been remarked to him that one of the advantages of living in a College was that you were able to sit up all night. From Ireland there had come no expression of authoritative opinion that discipline would be involved. The House had removed the restrictions on the enfranchisement of those who lived in College in Oxford and Cambridge, except in the case of undergraduates. This was not disfranchising anybody, but enfranchising a class, with an exception. Now, the House was dealing with a class who, by the decision of the Supreme Courts, was qualified. He was in favour of leaving the franchise to all who had the proper legal qualification. If these students were duly qualified, do not let the House interpose an artificial disqualification.

LORD ELCHO said, he was perfectly amazed on reading the papers this morning to observe the decision which the House came to last night, because he was one of those who did not come down to the House because they believed it would be actually impossible that the Government, which in a full House allowed a clause to be added to the Bill, enfranchising the students at Oxford and Cambridge, would in a small House, without protest, allow that decision to be revoked. Not only that, but when he came down to the House to-day he found the only argument brought forward by hon. Members in favour of disfranchising the Irish students was that because they had done a wrong to the members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge they must extend that wrong to the members of the University of Dublin. The arguments advanced against giving students votes, that undergraduates were wandering gipsies or birds of passage, and that their having the franchise would be detrimental to the discipline of the Uni-

versities, seemed to him to be of a very flimsy kind. The argument as to their being birds of passage was a bad one. It applied to other classes as well, for they knew both in England and Scotland colliers came and lived in a place for a month, got qualified, and were brought up to vote at School Board elections. The hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) said students had not only no abiding interest in the place, but they took no part in local politics. He (Lord Elcho) thought there was no matter, either social or political, in which the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge did not take a prominent and beneficial part. Their activity might not always be well considered or reasonable; but that objection was not applied to other classes—as, for instance, those who pulled down park railings. It was impossible to believe that this action was not due to Party motives.

LORD EDWARD CAVENDISH said, that in Committee he voted in favour of continuing votes to Dublin undergraduates; but last night he came to the conclusion that it was not expedient that votes should be conferred on the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge. Holding the opinion that it was not expedient that there should be any difference between England and Ireland, and adhering to the conclusion he formed last night, he was not prepared now to give a vote in opposition to that he gave last night.

MR. SEXTON said, the last speech deserved the recognition of every fair-minded man in the House, exhibiting as it did a right application of that logic which, in the hands of the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire, became a terrible weapon indeed. The House had decided last night that students of Oxford and Cambridge Universities were not capable citizens; and, therefore, what was the meaning of asking whether a student at Trinity College, Dublin, was or was not a capable citizen? The question now before the House was simply whether they should give to students on one side of the Irish Channel a franchise which was denied to students on the other side of that Channel. Irish Members only asked that the decision given by the House last night with reference to a certain class of persons at Oxford and Cambridge Universities should be extended to the University of Dublin; and the effect of its rejecting the present Amendment would be to complete the "jerrymandering" of a certain portion of the City of Dublin.

MR. BRYCE said, he was one of those who, having voted yesterday for the Amendment excluding undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge from the Parliamentary franchise, felt bound to apply the same principle to-day to the case of the University of Dublin. He might point out that undergraduates were only allowed to use the College rooms for three years from the age of 19; that they did not acquire the right to vote until they were 21; and that thus they could not have this vote for more than one year. In these circumstances he did not think it so very important that for one year they should not be registered. All the arguments which supported the decision arrived at last night with regard to undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge appeared to him to hold equally good in respect to the University of Dublin; and he thought that they would belie the professions which they frequently made of their wish to have equal laws for the Three Kingdoms if they did not apply the same rule in that matter to both English and Irish University students. For this reason he should vote for the Amendment.

MR. HARRINGTON supported the Amendment, contending that it would prevent what amounted to an abuse of the franchise. The effect of the rejection of the Amendment in the case of Dublin University would be to still further aggravate the "jerrymandering" of a partizan Boundary Commission in their division of the city. As to the argument that the Representation of the People Bill was an enfranchising and not a disfranchising measure, he pointed out that that Bill had the incidental effect of actually disfranchising a large number of persons who were already upon the Register; and he could not see why they should enable a student, by mere residence in a College, to have a vote which he would not otherwise possess. He reminded Irish Conservative Members that whatever provision remained in the Bill in favour of students of Trinity College, Dublin, would have to be extended to those of Maynooth; and he asked them how they would like to see 600 clerical students walking out

of Maynooth College and completely out-voting the electors of the district where that Institution was situated? He believed that if the Amendment was not accepted, every principle of justice and fair play would be set aside, and the decision would be highly detrimental to the interests of such a constituency as Dublin.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 87; Noes 190: Majority 103.—(Div. List, No. 187.)

MR. HEALY, in moving the following new clause:—

"The lists of voters in boroughs shall be made out by streets, and not alphabetically, and in counties said lists shall be made out as far as possible as in boroughs,"

said, that he moved this clause in consequence of a promise which had been given by the English Attorney General upon the English Bill of the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who said that he would support a proposal of this kind.

New Clause (Lists to be made out by streets,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that a great deal could be said on both sides. Some persons were very much in favour of the alphabetical arrangement. He would consider the matter.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS was bound to say that the matter had been brought to his notice by a person who had had considerable experience. He would be in favour of having the matter left optional with the Local Authorities.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that such an Amendment could not be accepted. He had, however, no objection to give boroughs an option as to the manner in which the lists should be made out; and if a Bill dealing with the subject were introduced the Government would entertain it.

MR. HEALY said, that in withdrawing the Amendment he should say that he believed the promise given by the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly delusive.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

New Clause (Power to alter wards in Dublin and Belfast,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that the gist of this suggestion was good; but he could not see how they could deal with it in this Bill. The wards were for municipal, and not Parliamentary elections, and, therefore, could not be touched here.

Motion and Clause, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. HEALY moved the following new clause:—

"Where any person claiming to occupy or to have occupied as owner or tenant any dwelling-house, lands, or tenements, shall show that such premises are subject to an outstanding tenancy, and that he was, during the whole of the qualifying period, in the occupation of such premises, exercising dominion over them, and paying the rent thereof, such person shall be deemed to have been in occupation of said premises as tenant, and it shall not be necessary for him to show that said outstanding tenancy had legally become vested in him."

He said his object was to provide that the real person who paid the rates should have his name on the list of voters. It was the custom in Ireland to give the receipt for rent to the widow of a deceased man; and, consequently, the actual occupier of the house or land was frequently excluded from the franchise.

New Clause (Presumption in favour of occupying tenant,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. LEWIS said, there was a good deal of subtilty in the legal phraseology of this clause. Its effect would be to create numbers of sham voters by putting non-qualified parties on the list. For instance, a man who was living with his mother, if his was the hand by which she paid the rent, might claim under this clause to be placed on the list of voters. Even if he stood alone, he should think it necessary to divide the House against it.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the object of the hon. Member was already

achieved by other provisions of the Bill. The Government could not accept the clause. There were many evils to which it would lead. The clause went so far that the mere receipt for the rent would entitle a man to a vote, whether he occupied the premises or not.

MR. SEXTON supported the Amendment, and said that any proposal which would give the franchise to the people was opposed by the hon. Member for Derry and his Friends.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, there were often efforts made by the sons of widows to get the mother's farm into their own hands, and the result most frequently was that the old woman had to go to the workhouse.

MR. HARRINGTON said, on the other hand, there were many cases in which the female tenant was desirous of having her son on the Register, and at present could not accomplish it.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, he foresaw a legal difficulty in collecting the rates if this Amendment were passed. The man on the rate book might refuse to pay the rates, on the ground that he was not the occupier.

MR. HEALY: If he did not pay the rate he would not get the franchise.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. HEALY proposed a new clause, providing that a technical breach of a tenancy during the qualifying period of occupation should not disqualify a person claiming to be placed on the Register. The clause was intended to meet the case, which was only too common in Ireland, of a man being ousted from his holding for a short period, in order to deprive him of the franchise.

New Clause:—

(Technical breach of tenancy shall not disqualify.)

"Where any person claiming to occupy or to have occupied a dwelling-house, lands, or tenements, was evicted from such premises during the qualifying period of occupation, but was subsequently reinstated in the possession of same, such person shall be deemed, notwithstanding such eviction, to have been in occupation of said premises during the whole of the qualifying period if he can show that he has paid the poor rates for such qualifying period," —(*Mr. Healy,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that, according to the Amendment, a man might be out of possession for 11 months and 29 days, and have the franchise.

MR. HEALY suggested the insertion of the words "by writ of restitution" after "reinstated."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) agreed to support the clause if it were amended so as to exclude the case in which an evicted tenant was reinstated in his holding as an act of grace. He suggested that words should be placed in the Amendment making it clear that the clause was only to apply to tenants reinstated in their holdings in consequence of the payment by them of their rents within the period of redemption.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In line 2, after the word "premises," by inserting the words "for non-payment of rent."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In line 3, after the word "reinstated," by inserting the words "by writ of restitution."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

CROFTERS HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE (for The LORD ADVOCATE) moved for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the law relating to the tenure of land by crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and for other purposes relating thereto. [SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: No, no!] It is for the purpose of the arrangement which was made in a full House the other day.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I understand the arrangement was that the Bill was to be introduced, accompanied by a statement, to-morrow.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes; at an early hour. Of course, if this Motion is objected to, it can only be done at 3 o'clock in the morning.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Then I withdraw my objection.

MR. WARTON: I do not; I object.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman still object?

MR. WARTON: Yes; I object to, any step whatever being taken on this Bill.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The second Business to-morrow will be the Irish Registration Bill; and the third Business, now that the Crofters' Bill has been objected to, will be the Telegraphs Acts Amendment Bill; and the fourth Order will be the East India Loan Bill.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE: What does the noble Lord (Lord Richard Grosvenor) propose to do about the Crofters Bill?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: It will be put down in the proper place to-morrow; and, if not too late, we will proceed with it then.

TITHE RENT EXTRAORDINARY LIMITATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DANIEL GRANT, Bill for the Limitation of Extraordinary Tithe, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DANIEL GRANT, Sir EDWARD WATKIN, Mr. DUCKHAM, and Mr. BORLASE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 177.]

LAND (COMPULSORY REGISTRATION OF INCUMBRANCES) BILL.

On Motion of Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Bill for compulsory Registration of Incumbrances, with a view of facilitating the sale of agricultural land, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HARCOURT, Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Mr. CHARLES ROUNDELL, and Mr. STAVELEY HILL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 178.]

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TRANSFER OF REGISTRY, &C.) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HOLMS, Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Acts by making better provision for the Registry of British Ships, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 179.]

NATIONAL PROVIDENT INSURANCE.

Select Committee on National Provident Insurance *nominated* of,—Mr. STUART-WORTLEY, Mr. STANHOPE, Mr. MARJORIBANKS, Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Mr. WILLIAM LOWTHER, Mr. CHARLES JAMES, Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, Mr. RANKIN, Mr. JOHN HOLLOND, Mr. HEALY, Mr. JOHN MORLEY, Mr. PELL, and Sir HERBERT MAXWELL, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 14th May, 1885.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Motion for Leave*—Crofters Holdings (Scotland), *debate adjourned.*

Ordered—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders *; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2).*

Ordered—First Reading—Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) * [180]; Tithe Rent Charge Redemption * [181].

Second Reading—Sporting Lands Rating (Scotland) [3].

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) * [116].

Considered as amended—Re-comm.—Committee—Report — Considered as amended — Third Reading — Registration of Voters (Ireland) [150], and *passed.*

Third Reading—East India Unclaimed Stocks * [125], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL.

THIRD READING POSTPONED.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, that a Bill under a similar title was before the House last year; and he wished to know whether the present Bill gave further powers to the same Company? It would be remembered that last year there was considerable discussion with regard to certain questionable transactions in reference to this Company; and, unless an explanation could be given, he thought it would be desirable to postpone the final stage of the Bill.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER said, he was not able to explain the provisions of the Bill; but, as an objection had

been taken, he was prepared to postpone the further consideration of the question until to-morrow.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

QUESTIONS.

—o—

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—UNJUST CONVICTIONS — CASE OF JOSEPH AND CHARLES DICKSON.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is contemplated to give any indemnity to the two men, Joseph and Charles Dickson, who were respectively sentenced last November, at Bishops Stortford, to five years' penal servitude, and to eighteen months' hard labour, for an aggravated assault, on the evidence of a policeman, and who now have been released; and, whether it is intended to take any steps against the policeman?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he had carefully examined into the circumstances of this case, and had come to the conclusion that they did not justify the steps indicated in his Question by the hon. Member being taken. It was simply a case of mistaken identity.

NAVY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—NAVAL VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Admiralty has sanctioned any scheme for the organization of corps of Naval Volunteer Artillery; and, if so, whether there is any prospect of the movement being allowed to assume a practical shape within the present year?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Admiral Vesey Hamilton has been directed by the Admiralty to organize a general scheme of coast defence by naval means. It will be part of his task to consider what duties should be assigned to the Naval Artillery Volunteers, and how far assistance may be necessary or desirable in the form of a capitation grant. Admiral Hamilton will report on the subject, and a decision will be given by the Admiralty as soon as we have his recommendations before us.

EGYPT (THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN) MILITARY OPERATIONS—THE HOSPITAL AT SUAKIN.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will ascertain if it is true that the Auxiliary Hospital on Quarantine Island at Suakin stands on an old burial ground, and that great sickness prevails there just now in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation; and, if so, whether he will at once take steps to have it removed to a more suitable position?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There is a hospital on Quarantine Island. The site has been selected by the authorities on the spot; but when it was first suggested I had doubts as to the salubrity of an island which had contained a burial ground. I therefore telegraphed an inquiry to Suakin, and received in reply a telegram, to the effect that the position on the island was most healthy. For six years scarcely an interment has taken place on the island; and it does not appear from the Reports received that, as compared with the rest of the station, the island is exceptionally unhealthy.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked, if it was not true that great sickness prevailed there recently, and that it was increasing?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, no. The last medical Report received showed that there was not an exceptional amount of sickness. He thought the sick rate was from 4 to 7 per cent; but, no doubt, owing to the heat of the weather, the sickness had been increasing. From the Reports he had received he had no reason to think that sickness was exceptional. He was constantly making inquiries on the subject.

ARMY—ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—STEEL-WIRE GUNS.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, If the experiment at Woolwich, of making guns on the steel-wire system, has been tested; whether it has been made under the direction of the inventor, or by men unacquainted with its first principles; whether a 21-ton gun made at Elswick on this principle, though not in the best form, has proved to be more

powerful, by 30 per cent., than the 25-ton gun; and, whether it is intended to continue the manufacture of steel-wire guns by the Department?

MR. BRAND: A howitzer of 10-inch calibre and a gun of 9·2-inch calibre, both partly constructed of steel wire, have been ordered for trial on the recommendation of the Ordnance Committee. The guns are being made under the orders of the responsible officers of the Department, who are thoroughly acquainted with the principles involved. The gun apparently referred to by the hon. Member in the third part of his inquiry, as having been made at Elswick, is about of equal power with the 25-ton gun of the Service. As regards future manufacture, this must entirely depend upon the results obtained in the experimental trials.

IRELAND—PORT OF BALLYSHANNON—WRECK OF THE "ROCKABILL."

MR. SEXTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, with regard to the impediment and danger to navigation caused by the wreck of the steamship *Rockabill* lying since the 25th of last July in the fair way of the river entrance to the port of Ballyshannon, Whether he has been made aware that the Town Commissioners of Ballyshannon refrained from taking earlier action in the matter because a Company, having purchased the wreck, were making efforts to float it, and, after these efforts had failed, because time was occupied by the owners in clearing the wreck of what it contained, and because communications were proceeding between the owners and the Board of Irish Lights, with the view, on the part of the Board, that they should get control of the wreck; whether, having obtained control, the Board did nothing further; whether, there being no indication on the part of the Board of Lights of any intention to remove the wreck, the Town Commissioners, on the 8th of April, urged the Board to proceed, and, on the 10th of April, memorialised the Board of Trade to the like effect; whether it is a fact that the Board of Lights gave no reply to the letter of the Town Commissioners; whether, in reference to the statement of the Board of Lights, that they intend to await a report from their Inspecting Committee, after the ordinary annual tour, upon the ground that they "have been given to understand that steps were being taken to constitute a local harbour authority for the port," the Town Commissioners have informed the Board of Trade, by letter of the 7th instant, that "there is no likelihood of such an authority being formed," and that "any further delay in the removal of the wreck would be highly detrimental to the interests of the port;" whether the wreck will now be removed; and, whether, with regard to the statement of the Board of Lights that they "have no knowledge" of the wreck off Mount Charles, "it having never been reported to them," they will treat the question put in this House on the 4th instant as information upon which they should proceed?

MR. J. HOLMS (for Mr. CHAMBERLAIN), in reply, said, a letter was received by the Board of Trade on the 11th instant from the Town Commissioners of Ballyshannon on the subject, informing them that, the wreck of the *Rockabill* having been abandoned by the owners, tenders had been invited for effecting its removal. As there was no prospect of the harbour works being proceeded with, it was purposed by the Local Authorities to apply to the Board of Trade for a moiety of the cost of removing the obstruction. He was informed by the Irish Lights Commissioners that *bonâ fide* tenders had been given to the Company referred to for the work.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (GREAT BRITAIN)—THE REPORT FOR 1884.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he could facilitate the preparation of the English and Scotch Lunacy Reports, which last year were not delivered until the 9th and 29th August respectively?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he would do all in his power to facilitate the production of the information; but he was afraid that it would take some time, and that they could not be delivered before July.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (IRELAND)—THE REPORT FOR 1884.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If anything can be done to expedite the preparation of the Irish Lunacy

Report, which last year was not delivered till the 20th September?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: The Inspectors inform me that the printing of the usual tables is now in hand, and that they will expedite the publication of their Report as much as possible.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—GREYSTONES HARBOUR WORKS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any steps can be taken to proceed with the Greystones Harbour Works before the season gets further advanced?

MR. HIBBERT: The hon. Member is probably aware of the formalities required by the Statute before these works can be actually commenced. Those formalities cannot be completed until the end of June. Meanwhile, however, the contract plans are in progress, and tenders will be called for at the end of this month.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—UNION OF OMAGH—MR. ROBERT S. CLEMENTS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Robert S. Clements, of Curr, Beragh, in the county of Tyrone, is an ex-officio guardian of the poor for the union of Omagh; whether he is also an elected guardian for Dervaghroy electoral division of the same union; in which capacity (whether as ex-officio or elected guardian) does he vote at the meetings of the board; and, if in the capacity of an ex-officio, why the electoral division of Dervaghroy is obliged to remain disfranchised; whether the clerk of the union in making his return of the guardians elected on the 25th March last was aware that Mr. Clements was returned on the ex-officio list in September previous; and, if so, why he returned him as elected guardian for the Dervaghroy division; and, did he (the clerk) notify the Local Government Board that Mr. Clements was on the ex-officio list?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is quite lawful for a person to act in the dual capacity of elected and *ex officio* Guardian, provided he does not give two votes. The Clerk to the Union fulfilled his duty in this case by returning the person elected. The choice of the individual rests with the electors.

IRELAND — COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION — APPOINTMENT OF MR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON AS ASSISTANT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What experience in teaching had Mr. William Robertson before being appointed Assistant Inspector of Schools; whether the Commissioners of Irish National Education are aware of the dissatisfaction felt by the teachers of the Londonderry group of districts at the unnecessary severity of his examinations; whether he is in the habit of telling high-classed teachers, in the presence of their pupils, that they do not know how to teach the subjects of the school programme; and, have the District Inspectors frequently cancelled his markings at Results Examinations, and passed whole classes that he has marked as failed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that Mr. Robertson had 15 years' experience as a monitor and teacher, and was a first class teacher at the time of his appointment as Assistant Inspector. As regards the rest of the Question, the Commissioners have no knowledge of any such circumstances. If any specific case is reported to them they are quite ready to institute inquiry.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—COUNTY DOWN LUNATIC ASYLUM—SURCHARGE ON GOVERNORS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If in March last year the Local Government Board Auditor, Major Studdert, surcharged five governors of the County Down Lunatic Asylum in the sum of £100 sterling; and, whether such surcharge has yet been paid; and, if not, can the Local Government Board give any reason, after the lapse of more than one year, for not enforcing the payment of the said surcharge of £100 sterling?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It appears that the Auditor surcharged seven Governors of this Asylum in the sum mentioned, which they had paid to the County Surveyor for services as an architect. He did so believing that the County Surveyor was not entitled to payment for his work; but he now informs the Local Government Board that

he did not proceed for recovery of the amount surcharged, as he found he could not enforce the payment.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—COUNTY DOWN LUNATIC ASYLUM—RESIDENCE AND ATTENDANCE OF GOVERNORS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it be a fact that some governors of the County Down Lunatic Asylum do not reside in the county Down, but live in remote counties; if some governors have never attended the asylum since they have been appointed governors, while other governors have not attended on an average twice yearly; whether such non-attending governors will be removed; and, will he produce the number of times the various governors attended the Board meetings at the asylum for the five years previous to and ending the 31st day of December 1884?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I believe that some of the Governors of this Asylum do not actually reside in the county, although they are connected with it, and that some never attend the Board meetings, and others rarely. The appointment is an honorary one, and the non-fulfilment of the duty of attending would not be a sufficient reason for resorting to the extreme course suggested by the hon. Member. The Lord Lieutenant can always strengthen a Board when that is considered necessary. The hon. Member will find details of the attendance of the Governors of these Boards in the annual Reports of the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums.

MR. W. J. CORBET: Suppose none of the Governors attend, what happens?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Then there is no attendance.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROSECUTION OF MR. DANIEL RYAN, OF DOON, COUNTY LIMERICK, FOR RE-ENTRY AFTER EVICTION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the circumstances under which Mr. Daniel Ryan, of Doon, county Limerick, and his wife have been prosecuted under the Crimes Act; is it the fact that Mr. Ryan's mother, Mrs. Mary Ryan, an old woman of ninety years of age, was on 16th April evicted from her farm at Carrigbeg, on the property of Major Hare; was she carried out on a pallet, in a dying condition, by emergency bailiffs, after she had just received the last sacraments from the Rev. Patrick O'Donnell, and cast on the roadside, in a bitter wind, despite the entreaties and protest of the clergyman; did the dispensary medical officer of the district, who visited her shortly after the eviction, certify that she was unfit to be removed to hospital, and ordered a nurse to be provided for her; did the relieving officer, finding her in danger of death, order her removal to the adjoining house, and, acting on the recommendation of the doctor, appoint her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Daniel Ryan, to act as nurse; was the nurse so appointed, with her husband, prosecuted under the Crimes Act on a charge of forcible entry, for remaining in attendance upon the dying woman; at whose instance was the prosecution instituted, and what has been the result; and, will any steps be taken to prevent the Crimes Act from being put to such uses?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have not yet received full Reports to enable me to answer this Question, and shall be glad if the hon. Member will defer putting it until Monday next.

INLAND REVENUE—THE SPIRIT DUTIES—UNEQUAL INCIDENCE UPON IRISH AND SCOTCH TRADERS WITH RESPECT TO ENGLISH.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can state any reason why the anomalous and inequitable distinction is maintained in favour of English spirit merchants or dealers which permits a trader in England, who has taken out a ten guineas spirit licence, to obtain a further licence at a cost of three guineas, and under such second licence to sell spirits in bottles and smaller quantities than two gallons, not to be consumed on the premises, whilst this latter facility is denied to Irish and Scotch spirit merchants?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the seller of spirits (other than a licensed victualler) has, in one respect, advan-

tages in England over Ireland and Scotland; and, in another respect, he has advantages in Ireland and Scotland over England. On the one hand, a licence to retail spirits costs much less in Ireland and Scotland than in England. In Ireland, the minimum rate is £9 18*s.* 5*d.*, and in Scotland £4 4*s.*, whereas in England it is £13 13*s.* On the other hand, the wholesale spirit dealer, wishing to be also a retail dealer, pays more in Ireland and Scotland than in England. In England he only pays the sum I have named—£13 13*s.*—whereas in Ireland and Scotland he pays £10 10*s.*, besides the retail licence, the minimum rates of which I have also mentioned. The wholesale dealer, who does not retail, pays the same—£10 10*s.*—in each part of the United Kingdom. I admit that the whole of these licences are anomalous; but I am indisposed to undertake their re-adjustment in the present Session.

INLAND REVENUE—STAMP DUTIES UPON FOREIGN BONDS.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the definition of the term Foreign Security, in the Resolution with regard to Stamp Duties, includes a Colonial Government Security?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my right hon. Friend I have to say that British, Colonial, and Foreign Securities transferable to bearer will alike be liable to the new duty.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JUDICIAL ARRANGEMENTS AT LISBURN.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that a proclamation has been posted constituting Lisburn a Quarter Sessions district, with jurisdiction many miles beyond the town of Belfast, and also very near to the Quarter Sessions of Antrim; and, whether he will have the boundaries of the proposed district reconsidered, with a view to have the proposed district made more in accordance with the convenience of the public?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Lisburn has merely been constituted an additional place for holding a Civil Bill Court in the division in which it is situated. It is considered that this will be an additional convenience to the public, who have extensively memorialized in favour of the step. Suitors will now have a choice of three Courts instead of two, as before.

NAVY—PROTECTION OF KINGSTOWN HARBOUR, IRELAND—THE GUARDSHIP "BELLEISLE."

MR. ION HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is intended to deprive Kingstown Harbour for any prolonged period of the presence of the guardship usually stationed there; and, if so, whether any additional provision would be made for affording, in the event of a war, further protection to that harbour and to the Port of Dublin?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The *Belleisle* is at Devonport under repair. When completed for sea the ship will be again stationed at Kingstown. In the event of war, the necessary steps will be taken by the Government for the defence of Kingstown and Dublin.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE SLIGO HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS—MEMORIAL FOR EXTENSION OF TIME FOR REPAYMENT OF LOAN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, What decision has been come to by the Treasury with respect to the Memorial of January last from the Sligo Harbour Commissioners, for extension of time for repayment of loan, postponement of instalments of principal, and lowering of rate of interest?

MR. HIBBERT: I have already explained to the hon. Member that interest on the existing loans to the Sligo Harbour Commissioners is fixed at the lowest rate legally possible, and therefore cannot be reduced. The decision as to postponing repayments of principal and prolonging the period for them must depend on the willingness of the Harbour Commissioners to improve the security they have to offer by their taking steps to effect a proper re-adjustment of their tolls. The Board of Works were authorized on the 9th instant to communicate with the Harbour Commissioners in this sense.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—ABANDONMENT OF SCHEMES BY BOARDS OF GUARDIANS.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that several Boards of Guardians in Ireland have abandoned their schemes for the building of labourers' cottages in their Unions, owing to his reply regarding the reduced rate of interest on loans for that purpose; and, if so, whether he will get the Treasury to allow the new rate of interest to come into operation at once, so as not to stand in the way of the building of those cottages?

MR. HIBBERT: I have made inquiries, but cannot learn that any Board of Guardians has recently abandoned a scheme for labourers' cottages; some, however, may have temporarily suspended operations. I regret the delay in proceeding with the Bill; but the opposition to it does not proceed from this side of the House.

IRELAND — INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE—MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, INSPECTOR OF FISHERIES.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the case, as appears in the correspondence published in the Irish newspapers of the 12th instant, that Mr. William Johnston, Inspector of Irish Fisheries, has been called upon by the Lord Lieutenant to resign his appointment on account of certain expressions used by him in a speech delivered at a sitting of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland; whether the undertaking required from Mr. Johnston last year to refrain from public discussion was not confined to meetings of a party and political character; whether meetings of the Synod of the Church of Ireland come under either of these designations; and, whether public servants, who are members of that Church, are to understand that participation in its proceedings will, for the future, render them liable to dismissal from office?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think the best answer I can give to the Question of the noble Viscount is to say that if he will move for the correspondence which has taken place between the Government and Mr. Johnston I shall be happy to produce it.

MR. LEWIS: Might I ask, will the letter and correspondence concerning his undertaking be included?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir.

MR. SEXTON asked, whether it was true that Mr. Johnston had declined to resign?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir.

MR. SEXTON asked, would the Lord Lieutenant let the matter rest there?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — BRANCH OFFICE AT WHITBY'S CROSS, CO. WEXFORD.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Postmaster General, If he will state the reasons why the Post Office authorities in Dublin will not consent to the establishment of a branch office at Whitby's Cross, Blackwater, county Wexford?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The reason for refusing the branch post office mentioned was that it was ascertained not to be necessary.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND — RUMOURED BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is any truth in the reports current in South Africa that Her Majesty's Government intend to take steps to establish a British Protectorate in Zululand, and that Sir Charles Warren, or some other representative of the Imperial Government, will shortly be employed in that special work?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: All I can say in reply to the right hon. Member is, that any reports of the character named in the Question are not based on any action taken by, or decision arrived at by, Her Majesty's Government.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will be good enough to lay upon the Table of the House an explanatory memorandum setting out, in familiar language, the financial effect of the several changes in the Law proposed in Parts II., III., and IV. of the Customs and Inland Re-

venue Bill, with a tabular statement exhibiting present and proposed Duties in these cases?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; I have directed a Memorandum to be prepared, and I will lay it upon the Table, as to the proposals in Parts II. and III. of the Bill. Part IV. is quite simple, and no such Memorandum is, in my opinion, necessary.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—ALLEGED OVER-PRESSURE AT ADLINGTON NATIONAL SCHOOL, CHORLEY, LANCASHIRE—SUICIDE OF ELIZABETH FORSHAW.

GENERAL FEILDEN asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If there is any truth in a statement which lately appeared in a London newspaper to the effect that a young girl, named Elizabeth Forshaw, had committed suicide by drowning herself at Adlington, near Chorley, on account of over-work or harsh treatment at school?

MR. MUNDELLA: The statement in *The St. James's Gazette* to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman calls my attention was one of a highly sensational character. It stated, among other things, that the child Elizabeth Emma Forshaw drowned herself "owing to a surfeit of the blessings of education;" that "the jury returned a verdict that the deceased committed suicide owing to over-pressure;" and it commented in indignant and highly coloured language on the supposed causes of the child's death. I sent the case to Her Majesty's Inspector for the district, who at once instituted a careful inquiry. He reports that the jury returned a verdict of "Suicide when in a state of unsound mind," and expressed an opinion "that the child had been overworked." It appears that she was the daughter of a small dairyman at Adlington, near Chorley; that she worked in a cotton mill, and, being just under 13 years of age, attended the national school of the parish half time. She was in a low standard, had no home lessons, and neither she nor her parents made any complaint of her school work. But her companions state that she had complained of the harsh treatment received from the woman who employed her at the factory, and that she had threatened to drown herself "rather than go on working for that woman." In addition to her school work and factory work, it is alleged that she had a great deal of farmwork to do, carrying out milk, attending to the dairy, &c., and evidently was very hard worked and hard driven by those under whom she served. She was on her way to the mill, when she left her companions to drown herself. It is only just to the managers and teachers of Adlington National School to say that it is an excellent and well-conducted school, and that no blame whatever attaches to them in this sad case. I must add that this, apart from the harsh treatment referred to, is another illustration of the fact that more labour is exacted from English children of tender years than from almost any other children in Europe.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked, whether the child lived with her parents?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; and not only was the woman under whom she worked harsh to her, but her father was also harsh, and scolded her very severely, which preyed upon her mind. The child must have been very harshly treated to have made her commit suicide.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked, if the right hon. Gentleman would lay on the Table a copy of the finding of the jury?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had given the whole statement of the finding, and would be happy to show the newspaper report and the Inspector's Report to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, what he wanted was the Coroner's verdict.

MR. MUNDELLA thought it was hardly worth while troubling the House with that; but, if moved for, he would present it.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Then I will move for it.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he hoped the Report of the Inspector would be produced at the same time.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had no objection; but had desired to spare the parents pain.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE SPIRIT DUTIES.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government will, before the Debate on the proposed increase to the Duties on

Spirits, lay upon the Table a detailed statement of the calculations on which the estimate of a net produce of £900,000 from the addition is based, or will otherwise inform the House on the subject?

MR. HIBBERT: I believe it is contrary to precedent to give the exact figures on which a Revenue Estimate is framed; but I may repeat that the Estimate of increased yield of the Spirit Duty was arrived at by comparing the revenue derived from the quantity which would have paid the duty at the old rate with that to be received on the reduced quantity expected to be chargeable at the increased rate, due regard being paid to the other circumstances of the present year.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CONVICTION OF JAMES DANIEL, OF CLONEEN, CO. TIPPERARY, FOR ASSAULT ON HENRY MEAGHER.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that an emergency man named James Daniel, residing at Cloneen, county Tipperary, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment by the magistrates at Fethard for an assault of a most serious character in August on Henry Meagher, an evicted tenant, and that the police refused to take up the prosecution of Daniel, which Meagher was obliged to undertake himself; whether he is aware that Daniel appealed from the sentence, but that the County Court Judge held the appeal was not properly before him, and confirmed the sentence, whereupon Daniel obtained a mandamus from the Queen's Bench to compel a hearing of the appeal; that the appeal came on at Cashel on the 1st February, when Meagher stated he had not means to bring up the necessary witnesses; that the Crown solicitor then undertook that he would have this done; and that the appeal again came on at Tipperary on the 23rd April, when it was adjourned to the Sessions to be held at Clonmel in April; whether he can state why the constabulary refused to prosecute Daniel for an assault which involved grievous bodily injury to the person assaulted; why the Crown Solicitor did not take the usual steps to summon witnesses to support the decision of the court below; why the case was again adjourned at last Tipperary Sessions; and, whether steps will be taken to compensate Meagher for the expenses of the prosecution at Fethard and of the first appeal, which he had to pay, and also for the loss occasioned to him by the frequent attendances at court and adjournments?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The police did not prosecute in this case because the injuries inflicted appeared to be trifling, and the assault was not committed in their presence. The hearing of the appeal in the case has been twice adjourned—on the first occasion in consequence of an application of Meagher that the Crown Solicitor would take up his case, which was complied with; and on the second occasion in consequence of the sudden and serious illness of the solicitor on the other side. It now stands for next month. It is not the practice to pay to a private prosecutor the expenses incurred by him either at the first hearing or at the appeal, and there are no grounds for doing so in the present case.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: Will not the Crown Solicitor now prosecute?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; the Crown Solicitor has now taken up the case.

VACCINATION—SMALL-POX STATISTICS AT WEST HAM.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that, by a house-to-house visitation of 15,000 houses in West Ham, instituted by Dr. Kennedy, the local officer of health, it has been ascertained that the inhabitants are vaccinated in number up to the average of the Metropolis, and to the extent of ninety-eight per cent.; whether the rate of mortality from small pox is, in the last Registrar General's Return—

	Per Million.
For London (including its outer ring)	1,320
For West Ham alone (included in above). . .	5,132;

whether small pox is usually most frequent in quarters of the town otherwise unhealthy; and, whether he will make inquiry in this case into the existence of insanitary defects in sewers, &c. of which the inhabitants complain, and apply effective remedies to this zymotic epidemic?

COLONEL MAKINS asked whether the house-to-house visitation was not an informal one?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: I am not able to answer on that point. The answer to the first part of my hon. and learned Friend's Question is in the affirmative; but the recent Returns of the number of children vaccinated have been comparatively unsatisfactory. During the past six months, 105 deaths from small-pox have occurred in the Guardians' Hospital at Plaistow; and out of this number 76 were found to be unvaccinated, 21 imperfectly vaccinated, eight vaccinated, and none revaccinated. According to the Return of the Registrar General for the week ended 2nd of May, there were 23 deaths in the West Ham district, 19 of which were local cases; and in London, including the Outer Ring, there were, inclusive of 16 deaths of London residents in hospital outside London, 78 deaths. Small-pox is not usually most frequent in quarters of a town otherwise unhealthy, except in so far as the unhealthiness may be synonymous with overcrowding and want of isolation. Dr. de Chaumont recently visited West Ham, and has reported to the Board as follows:—

"The local system of sewers and drains is said to be well carried out as a whole; but the district appears to be increasing at a rate that will probably overtax the system as at present arranged."

We will look into this matter.

COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES — THE LOVAT PEERAGE—REMOVAL OF COFFIN PLATES FROM VAULT AT KIRKHALL.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Lord Advocate, If he has received a letter from the Reverend Ewen M'Kenzie, giving an account of the removal of the coffin plates from the Lovat Vault at Kirkhill; and, if he will communicate that account to the House?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have received a letter from the minister, and also further information from other sources, in regard to this matter. It appears that there were not two keys for the vault, but for a chapel through which access was obtained to it; as also that the only key for the vault was kept at the estate office, and sent to the minister that it might be available when Sir William Fraser came to make his visit. The minister states that he did not meet Sir William Fraser by appointment at the churchyard; but that Sir William called at the manse to obtain the key, as also that he did not accompany Sir William into the vault, and had no hand in taking the coffin plates to the manse, but only gave them house room there, as also that he had nothing to do with the replacing of the plates. The minister further states that in the whole matter he only extended to Sir William the common courtesy due to a man in his position and to a recognized friend of Lord Lovat.

EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—M. OLIVIER PAIN.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has made any further inquiries with respect to the alleged proclamation issued by the Commandant at Sarras, putting a price upon the head of Olivier Pain; and, whether, if the proclamation was really issued, the Government will follow the course adopted with regard to a similar proclamation issued about Osman Digna, and insist upon its immediate withdrawal?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE (who replied): Her Majesty's Government have no reason to believe that the report is true; but Sir Evelyn Baring will be instructed to make inquiries on the subject. All that is known at the Foreign Office is, that Sir Evelyn Baring reported, on May 5, that it was proposed to arrest Pain, and hand him over to the British Military Authorities as a prisoner of war. In reply, Sir Evelyn Baring was instructed on the same day that the arrest seemed unnecessary, and the police received orders accordingly. Sir Evelyn Baring requested Lord Wolseley to telegraph similar instructions to the Military Authorities. Pain is supposed to have left for Europe on May 10.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AMEER OF AFGHANISTAN.

MR. WILLIAMSON (for Sir ALEXANDER GORDON) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Papers which he proposes to lay upon the Table of the House with respect to Central Asia will contain the terms of any Treaty or Agreement recently concluded with the Ameer of Afghanistan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; the Papers will not contain anything of the kind.

SUPPLY—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN UPPER EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he would state approximately how much of the Vote of Credit of £4,500,000, for Military operations in the Soudan and Upper Egypt, has been spent or absorbed by liabilities which will have to be met?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend has asked me to answer this Question for him. Out of the total sum estimated as the liability already incurred for Army Services, the sum of about £2,500,000 is estimated as due to the operations in the Soudan and Upper Egypt.

MR. BRODRICK: Does that include any provision for the redemption of the paper money issued by General Gordon; and, if so, what is the amount?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not aware that it includes anything for that purpose.

MR. BRODRICK: I will ask on Monday, what steps the Government propose to take to redeem those liabilities?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Can the noble Marquess say whether any further details are to be laid on the Table; and, when those further Estimates will be produced? I should like also to hear something about the expenses of the Navy.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not aware that any request has been made for the production of further Estimates. If the noble Lord will inform me what further information he requires I will see whether it is to be obtained.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): With regard to the Question of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Brodrick), I have to say no such claim has been addressed to us. At any rate, I have heard nothing of it.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is intended to propose a Vote of Thanks to the Home, East Indian, and Colonial Forces of the Crown of the Navy and Army who have been serving, under such trying circumstances, in the Soudan and on the Nile, and have fought with such courage and devotion at El Teb and Tamai, and at Abu Klea, Gubat, and Kirbekan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have not had an opportunity of consulting my Colleagues on this subject; but, no doubt, the time is approaching when the matter must be completed, and it will be considered in connection with the rewards to be conferred on the officers and men who have taken part in the campaign.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION UP THE NILE)—HEALTH OF THE TROOPS.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the accounts, almost daily arriving in this Country from officers and others, as to the condition of some of our troops at Kurot and other places on the Upper Nile, he will ascertain the real facts of the case; whether his attention has been called to the letters published this week in the papers, both from officers, one of which described the men as dying off like rotten sheep; whether it is an unusually low Nile this year, and several weeks must elapse before the troops can be withdrawn; and, whether he will make a determined effort to send up, at any rate, the bare necessaries of life for the men?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have no reason to believe that such a state of things exists as the Question implies; but I have endeavoured, and shall continue to endeavour, to obtain all the information in my power on the subject. There are known to be ample supplies at Kurot and the neighbouring stations on the Upper Nile; and the troops will shortly be moving down the river upon still larger depôts.

QUARANTINE ON SHIPPING—AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC AND SANITARY CONFERENCE AT ROME.

MR. SUTHERLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have accepted an invitation for this Country to take part in an International Conference,

about to assemble in Rome, for the purpose of determining the principles or rules on which quarantine should in future be imposed on shipping; and, if so, whether he will state the names of the representatives deputed by this Country, and also lay upon the Table of this House a copy of the instructions furnished for their guidance in treating of a matter of such importance to British shipping?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have accepted an invitation to a Scientific and Sanitary Conference, which is about to meet at Rome, and will examine the best method of preventing the spread of cholera. Sir Guyer Hunter, who was employed in Egypt during the epidemic of 1883, and whose valuable Reports have been laid before Parliament, and Dr. Thorne, the assistant medical officer of the Local Government Board, will be the British delegates. The recommendations of the Conference will be, in the usual course, submitted to the Governments represented, but will not have any binding force until they have been adopted by those Governments. It would be contrary to practice to make public at present the instructions given to the British delegates.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—RETURN OF AGRARIAN OUTRAGES.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there would be any difficulty in giving particulars in a Blue Book of the alleged agrarian outrages in Ireland, say for the last twelve months, as was done in January 1881, before the passing of the Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A quarterly Return of the outrages in Ireland is at present presented to Parliament. If the hon. Member will be good enough to look at these, he will probably find what he wants; but, if not, I shall be glad to consider whether any further information can be given.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that on the last occasion on which a Coercion Bill was brought in details of these outrages were given in the shape of a Blue Book.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that he should be glad to confer with his hon. Friend on the subject.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, whether the Government would also, at the same time, give a similar Return of outrages in England during the same period?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that the Question must be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

MR. VILLIERS STUART asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having in view the importance of rendering effective the Legislation passed by the present Parliament for the benefit of the Irish labourers, Her Majesty's Government will bring forward the Labourers (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill for Second Reading before the Whitsuntide Recess?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I should be glad if an opportunity presented itself for taking the second reading of this Bill before Whitsuntide; but I confess I see at present little prospect of such an opportunity.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it is the intention of the Government to introduce the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill immediately after the Whitsuntide holidays?

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend will hardly expect me to make this Bill an exception amongst the other Bills. I shall be prepared to-morrow to state fully the intentions of the Government with regard to this Bill.

EXTRA POLICE (IRELAND)—THE LIMERICK CORPORATION—ACTION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

MR. LEWIS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in his promised statement of the intended further Government measures this Session, he will state when the Government proposes to introduce the promised measure relating to the enforcement of the claim of the Government on the Limerick Corporation in lieu of the ordinary process of existing Law?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that this was a measure of importance as connected with the facts to which it referred; but he would refer the hon. Member to his right hon. Friend the

Chief Secretary for Ireland, who had it in charge, for further information.

EGYPT (THE WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE FRIENDLY TRIBES AT SUAKIN.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will make arrangements to secure the friendly tribes around Suakin from destruction? In elucidation of the Question, he begged further to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether his attention had been called to a statement by *The Times* Correspondent at Suakin to the following effect:—

"On receiving the telegram to hold the line on Saturday, permission was given to the political officers to receive those who offered to submit; 500 came in, and parties of 10 or 12 arrived daily. There was much consternation, therefore, on the receipt of yesterday's telegram as to the abandonment of the Soudan, for the position of these men is desperate. They will certainly be destroyed by Osman Digna, who, in fact, has sent an order to Saadoun to destroy Amarars, Mohammed Guilies, and Fadlabs, and to carry off their women."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend has asked me to reply to this Question. I am only able to say that I have been in communication with Lord Wolseley on the subject, and that he has promised to send a further Report.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT further asked, whether Lord Wolseley had not made a distinct recommendation to Her Majesty's Government that the Suakin-Berber line of railway should be continued at least as far as the hills, which are only 20 miles beyond the position now reached?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SLUICES AT MEELICK.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What directions has the lock-keeper at Meelick as to the management of the sluices; if, last year, the Lower Callows were flooded before the sluices were raised; and, are the Board of Works aware that, if the water rises to within one or two inches of the surface of these Callows, it rots the sheep and sours the grass?

MR. HIBBERT: The directions are that the sluices at Meelick should be kept open whenever the water rises above summer level. I am informed that in 1884 the Callows were not flooded before the 3rd of November, and that on that day all the sluices at Meelick were opened. The Board of Works are aware of the bad effect of such flooding.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. CHAPLIN: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, Whether he is able to inform us if any answer has yet been received from the Russian Government with regard to the proposed agreement of which he spoke on Monday last; and, if so, what is the nature of that answer, and whether it meets with the approval of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no authentic information to give. Communications are still proceeding; but I am not aware that they have reached such a result as can be communicated to the House.

MR. ACKERS: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the Government have received any confirmatory information in regard to a further Russian advance which is reported in an evening newspaper to have taken place?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; the last telegram we received contained no mention of anything of the kind.

NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

In answer to Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL and Mr. W. H. SMITH,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, if it were the general feeling of the House that the Bill should be postponed, and if it were clearly understood that an indemnity clause would not be opposed holding the Government harmless for not applying to the redemption of Debt the sums coming to the Commissioners at the end of May, he had no objection to postpone the National Debt Bill until after Whitsuntide.

TELEGRAPH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked, Whether the Postmaster General would give Notice before bringing on his Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill, which stood on to-day's Paper as third Order?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, he could not undertake to give Notice, but would promise not to bring it on after half-past 11.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE appealed to the right hon. Gentleman, on the ground that his noble Friend was suffering from indisposition, which rendered it inconvenient for him to remain in attendance at the House for an indefinite period.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, in that case he would take care to consult the noble Lord's convenience.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE gave Notice that on the second reading of the Bill he should move—

"That, in order that 6*d.* telegrams may become a reality and a great boon to large classes of the community, now debarred from telegraphic communication by the heavy minimum charge of 2*s.* for a telegram and reply, it is absolutely necessary that if any charge is made for addresses it should be a fixed one, and not varying with the number of words, figures, or letters, and such charge should not exceed 3*d.*"

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE subsequently announced that he did not propose to bring on the Bill at a later hour than 10 o'clock.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—COLONEL KING-HARMAN AND HIS TENANTS.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that a Question affecting him personally stood on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly). The hon. Gentleman was not in his place; but perhaps the Chief Secretary for Ireland would answer it. The Question was—

"To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Colonel King-Harman has deprived James Higgins, of Garrow, Boyle; and Michael Dowd, Deerpark, Boyle, of their bog holdings because they refused to prosecute persons hunting hares on their land; and, whether the Government will bring in an amendment to the Land Act to secure the tenants in their right to use the bogs?"

MR. SEXTON wished to know, as a matter of Order, whether a Question could be put in the absence of the hon. Member in whose name it stood upon the Paper?

MR. SPEAKER said, that the Question was a personal one, and put as a matter of courtesy to the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman).

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no truth in this statement. I have already stated that the Government have no present intention of legislating on the question of turf rights.

CROFTERS HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, What course he proposes to take with regard to the Suspension of Evictions (Scotland) Bill; and, whether he intends to do to-night what he proposed to do yesterday—namely, to make a Motion for leave to bring in the Bill, and then adjourn the debate and make his statement to-morrow, so as to bring the matter on at a reasonable hour, and thus give an opportunity for discussion?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, the Government proposed to do to-day what was intended to have been done yesterday—that was to make a Motion for leave to introduce the Bill, and then immediately adjourn the debate; but he could not say that the discussion would be taken to-morrow.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked, whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman intended to take the Bill to-morrow?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that he was afraid he could not take it to-morrow; but he would do so on as early a day as possible.

MR. MACFARLANE: The statement will be on the second reading of the Bill, I understand?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Yes.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

H.R.H. PRINCESS BEATRICE.

THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE.

Message from Her Majesty [12th May],—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Message from Her Majesty read.

MR. GLADSTONE: The duty, Sir, which I am now about to perform is one the discharge of which has more than once fallen to my lot; and I have always found that although I cannot absolutely say that no difference of opinion has, on

any of these occasions, prevailed, yet I can truly say that a vast majority of the House have always met any call of this kind, not only with willingness, but with warmth, and, I might almost say, with enthusiasm. At any rate, Sir, this case corresponds so closely with all former precedents, that I think even those hon. Gentlemen who, in the exercise of their private judgment, have found it necessary to make objections in order to satisfy the demands of their own consciences, may be, on the whole, of opinion that after a considerable course of precedents which has so distinctly laid down a line of action, it will be unnecessary for them, on the one side, to renew their opposition; or, at any rate, it will be unnecessary either for them, on the one side, or for me, on the other, to enter at any length into a discussion of the various important matters which may suggest themselves. For I must remind the Committee, first, that Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice is the youngest, and in that sense the last, of the children of the Queen—the last for whom a demand of this nature can be made; and, in the second place, no fewer than three of Her Royal sisters, senior to herself, have had a provision made for them by Parliament precisely the same in every particular as that which I am now about to ask. So, Sir, the case is a simple one, and, in truth, it is not only a case of form, but it is a case of substance. The marriage of the Princess Beatrice is one dictated, like the previous marriages of the Royal Family, in the first instance, and before all things, by genuine attachment—by that genuine attachment which forms the only solid foundation of future happiness in married life. That has been the disposition of Her Majesty and the disposition of Her Royal offspring; and, undoubtedly, it has greatly increased those feelings of loyalty and satisfaction and approval with which the country, from time to time, has contemplated these marriages one by one. Sir, I will not now argue, but I will only remind the House that the arrangements made for Her Majesty under the Civil List Act in no sense and in no degree either contemplated or presupposed an indefinite charge upon Her Majesty on account of Her Royal children. The early training and education of these children have, speaking generally, been defrayed by Her Majesty. I do not speak of the Prince of Wales, whose case forms an exception on account of his having an independent provision secured by law; but during nonage, and in the case of daughters, until marriage, the whole charge connected with the Royal children has been borne by the Queen. But it is an understanding now, confirmed by a long course of precedents, that upon the coming of age of the Royal Dukes, and upon the marriage of the Princesses, the obligation of the Queen no longer subsists, either legally or morally. And, indeed, I may say that, if there be an obligation, it is the reverse of an obligation on the Queen, because Parliament expressly and advisedly made an arrangement which excluded any provision of the sort. This provision is a moderate provision, as I have formerly contended, though I will not now endeavour to show it in detail; but I may, perhaps, refresh the memory of the Committee by once more stating that going back to the daughters of George III., in the case of the Princess Augusta Sophia, a provision was made of £15,000 a-year, partly out of the Civil List—but a Civil List not regulated and organized like the present Civil List—and partly out of the Consolidated Fund; that the provision made for the Princess Elizabeth was £14,000 a-year; and that the provision made for the Princess Sophia was £13,000 a-year. I think, therefore, it will not be deemed surprising that we of the Government continue to be of opinion that a provision of £6,000 a-year out of the Consolidated Fund, which has been made on former occasions, and which we now ask once more, is a moderate, and a fair, and, certainly, not an extravagant amount. The life of the Princess Beatrice has been spent in filial duty, and there is every likelihood—I may say, more than likelihood, as far as we can look into futurity—that her life will continue in a great degree to be so spent, and that her husband will be associated with her as a resident in this country, making it their home. I may say, Sir, I am not here to give a highly-coloured statement; but I believe that everything connected with this youthful Prince and the promise of his future life is what the country could wish, and though not like his brother, Prince Louis, an officer of great promise in Her Majesty's Navy, he is already one

of whom the most favourable anticipations are formed in regard to his future career and his qualities of mind. So I think that, looking round this matter from every point of view, there is nothing which the Committee can contemplate except with satisfaction, and I will not therefore dwell further upon the particulars connected with the marriage, nor will I even suppose that it will be necessary to trouble the Committee again in regard to a matter of a class now so thoroughly understood in all its bearings, and in regard to a proposal which has been found on former occasions to meet so very largely and generally with the approval of the House. There is, however, one topic, Sir, extraneous to the proposal itself, and having no direct connection with it, and not to be touched upon in the Resolution which I shall submit to the Committee, or in the Bill by which it will be necessary to follow up that Resolution, and yet upon which, as it is a matter of interest, I wish to say one word to the Committee by way of announcement. The Committee is aware that there has grown up in recent times a salutary practice, although I am not aware that it is a very old one. At the commencement, particularly, of the Reign of William IV., and of the Reign of Her present Majesty, a careful investigation was made by a powerful and influential Committee of this House into the condition of the Civil List, the proper distribution of the expenditure, and the proper limits to be placed on the amount of that expenditure. This course of practice has been adopted as regards the Sovereign. As regards, not the Sovereign himself or herself, but those Members of the Royal Family who stand in sufficiently close proximity to the Sovereign to become, according to our usage, the customary subjects of Parliamentary provision, it has never yet been the practice to refer the consideration of the provision to be made for them to a Parliamentary Committee. I think, certainly, that in the Reign of George III. it may be shown that such was the case. In the time when Sir Robert Peel was Minister the first of these proposals within my recollection was made; and, undoubtedly, it was made, at the time, simply on a Resolution of the Cabinet. In the time of Lord Palmerston a step in advance was made. A Minute was drawn up with care, and a scale of annuities, and, in certain cases, of dowry, was proposed and submitted, and pains were taken to ascertain that there should be such a concurrence of view among the leading men of the House of Commons who had been connected with Office, so that something like system might be introduced into the grant of those provisions; but no provision was made then, or has been attempted since, for the reference of this portion of what has been, for a century, one subject to a Committee of the House. Method and unity of proceeding were secured, but nothing was done. We have considered this matter, Sir, and we are of opinion that it would be decidedly a public advantage, and most consistent with the important considerations attaching to this subject, if henceforth Parliament were to apply to these secondary provisions, if I may so call them—as compared, of course, I mean, with the provision for the Crown and the Heir to the Throne—if Parliament were to apply the same principles as have been applied in the case of the Royal Civil List; and before the House of Commons hear of these proposals, a system on which they may well henceforward be founded should have been submitted by the Government to a Parliamentary Committee, and should have received the approval and sanction of that Committee. I have no doubt that the establishment of such a Committee will tend to secure even more perfect unity and uniformity of view in the House of Commons than has hitherto been found to exist. It is, therefore, the intention of the present Government, should they continue to hold their Offices, to propose that a Committee of this House should be appointed for the purpose of examining this important subject. The next remaining question that Gentlemen would put is—"When do you propose that that Committee should sit?" Sir, we have considered carefully whether we could hope to procure the appointment of such a Committee, and the sedulous and somewhat continued application, and certainly the very careful application, which the subject would require during the remainder of the present Session. If the question is referred to a Committee of this kind, it ought to be to an unusually strong Committee, and it ought to embrace every important class and shade of opi-

nion in the House, and it ought to be one which should be appointed under such circumstances that there could be a confident expectation of the close attendance of its Members. Such a Committee could hardly be appointed, excepting at the commencement, or very early in a Session. Undoubtedly, considering that the House met in the latter part of October to begin the present Session, and considering that it has already accomplished a legislative work equal, perhaps, to that which formed the whole employment of two great legislative years—namely, 1831 and 1832, we could hardly hope, at this period, to obtain the services of such a Committee as could alone satisfactorily deal with this question. It is an important inquiry, and one which ought to be conducted with the utmost care, and, of course, under the responsibility, if I may presume to say so, and with the advice and guidance, of the Executive Government. But still the duties of such a Committee would have an important Constitutional character; and we do not think, therefore, that we could properly ask the House to appoint a Committee for this purpose in the month of June, and in the June of a Session dating from October. But, at the same time, we likewise feel that the appointment of such a Committee ought not to be long delayed; and what we hope is, as far as we may venture to speak for a future Session and Parliament, and having regard to the contingency that the present Government, or those representing the present Government, may not remain in Office, and as far as we are entitled in any manner to indicate an intention for the future, that the early part of next year will probably form the best period for bringing this important and weighty instrument to bear upon the settlement of a delicate question, closely associated with the honour and dignity both of the Throne and of the Royal Family—matters not only in which Parliament, but the entire country, feels bound to take a loyal and affectionate interest. I will not give any further explanation of this subject. Although, as I have said, it does not touch directly upon the provision now proposed, it is referable in its principles to former precedents and former arrangements; and I thought the Committee would not deem that this was an improper occasion to indicate the views of the Government, as far as they have formed an intention, with regard to the future mode of providing for this important class of subjects. Of course, the fact that we have now arrived at a resting point, the whole subject of provision for the children of Her Majesty being now disposed of, seemed to mark this particular moment as a proper moment at which the arrangements of the future might, with propriety, be taken into view, at least as to the principle and method of procedure. I will now move, Sir, the Resolution standing on the Paper.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the annual sum of Six Thousand Pounds be granted to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, the said Annuity to be settled on Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice for Her life, in such manner as Her Majesty shall think proper, and to commence from the date of the Marriage of Her Royal Highness with His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir Arthur Otway, with regard to the Vote which the right hon. Gentleman has proposed, it is one for which the House has been thoroughly prepared ever since the commencement of the Session, or rather from the time when the announcement was made to us of the happy event which had been arranged in Her Majesty's Family. The House is accustomed to share in and to offer its congratulations to Her Majesty upon all occasions of joy, as well as to sympathize with Her Majesty on occasions of sorrow. It is not so very long since we had occasion to sympathize with Her Majesty on an occasion of deep sorrow; and now we have met for the purpose of expressing our satisfaction and our warm congratulations to Her Majesty upon this happy event of the marriage of Her daughter, and, at the same time, to make that provision which I trust will be made without any objection, and with the unanimous assent of the House. I feel sure, Sir, that the domestic virtues and quiet and unostentatious life which Her Royal Highness has passed among us have tended to endear her not only to those who have been more immediately honoured with her acquaintance, and who have had the privilege of enjoying her society, but to the whole nation at large. From time to time we have seen Her Royal High-

ness, whose life has been devoted, as the Prime Minister has truly said, to filial duty—from time to time we have seen Her Royal Highness come forward to promote good works, and works of charity and benevolence, by which she has endeared herself, as was to be expected, to the whole people of the Empire. Sir, I have no doubt that, whether any question be raised or not, it will be of a formal character, and that the House will assent, in the case of the youngest and last unmarried child of the Sovereign, with pleasure and satisfaction to the grant that is proposed. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has coupled this proposal with an intimation of a more general character. Of course, it was to be expected that if such a matter as this was in the mind of the Government, it might be mentioned at the present time. But it does seem to me to be open to question whether it was desirable to raise any question of this kind at a time when it could not be followed up, and was not ripe or convenient for action to be taken. I take note of that without disputing the reasons which may have induced the Prime Minister and the Government to take the course which they have adopted. All I can say is, that I deprecate now any discussion with regard to the questions which have been partially opened by the observations of the right hon. Gentleman. I feel with him that if this is a matter which we are to refer to a Select Committee—and I do not deny that there will be a good deal to say for such a course—the grounds for taking that step should be carefully and fully stated, as well as the circumstances under which the Royal Family is placed with regard to its claims upon the nation, and the claims which have from time to time been presented for assistance to the Civil List, and that the whole matter will have to be carefully considered and thoroughly discussed. I only take notice of this for the purpose of expressing an earnest hope that the House will not now be led into any premature discussion of that matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) that this is not the time for discussing the idea of appointing the Select Committee which the Prime Minister has thrown out. I will only point out that it is somewhat curious that the Committee should be asked to vote a grant for a Member of the Royal Family, and, at the same time, be told, after that grant has been made, that the system of these grants would be taken into consideration by the next Parliament without going more fully into the matter. It seems to me very much like putting the cart before the horse. With respect to this particular grant, I fully agree with everything of a complimentary character which has been said of the Princess Beatrice by the two right hon. Gentlemen who have just addressed the Committee. But we are not asked to pay mere compliments to Her Royal Highness at the present moment, but to vote to her, out of the Consolidated Fund, a sum of £6,000 per annum. I have always asked myself, when the Prime Minister has spoken upon these matters before, whether he fully understood their real bearing. I used to think that the right hon. Gentleman knew almost everything. But I am inclined to think that, in respect of these matters, the right hon. Gentleman has not devoted so much time and attention to the Civil Lists preceding the present Civil List as he has to many other and perhaps more important subjects, because he has always founded his demands upon the House upon a series of pious legends. The right hon. Gentleman has said, when this question has been before the House on previous occasions, that the grant ought to be voted, because Her Majesty has given up a very large sum of money to the country, and made a bargain with the State on doing so. Now, it is a pure delusion to suppose that Her Majesty has ever given up a single shilling to which she was entitled, on that understanding and bargain, that her children should be provided for. It is a pure delusion based on erroneous ideas with respect to the Crown Lands. I presume it will be admitted that the Civil List, as it at present exists, dates from the Revolution. Before then there was no distinction between the Civil List and the other Revenues of the Crown—but all were taken and devoted to the general purposes of the country—to the Army and Navy, and the requirements of the Sovereign. When William III. ascended the Throne he received £700,000 a-year. But then there were a great

many more charges on the Civil List than there are now. But there was not a single word, in the Civil List Act of William III., with respect to any renunciation on the part of William III. of the Crown Lands. Nor was there any such renunciation expressed in the Acts of Queen Anne, or George I., or George II. The first mention of the kind was in the Civil List Act of George III.; and the idea was first started, I presume, at the instance of Lord Bute. It then found its way into the annual Act in which it was stated that His Majesty gave up all his rights to the Revenues of the Crown Lands and certain other Revenues derived from duties on wine, ale, and beer, and other things of that sort. Before then no statement of the kind was ever put forward. Of course, George III. could only have inherited these Revenues from George II., George II. from George I., and so on; and there had been no renunciation, during the four previous Reigns, of the claim of the Crown to have possession of what were called the "hereditary Revenues" of the Sovereign. The claim since made, therefore, can scarcely be looked upon as a substantial one. This Preamble, however, was repeated, in the Civil List of William IV., and in that of Her Majesty. But the mere repetition of a statement contained in an Act, that the Sovereign or anyone else gave up a right to any specific property, is no evidence in favour of the accuracy of the statement, or any proof that the Sovereign ever had a right to the property renounced; and I shall contend, as everyone who has looked into this matter will also contend, that the Sovereign has no more right to what are called the "hereditary Revenues" of the Crown than the Sovereign has to the Mountains of the Moon. Upon this assertion has been founded a second legend, which is that, at the time the present Civil List was granted to Her Majesty, there was some sort of an understanding that the country should undertake to give dowries to any children which might be born of Her Majesty. There is no such undertaking. If there had been, there would have been an enactment. There is no such enactment to be found in connection with the Civil List Act, or any other Act. I could never understand whence this idea was derived. If hon. Members will look at the Act itself, it will be seen that precisely the reverse was in the minds of those who prepared it. The Civil List assigned £385,000 out of the Consolidated Fund yearly to Her Majesty, and it divided this amount into different classes. The Lords of the Treasury can pay only a fourth of the annual amount assigned to all classes during a particular quarter. If, at the end of the year, there is an excess in one class and a deficit in another, the excess and deficit may balance each other. It must have been thoroughly understood that if there were an excess in any class and no deficit in any other class, then the excess came back to the Treasury. In the classes there were two to which I would call the attention of the Committee. There was £60,000 per annum for the Privy Purse, and £8,000 per annum was unappropriated. These are assigned especially to Her Majesty. In addition, Her Majesty was left in possession of the Revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, which at present produced £42,000 per annum. The provision, under the Civil List Act, was supposed to provide, out of the £385,000, for all the requirements of Her Majesty as Sovereign of the country. Consequently, the £60,000 and the £8,000 and the £42,000 per annum are left to Her Majesty to do what she pleased with. There is also, in the Civil List, another class by which provision is made for Her Majesty's charities, so that it may therefore be assumed that, for a considerable number of years, Her Majesty has received, putting aside the supposition that there has been any excess which has not been accounted for in excess of her requirements, £110,000 per annum; and we know perfectly well that that amount has not been expended. Nobody knows it better than the Prime Minister himself; for, in 1862 he brought in a Bill which gave Her Majesty the right to hold private property. I do not know whether it was previously supposed that the Sovereign could not hold private property; but unquestionably the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister came forward and asked the House to pass that Bill. There was a second Bill brought in by the right hon. Gentleman in 1869, which gave power to Her Majesty to leave any money she possessed to her children. There appears to have been some doubt as to whether

she could leave anything she possessed to anyone who stood in direct succession to the Throne. What I want to point out is, that the Prime Minister would not have come forward, as a servant of Her Majesty, to ask the House to pass these Acts to enable Her Majesty to hold property, and to leave property, if Her Majesty did not hold property and had property to leave. I believe the Civil List is far too high at the present time. At the lowest estimate, the Civil List and the allowances to Her Majesty and Members of the Royal Family exceed £700,000 per annum—perhaps £720,000—[*Cries of* "No!"]—I think that that is really a very low estimate; but I need not trouble the Committee by going into all of the details. The figure I have given is, I believe, a fair Estimate, and hon. Gentlemen know very well that it has often been put very much higher. Of course, I include the expense of keeping up the Royal Palaces, whether occupied in whole or in part by Her Majesty; and if I were called upon to substantiate my figures, I believe I should be able to show that the amount is a good deal higher than I have fixed it at, because it has been my wish to be within the mark, and therefore I have put down the annual sum at £700,000. If, however, it will please hon. Members opposite, I will take the Civil List and allowances to Her Majesty and to other Members of the Royal Family at £600,000; and I say that there is a very strong feeling in the country that that is quite sufficient for the maintenance of the Royal Family, and that is why—perhaps not in this House—there is, most unquestionably, a very strong feeling against increasing these grants. It is felt that if Her Majesty has this money—I say it with all respect—Her Majesty can provide for Her Family. It is felt that Her Majesty has not now such expenses as she had when she had all her children at home, and had to educate them. Her Majesty's last child is now going away, and we know besides that she has the £110,000 per annum which I have mentioned. I do not think, therefore, that anybody will deny that Her Majesty has already ample means, and that she is perfectly able to make provision for her children. Therefore, before any fresh demand is made upon the country the House ought to be assured that Her Majesty is unable to provide for Her Family, and until such a statement is made Parliament ought not to vote another grant for any other Member of the Royal Family. No doubt, what has actuated many hon. Members in this House has been a sentimental feeling. Well, I am a man of sentiment myself, but I restrain my sentiment. I feel that we are all here as guardians of the public purse. It is not our business to take a sentimental view of these matters, and to say that, because previous Parliaments have voted grants to the children of Her Majesty, therefore this Parliament ought to do so. If such a doctrine is to be accepted, the first proposal ought to have bound us. It ought to have been enacted at first, not that one child should have £6,000 or £8,000 a-year, but that every child born of Her Majesty should have the same sum. That has not been done; but it has been left to each particular Parliament to decide, and we are at perfect liberty to consider, each claim on its own merits, and not accept the doctrine of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, that as there are so many precedents before us we are bound to accept them. Otherwise, the right hon. Gentleman would not have come down here and asked for this grant; but there would have been an Act to determine that Her Majesty should receive a certain amount of money annually upon the marriage of each of her children. It is not necessary that I should detain the Committee longer. I am perfectly aware, as I intend to challenge the Vote, that I shall be defeated; but if the feeling inside this House is not very strong against the Vote there is a very strong feeling—and many hon. Gentlemen know it—against the Vote outside the House. I believe that those who oppose this Vote are far stronger friends of the Monarchy than those who support it. The real danger to the Monarchy at the present time is that many persons may come to the conclusion that the advantages derived from it are more than counter-balanced by the cost if these grants are to be continually voted.

MR. LEWIS: I wish to draw attention to a question which suggests itself, and which is of some Constitutional importance. It is whether, underlying the acquiescence and the general unanimity of the House on these Votes, there is not an implied understanding that the hus-

band of a Royal daughter should not take a prominent part in the political contests of the day? If necessary, I am prepared to move an Amendment, to put myself right, to the Resolution which has been proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. If the House, upon the present occasion, or upon previous occasions, had been under the belief that the husband of a Royal daughter who was about to be married was likely to enter into political controversy and strife the same as any ordinary subject of the Queen, I do not believe these Votes would have been passed with the unanimity with which they have usually been passed. Recent circumstances have rendered it necessary that, at all events, a protest should be made on this occasion against what might possibly turn out to be the practice of husbands of Royal daughters presenting themselves as Parliamentary candidates, and taking an active part in the heated political controversies of the day. I think, in this respect, I may be allowed to make a protest on what I believe to be a fair Constitutional point. At least, I would ask, whether there is not really an understanding on which these Votes have been passed with unanimity by previous Houses of Commons that there should be absence from such activity? I need not say that with regard to the sons of the Monarch the question never arises. I am not prepared to say that the sons of the Monarch are legally disqualified from taking their seats in this House. I believe there is no legal disqualification; but, although I am led to the belief that they are not legally disqualified from sitting in this House, I believe there is no precedent for the husband of a Royal daughter taking part in the election contests which occur in this country, and long Constitutional usage has produced the belief that they are not qualified to sit in the House of Commons. I would venture to suggest that it is of the greatest importance that the Sovereign and Members of the Royal Family should be kept free from mixing in Parliamentary contests. I will suppose a case which would not be at all unlikely to occur. Suppose the husband of one of the Royal daughters were a candidate for a great popular constituency, and were called upon to take part in public entertainments and proceedings in that capacity, surely it would be placing both the husband and the Princess in a position in which they might be gravely compromised.

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is opening up a very wide question, which the Committee is not competent to decide. If the hon. Member wishes to pursue it, he must address himself to the full House and not to the Committee.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am very glad that we shall not be allowed to be led into the broad by-field of discussion about matters undoubtedly of very great importance, and doctrines which excite in some minds a considerable degree of astonishment, as involving interference with private and personal liberty. I shall not say one word upon that subject, because I think that if I did I should be transgressing the spirit of what you, Sir, have said from the Chair; but I am desirous to correct a slight error into which I fell when I said that the first Vote to a Member of the Royal Family, in my recollection, was in the Government of Sir Robert Peel. It was in the Government of Lord Melbourne, when a provision was proposed for the Prince Consort, upon his marriage with Her Majesty. Having made that correction, I will only say, with regard to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that I will not attempt to answer that speech, because there is much history in the matter, and in our endeavouring to set right that history from one side or the other we might be led into great length of discussion, which I cannot think is at all desirable that we should enter into. Therefore, if my hon. Friend will allow me, I will rather enter a general protest against his speech. I believe it is the general disposition of the House that we should now proceed to a vote.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I am more surprised at the observations which have been made by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) than by those which have fallen from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in opposing this grant; because if the Irish people had the choice of their own Rulers, or were an ordinary Republic, I do not think they would split straws or be very churlish as to the expense of it. It is not to a few thousand pounds

here or there in the cost of Royalty that we particularly object. If Royalty is anything it must be expensive; but after what the hon. Member for Londonderry has said, certain recent events make it necessary for me also to protest against its being supposed that the Irish people entertain the same feelings as the English people, or participate in their enthusiasm about the Royal Family, or have, indeed, any feeling with regard to them except such loyalty as the strict letter of the law enforces. That, unquestionably, is my definition of the loyalty of the Irish people towards England. Some Members of the Royal Family in England appear to live hard-working and, in their way, useful lives; but, as far as Ireland is concerned, their lives are something worse than a blank. We never see them in Ireland at all—although I, for one, do not in the least object to that, for, as the hon. Member for Londonderry has remarked of another personage connected with the Royal Family, Royal personages are brought over to that country on a political campaign in precisely the same way as the Prime Minister sometimes goes to Mid Lothian. After the Chairman's ruling, I suppose it would not be competent for me to make any detailed reference to the circumstances connected with the Prince of Wales's recent visit to Ireland. Probably there will be another opportunity of doing so. I only allude to it now as an illustration of the purposes to which the money granted by Parliament to the Royal Family may occasionally be devoted; and I must say that, up to this moment, no intelligible motive has ever been assigned for that Royal visit to Ireland. [*Cries of* "Order!"] The only conclusion which the Irish people can draw or have drawn——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's remarks have no reference, and are, indeed, entirely irrelevant to the Resolution before the Committee.

MR. O'BRIEN: I will not pursue my observations on the subject. I simply meant to point out that you cannot expect the Irish people, while things of this sort are going on, to exhibit the same enthusiasm for the functions of the Royal Family, whom they never see except in the character of political agents, and whom they can neither hold aloof from without being misrepresented, or tell the truth to without having their heads broken. It was for this reason, and not from anything personal to the Royal Family, that I, for one, feel constrained to vote against any grant of this kind, which I am quite sure will not be used for the benefit of the Irish people, and may, possibly, be used to their detriment.

COLONEL STEBBLE: I will not detain the Committee for many moments. I may say that there is no Member of this House who has a stronger feeling than I have against the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister; and I entered the House this afternoon with a full determination, if not to challenge the Vote, at any rate to enter a protest against it without recording my vote. But, Sir, permit me to say that I have considered the matter fully, and, on reflection, I cannot in my heart pursue the course I had intended to take. I will give two or three reasons why I do not pursue that course. When I consider that the request now made is for the last of all Her Majesty's unmarried children; when I consider, also, that all the other daughters of the Queen have received a similar grant; when I consider, further, that the Princess Beatrice is one of the noblest of England's daughters—I feel that it would be invidious, harsh, and even cruel to refuse the grant proposed on this occasion. I therefore appeal to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) not to press his opposition to a division. The hon. Member has already entered his protest; he may now let us, for once, have unanimity; and, as this is the last occasion, he will have a fair field and no favour open to him in the future.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (who rose amid cries of "Divide!") said: I think, Sir Arthur Otway, that if any proof were required of the absolute unsoundness of the reasons which have been advanced in favour of the Motion made by the right hon. Gentleman, it would be found in the fact that the right hon. Gentleman, his Government, and his supporters are evincing this afternoon an unwillingness to hear any discussion of the question. I must say I am opinion that if a Motion like this were not discussed we should be setting an extremely bad precedent. If my hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr.

O'Brien) had not uttered his protest against this grant, what should we have found in the newspapers to-morrow? We should have found every newspaper exultingly describing the extraordinary unanimity of the Committee, and pointing out, in a tone of triumph, that even the Irish Members were not able to stand up in the House and speak out against the Vote in the name of those whom they represent. It is, therefore, the duty of the Irish Members to tell the House plainly that we represent people who do not believe in English Royalty, and that the time has come when, on behalf of the people we represent, we should speak out; for if we did not do so we should be properly looked upon as hypocrites. In Ireland we have had very little experience of Royalty. But a very short time ago we had a visit from a Member of the Royal Family, and what was the impression we derived from that visit? [*Cries of* "Order!"] I am merely going to give a reason why I oppose this Vote. The impression of Royalty we have gathered from that visit—and as this is a grant for a Member of the Royal Family, this is an appropriate occasion for referring to the matter—the impression of Royalty received by the Irish people from that visit was simply this—that Royalty is something we must take off our hats to and cheer, whether we like or not, on pain of having our heads broken by a policeman and being turned out of our own railway stations. We are perfectly willing to be loyal, and even to support grants like that now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman in support of Royalty, provided the result is something of benefit to ourselves, and provided we get something in return for the public money we are asked to vote; but we object to make provision for a Royalty which we are obliged to cheer, or else run the risk of getting our heads broken. Our recent experiences of Royalty have not been such as to encourage us in any demonstration of loyalty, and we certainly do not feel disposed to pay for the privilege of having our rights violated. I think that this debate will have done several good things. Among others, it will have had the effect of showing to the working people of England—who themselves, I believe, do not care the snuff of a candle about Royalty—that there is only one English Member in this House calling himself a Radical who has the common honesty and the straightforwardness to stand up and speak his mind on this question. It will convey to the working classes the perfect uselessness and the hollowness of the Radical Party below the Ministerial Gangway. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the remarks the hon. Member is now making are not relevant to the Question before the Committee.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I desire to make my remarks as relevant as I possibly can. I was about to point out some reasons why I think hon. Members opposite should not take exception to sentiments which cannot altogether be called Royal sentiments, and why they should oppose this Vote. Some of them profess to be Republicans, and certainly ought to oppose it. The Prime Minister himself has been unable to make out a case in favour of it. The right hon. Gentleman came before the House this evening in a suppliant attitude, and he has not attempted to prove that his approval is in itself a sound and a just one, which should recommend itself to the minds of the thinking English people; but he simply said—"Oh, if you please, this is the last of the Queen's daughters; accept this proposal, because it is the last of its kind." He said nothing in support of past grants, or anything in favour of this; but, in effect, he said—"Let us have no more trouble about the matter; it is not worth raising a discussion, as this is the last proposal which can be made in the present Reign." Now, if this is a good proposal, it ought to be capable of being supported by argument; and if it is not, it ought not to be accepted simply because it is the last. I hope my hon. Friends around me will challenge a division, even if the Radical Members opposite do not remain in the House to vote against the grant. I believe the time is coming when hon. Members will speak out against this humbug and this superstition which makes you feed—[*Loud cries of* "Order," *and interruption.*] Hon. Members may interrupt, but I am going to have my say. I maintain that it is time this superstition which prompts the English people to feed and to pamper Royal personages were got rid of, when you see the streets

of your capital filled with unfortunate wretches who are starving. I maintain that such a proceeding is not worthy of a civilized nation, and a proposal of this character is especially objectionable, coming as it does from a man like the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, who knows of the existence of stark and staring poverty in this country, of the large number of people who are out of work, and of the many poor households in which £1 at the present moment would be much more acceptable to them than the £6,000 which it is proposed the Committee should give to this Royal Princess. The Committee may be able to give this money now; but certainly a day will come in England when the people will assemble in their thousands, as they assembled last night, to consider the proposals of the Budget. Whenever the people do assemble, it will not be merely to protest against the impositions of a Budget; but it will be to protest against the existence of that machinery of Government which robs the people of their money and keeps them in starvation. It will be to tear down this building upon the heads of the House of Commons, and to march into Downing Street in a way which the right hon. Gentleman has been little accustomed to. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] I shall not be deterred by interruptions of this kind from entering my protest against the Vote. No persons like to be told they are robbers, and no wonder the Committee are crying "Divide!" But I maintain that you are robbing the people, and I protest against such robbery, believing that the day will come when the people will make themselves heard in a manner stronger and more effective than my voice has been able to accomplish.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 337; Noes 38: Majority 299.—(Div. List, No. 188.)

Resolved, That the annual sum of Six Thousand Pounds be granted to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, the said Annuity to be settled on Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice for her life, in such manner as Her Majesty shall think proper, and to commence from the date of the Marriage of Her Royal Highness with His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

Mr. William Redmond

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 150.]

(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

CONSIDERATION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [13th May], on Consideration of Bill, as amended.

New Clause:—

(Technical breach of tenancy shall not disqualify.)

"Where any person claiming to occupy or to have occupied a dwelling-house, lands, or tenements, was evicted from such premises for non-payment of rent during the qualifying period of occupation, but was subsequently reinstated in the possession of same, such person shall be deemed, notwithstanding such eviction, to have been in occupation of said premises during the whole of the qualifying period if he can show that he has paid the poor rates for such qualifying period," —(*Mr. Healy,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first and second time, and amended.

Amendment proposed, in line 3, after the word "reinstated," to insert the words "by writ of restitution."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed*.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN moved, in page 2, after Clause 5, the insertion of a new clause providing that Section 3 of 13 & 14 *Vict.*, c. 69, should apply to freemen, and that they should thus be disqualified for voting if they received parochial relief.

Clause (Disqualification as to freemen,) — (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)— *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. SEXTON said, there was no machinery by which freemen who had received parochial relief could be removed from the list of voters. He would, therefore, suggest the following addition to the clause:—

"That the town clerk shall supply to the clerk of the union a copy of the roll of freemen, and the clerk of the union shall return

such copy with the names marked of the freemen who have received poor law relief within the period for the purpose of disqualifying them."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, a clause to the effect of the present proposal of the hon. Member had been withdrawn in favour of the Amendment he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) proposed.

MR. WARTON said, that the clause proposed was a monstrosity, inasmuch as every person who received parochial relief was disqualified from exercising the franchise, including freemen, and therefore it was not necessary to incorporate it in the present Bill. The proposal was nothing but a mere waste of time on the part of the Government, and if the clause was persisted in he should divide the House against it.

MR. LEWIS said, that those of them who happened to be really acquainted with the structure of the Act of Parliament were bound to resist the clause; because, if they did not, they would be committing the House to a piece of legislative folly. All the clause did was to say that a disqualification which applied to every man without distinction should apply to freemen. If the clause did anything at all, it rather threw doubt on the existing law. By the law as it at present stood all who received parochial relief, freemen included, were thereby disqualified. If this Amendment were passed, on the principle of *expressio unius exclusio alterius*, pauper relief, except in the case of freemen, would not disqualify. Such specific enactments were only an encumbrance on legislation, and had no justification.

MR. SMALL said, he did not often agree with the hon. Member for Derry (Mr. Lewis); but, in this case, he was bound to agree that the disqualification in question applied to all classes of electors, and the clause was, therefore, unnecessary. Clerks of Unions were always conversant with the names of freemen who had received parochial relief. This Amendment of the Chief Secretary for Ireland was another instance of the fact that when Irish Members asked for one thing from the Government, they got another. What they asked for was machinery to apply the existing law to freemen. The clause simply said that the general law included freemen, without providing machinery for applying the general law to that particular class.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he would be happy to consider the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton).

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 145; Noes 28: Majority 117.—(Div. List, No. 189.)

On the Motion of MR. SEXTON, Clause *amended*, by inserting, at end, the following words:—

"The town clerk shall supply to the clerk of the union a copy of the roll of freemen, and the clerk of the union shall return such copy with the names marked of the freemen who have received poor law relief within the period for the purpose of disqualifying them."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN moved the following new clause:—

"Every revising barrister acting for a borough shall hold at least one evening sitting of his court in such borough.

"An evening sitting shall commence not later than seven nor earlier than six o'clock in the evening, and shall be of such duration as shall be, in the opinion of the revising barrister, reasonable.

"Special notice or notices of each evening sitting shall be published by the town clerk in such manner as the revising barrister may direct."

Clause (Evening sittings of revision court,)—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. SEXTON proposed to insert, after the word "borough," "or in a town of 3,000 inhabitants." He also failed to see why the counties should be separated from the boroughs in Ireland in this matter, for that was an anomaly, and did not exist in England, inasmuch as it had been duly provided for in the English Bill. Surely it was of as much importance to residents in county divisions to be accurately described as it was to those living in boroughs.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that it had been generally agreed that the same course should be adopted in Ireland as in England.

MR. GORST suggested that there should be a limit of population of towns

in Irish counties in which evening sittings should be held. According to the English law, such evening sittings were to be held only in towns of over 10,000 inhabitants.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, if that were the case, he would be willing to assimilate the law.

MR. BIGGAR pointed out that the towns in Ireland were, for the most part, small in comparison with those of England. If the law of Ireland were assimilated with that of England, he maintained that an Irish town containing 3,000 inhabitants was of as much importance as an English town containing 10,000 inhabitants. This alteration in the law would be quite as advantageous to the Conservatives as to the Liberals.

MR. LEWIS said, there were 34 counties in Ireland.

MR. SEXTON: Thirty-two. [*Laughter.*]

MR. SMALL: The hon. Member for Londonderry does not even know the number of counties in Ireland.

MR. LEWIS, continuing, said, there were 32 counties in Ireland; but he did not believe that in more than five or six cases evening sittings would be rendered necessary. If the Motion applied to counties as well as to boroughs, there would be Revision Courts opened at night at which there would not be business to transact.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the Government wished to give the same facilities to Ireland for registration purposes as were enjoyed in England. He was not aware that evening sittings had been extended to counties in England until that moment. That being so, and as he thought the limit of a population of 10,000, as in England, was too high, he would suggest that, after borough," the following words should be inserted:—

"Or hold his court in towns containing, according to the last published Census, more than 5,000 inhabitants."

MR. SMALL said, he thought that even the limit now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman was too high a number. There were 14 counties in Ireland which had no town with a population exceeding 5,000.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that, in those cases, there would be no need for evening sittings.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he could not agree with the statement that in many counties there would be no contest in the Revision Courts. From his experience of the action of those holding the opinions of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University, he believed they would contest every vote in Kinsale, Mallow, Bandon, and Youghal.

Question put, and *agreed to;* Clause read a second time accordingly.

MR. GIBSON said, he thought 3,000 too low a limit of population, and while he thought 5,000 would be a very good limit, he was prepared to agree to something less—say, 4,000.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he would accept 4,000.

On the Motion of MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Clause *amended*, by inserting, in line 3, after "borough"—

"Or hold his court in towns containing, according to the last published Census, more than 4,000 inhabitants."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) moved the following clause:—"The lists of voters may be made out alphabetically or by streets."

Clause (List of voters,)—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland,*)—*brought up*, and read the first and second time.

Amendment proposed, by inserting, before the first word "The," the words "On all."—(*Mr. Small.*)

Question, "That the words 'On all' be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Clause amended, and *added* to the Bill.

Clause 3 (Power of the Lord Lieutenant in Council to prescribe forms.)

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 23, by leaving out the word "may," and inserting the word "shall,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—instead thereof.

Question, "That the word 'may' stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Polling districts).

MR. SEXTON moved to amend the clause by inserting a new sub-section,

the effect of which would be that in every Parliamentary borough in Ireland, except Dublin and Belfast, Municipal Corporation Town Commissioners and Boards of Guardians should be at liberty to appear by counsel and give evidence before Justices in the case of making or altering polling districts. It was also proposed by the sub-section, that the same bodies should be empowered to appeal to the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council against any order of Justices as to polling districts. The hon. Member explained that he omitted Dublin and Belfast from the provision, because the Municipal Corporations in those cases fixed the polling districts.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 6, by inserting, after sub-section (1), the words,—"In every Parliamentary borough in Ireland, except the city of Dublin and the town of Belfast, and in every Parliamentary county in Ireland, any municipal corporation or board of town commissioners, or any board of poor law guardians, shall be entitled to appear by counsel or otherwise, and to make representations and offer evidence, before the chairman of quarter sessions and justices of the county, with reference to the constitution of any polling district or districts lying wholly or partly within the area of any such municipality or poor law union, or in opposition to any order made, or intended to be made, by such chairman and justices constituting or altering such polling district, and such chairman and justices shall give such public notice of their intention to make an order constituting or altering a polling district so as to enable any municipal corporation or board of town commissioners or poor law guardians concerned as aforesaid to appear and give evidence before them, and any such board, so concerned, shall be entitled to appeal to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council against any order of the chairman and justices affecting them as aforesaid, and to appear by counsel and give evidence in support of such an appeal."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. LEWIS said, he did not think that it would serve any useful purpose to provide such elaborate machinery for disputing and appealing matters of this kind.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he wished to point out that the adoption of the proposal would seriously delay the preliminary arrangements for the General Election. At present, all parties interested had a right to be heard before Justices on questions of this kind, and there was a regular mode of appealing from an order of Justices as to polling districts.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that he would be loth to introduce any change in the present procedure, which had been adopted from the Ballot Act, and which had been found to work smoothly and well. It would be inexpedient, in the present urgent state of affairs, to run a risk of causing delay, seeing that they did not know what might happen if they made the alteration proposed.

MR. CALLAN said, that if it could be shown him that the adoption of the Amendment would retard the procedure in any way he would vote against it. His own opinion was that it would accelerate it.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 27; Noes 52: Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 190.)

On the Motion of Mr. SMALL, the following Amendments *agreed to:*—In page 3, after line 22, insert—

"Not later than one month after the passing of this Act the town councils or town commissioners of the other boroughs in Ireland shall respectively take into consideration the divisions of such boroughs into polling districts, and shall respectively divide such boroughs into polling districts in such manner as may be most convenient for taking the votes of electors, and so that as nearly as possible an equal number of electors may be allotted to poll in each district;"

in line 23, after "councils," insert "and town commissioners;" and after line 26, insert—

"The register of voters shall be made up in separate lists for each polling district."

Clause, as amended *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Power to appoint additional revising barristers).

MR. SEXTON, in moving an Amendment to part of the clause enacting that Revising Barristers dealing with the Act should be of "not less than six years' standing," said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to put in such a limitation as that. He believed that the new Act, which would allow barristers to take out their degrees in Dublin, would make the Bar more popular, and he believed that some of these young barristers might be far more capable of

dealing with the Act than some of the old and stupid men who had been for years hanging about the Four Courts.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 35, by leaving out the words "of not less than six years' standing at the bar."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the hon. Member had anticipated a great addition to the number of barristers in Ireland, and that, therefore, the restriction should be removed. He (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) thought that that was an argument which would apply the opposite way. He believed that this was the usual period required for persons who performed such duties to have been called to the Bar.

MR. KENNY supported the Amendment, and urged that, in many cases, the young barristers would be very much more capable of dealing with the scheme, which, after all, did not require a great amount of knowledge to carry out, than the older men. He believed that for some appointments to the India Civil Service—even the Bench—three years only were required.

MR. GIBSON said, he was bound to say that he did not agree with the hon. Member for Sligo. He would admit that there were a number of very intelligent young men, and some very stupid old men; but, at the same time, experience was an advantage in all the transactions of mankind, and more especially so in the men who were to deal with these matters of electoral law.

MR. MOLLOY supported the Amendment.

MR. CALLAN said, he could state, from experience, that some of the old Revising Barristers were absolutely lacking in intelligence. He, on one occasion, had to appear before two old fogies—Messrs. Lefroy and Gamble—who were acting in that capacity, and he assured the House that two men more lamentably ignorant, it had never been his misfortune to be brought into contact with. Very young men fresh from the Inns of Court made better judges of electoral law than those who had for years been hanging about the Courts losing whatever acumen they might ever have possessed.

MR. LEWIS said, he believed that, if the door were opened to all the young barristers of two or three years' standing, the Lord Lieutenant would be actually pestered with the great number of applications, both of the young barristers and their friends.

MR. SMALL said, in his opinion, some of the barristers described as "briefless" would be of 36 or even 46 years' standing. He, for his part, preferred to consult young barristers, who were always better acquainted with recent enactments than those who merely went through their day's work without troubling themselves to ascertain the latest changes.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. SMALL, in moving an Amendment, to the effect that the appointment of additional Revising Barristers might not be confined to the year 1885, but that such appointments might be made in any year, said, that in most counties of Ireland additional Revising Barristers would not be necessary, but they would in some, such as Antrim, where the County Court Judge had a great deal of work to do both in the County Courts and Revision Courts.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 38, by leaving out the words "the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five," and inserting the words "any year,"—(*Mr. Small,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five,' stand part of the Bill."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he could not accept the Amendment.

MR. SEXTON said, he was surprised that the hon. and learned Gentleman refused to accept the Amendment.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Informalities in registration shall not affect validity of register).

On the Motion of Mr. SEXTON, Amendment made, by inserting in page 4, line 9, after "purpose," the words "neither shall any informality in the filling up of forms or lists disfranchise the voter."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Collectors shall give assistance in serving notices).

On the Motion of Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 27, leave out from "assist" to "in," in line 28.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 11, 12, and 13 verbally amended, and *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Costs of appeal).

COLONEL NOLAN moved, as an Amendment, the omission of the part of the clause relating to the payment of costs when Clerks of the Peace are made respondents in appeals from the decisions of Revising Barristers. He objected to making a Clerk of the Peace a party in these cases and then paying his costs out of the rates, unless the ratepayers had some control over him.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 19, by leaving out from the words "the costs," to the word "decision," in line 23.—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that the clause had been inserted in the Bill at the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who pointed out that there was an analogous provision in the English Bill. The clause enabled an appellant to require the Revising Barrister to name the Clerk of the Peace or the Town Clerk as respondent, even against his will, in an appeal; and, under those circumstances, it was only right that his expenses should come out of a public fund. They might now strike out the clause altogether; but, if it were retained at all, its whole purpose would be defeated by the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member.

MR. CALLAN said, he objected to the Clerk of the Peace, a semi-judicial officer, being made a respondent; and he would like to know whether his expenses would be paid out of the poor rates, or out of the Consolidated Fund? In the former case, he should object to the arrangement; in the latter case, he should not.

MR. GIBSON said, the matter could be easily settled. This provision was not originally in the Government Bill, it having been introduced at the instance of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who pointed out that a similar clause was in the English Act. He (Mr. Gibson) maintained that hon. Members must take the clause as a whole or not at all. If hon. Members wished for the clause, they must take it as it stood; if they did not wish for it, then it should be struck out. It seemed to him that the argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was unanswerable, and, speaking for himself, he was quite satisfied to retain the clause, on the argument that it was founded on a provision in the English Act.

MR. SEXTON said, the Bill proceeded on the principle that those persons who did not perform their duties should be subjected to penalties. He maintained, therefore, if the Town Clerk or the Clerk of the Peace was guilty of any irregularity, nothing could be more just or necessary than that the official should be bound to pay for his misconduct. He thought that the clause must be struck out, or some provision introduced with the object of securing a borough or a county against the costs of appeal arising out of frivolous objections.

MR. WARTON said, he would call the attention of hon. Members to the 59th section of the Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Act, and argued against depriving the Town Clerk or the Clerk of the Peace of his costs.

MR. KENNY said, he was of opinion that not only was the clause an objectionable one, but that it embodied an unsound and unfair principle. He recommended the omission of the whole clause.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that as far as the Government were concerned, they were willing enough that the clause should be omitted. It did not originate with them, it having, as he had said, been accepted at the instance of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who took it from the English law. The Government thought that the clause, as it stood, could do no harm, although, at the same time, they had no particular love for it. He wished to point out, however, that the clause having been amended on Report, it could not now be struck out of the Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 36, by leaving out from the word "expenses," to the word "relates," in line 40.—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

COLONEL NOLAN, in moving a further Amendment to add to the clause the words—"Provided the court rules that these costs have not been incurred by his own fault or negligence," said, the object of the Amendment was to prevent Clerks of the Peace or other registration officers from incurring needless legal expenses, and to make the ruling of the Court necessary, in order to the exemption of these officials from the payment of costs in unsuccessful applications made by them.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 40, by inserting, after the word "relates," the words "Provided the court rules that these costs have not been incurred through his own fault or negligence."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he could not accept the Amendment.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 28; Noes 68: Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 191.)

Clause amended, and *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Duties and powers of court of revision).

MR. SEXTON, in moving an Amendment to provide that a man whose name had been passed over in his absence should have his claim heard if he appeared, and gave a good reason for his absence before the Court concluded its sitting, said, the arrangement contained in his Amendment would prove of great convenience to electors when they were called upon to attend at the Revision Courts.

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 15, by leaving out after the word "founded," to the words "objected to," in line 18.—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he could not accept the Amendment.

MR. KENNY supported the Amendment, on the ground of its fairness to constituencies.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 91; Noes 32: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 192.)

Amendment *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 22, by inserting, after the word "behalf," the words "before the conclusion of the sittings of the court."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) opposed the Amendment, as being unnecessary.

MR. DEASY said, that unless the Amendment were carried, thousands of voters would be unjustly disfranchised; and he would therefore move the adjournment of the debate, in order to give the Government time to reconsider the Amendments of which Notice had been given.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Deasy.*)

MR. GLADSTONE said, he trusted that the hon. Member would not persevere with the Motion, as the necessity for passing the Bill at once was urgent, and it was quite a mistake to suppose that an adjournment could produce any change in the views of the Government as to the necessity for the Amendment. The Government might be right, or they might be wrong, but they entertained a very clear opinion in their own minds about the Amendment; and it was quite a mistake to suppose that their present view had been arrived at owing to want of time for considering the matter. He was of opinion that the principle involved in the Amendment, if it were inserted in the Bill, might be adopted in regard to every matter that came before a Court. The reason which would make it right to extend this provision so as to give an opportunity for a man whose name had been passed over in his absence to have his claim heard, if he subsequently appeared, would apply to

the procedure in every Court throughout the country.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he believed that the principle now contended for was virtually adopted in every Court of Justice. All that was asked for was that there should be no adverse decision against a voter who claimed to have his name upon the Register, until it was proved by positive evidence that the name was not entitled to be there.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is now discussing the Main Question, and not the Question before the House, which is, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that he was only referring to what the Prime Minister had said upon the question.

MR. SPEAKER: I must repeat that the hon. Member is not entitled to debate the Main Question on the Motion, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he hoped his hon. Friend (Mr. Deasy) would not persist with the Motion for Adjournment, and for this reason—there were grounds for believing that the Government might be induced to amend the provisions of the Bill, so as to establish the plain principle adopted in every Court of Law, that there should not be an adverse decision against any person who was entitled to appear before the Court until clear evidence had been given.

MR. SEXTON said, he regretted that the Rules of Order prevented him from making a reference to the Main Question, as it would have been convenient that he should reply to the remarks of the Prime Minister. In confining himself to the question of the adjournment of the debate, he would only state the impression which had been produced on the minds of the Irish Members. They had laid case after case before the Chief Secretary for Ireland in a manner which they considered fair and calm. There was not a man on those Benches who desired to keep a capable citizen off the Register. They felt the urgency of the state of things; and, personally, he (Mr. Sexton) yielded to no man in his wish to see the Bill pass with the utmost rapidity. At the same time, he was anxious, before it passed into law, to see that no capable citizen was deprived of the franchise in consequence of any impediment which was unnecessarily thrown in his way. He felt a strong conviction, that if the Prime Minister had been present during the whole of the evening, several of the claims which the Irish Members had made would have commended themselves to the right hon. Gentleman's mind as plainly as they did to his (Mr. Sexton's). He regretted that he was compelled to believe that the passing of the Bill would not be facilitated, but impeded, by the stolid and set determination of the Government to reject every Amendment made by the Irish Members, not upon its merits, but because it was proposed from that quarter of the House. The Irish Members were quite as anxious as the Government were to pass the Bill in a workable shape.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he hoped that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Deasy) would go to a division upon the adjournment of the debate. He thought the Government had treated the Irish Members throughout the discussion of the Bill in a way which was very much to be regretted. In supporting the Motion for Adjournment, he hoped he might be allowed to say that if the Government would treat the Irish Members with the same amount of consideration as that which they exhibited towards the Scotch Members, there would be no necessity for his hon. Friend to move the adjournment, or for any of the adjournments which, from time to time, the Irish Members found themselves compelled to move in that House. In this case, they had before them a matter which affected Ireland and the Irish Members alone; and on one side of the House the Irish Members, in a united body, had expressed their feeling in favour of the proposal which had been made. On the other side of the House there was one Irish Gentleman (the hon. and learned Solicitor General) and one Scotch Gentleman (the Chief Secretary for Ireland) who desired to override the opinions of the great bulk of the Irish Members present. Such a state of things was intolerable to hon. Members who represented the people of Ireland. It was plain to see that their opinions had not the slightest weight with Her Majesty's Government, and that the opposition of the Chief Secretary for Ireland was sufficient to nullify everything they attempted to do. He hoped, therefore,

that his hon. Friend would persist with the Motion for Adjournment; because, if the Irish Members got sat upon time after time in that House, it was only natural that they should resent the treatment they received, and the only way in which they could do so was to move Motions for Adjournment now and then. If the Government still refused to give way, he trusted that a few more adjournments would be moved.

MR. SMALL said, he did not think the Government would lose much time if they consented now to the adjournment of the debate; because, if not, they would find that they would have to consent to it before they made much more progress with the Bill. There were a large number of Amendments which must be introduced into the forms contained in the Schedules; and it appeared to him that, if the Government did not consent to an adjournment, then it would be necessary to do so later on, in order that fresh clauses might be introduced into the Bill. It would, therefore, be better to adjourn then in order that they might have the forms in the Schedule submitted in a manner which would insure correspondence with the clauses of the Bill. The Bill itself had been drawn hastily and imperfectly, and would still require careful amendment.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he did not know what object hon. Members opposite could have; but he was sure they could not be aware of the extreme urgency of the measure. The greater part of the Bill consisted of Amendments which had been suggested by hon. Members opposite themselves. The very clause they were now discussing was a clause which had been put into the Bill at the instance of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), and yet the Government were told by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) that they were sitting silent, with a stolid determination to resist every suggestion that came from the Irish Members. A considerable part of the Bill had been suggested by Irish Members; but it so happened that the last two or three Amendments the Government had not accepted. They were, as he had said, Amendments moved upon clauses taken from the English law, and put into the present Bill, on the recommendation and at the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan. They were also Amendments which had been moved without Notice, although the clauses had been on the Paper ever since the Bill passed through Committee. As to the urgency of the measure, it was absolutely necessary that this stage of the Bill should be got through that night, and when that was done, it would be his duty to ask the House even to read the Bill a third time at once; because, unless it went to the House of Lords to-morrow, it would fall behind the Scotch and English Bills, and would literally have no chance of being passed into law before the Whitsuntide Recess. If that happened, the whole matter would be thrown into confusion. None of the new clauses were really new, or had been sprung upon the House, and abundant opportunity had been afforded for considering them in all their details. The Schedules to which the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) referred had been before the House in Committee, and plenty of opportunity had been given for considering them. If they required correcting now, let them go on at once with the work of amendment; but do not let them waste more time over it. If the work of registration was to be carried out in Ireland at all with anything like efficiency this year, and with any idea of a General Election taking place somewhat sooner than was first contemplated, it was absolutely necessary that the Bill should be read in the House of Lords a first time to-morrow night.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that after what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said as to the General Election, he should feel inclined to support the Motion for Adjournment, as he was particular anxious that the General Election should take place on the old Register.

Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *negatived.*

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. H. G. ALLEN said, that as different views had been expressed respecting the Amendment, he would throw out a suggestion. He was well acquainted with the practice in the Revision Courts, and his experience enabled him to say that the ists were

always sub-divided. For instance, there was the freeman's list, the householder's list, and the lodger's list, and the Revising Barrister, when all the objections had been gone through in their alphabetical order, signed the list, and that act was considered to conclude the matter. What he would suggest was, that if a man was not in attendance when his name was called, but appeared before the signing of the list, the Revising Barrister might hear him. Of course, a difficulty would arise, especially in the case of large towns, if the lists were required to be kept open for a number of days, and if a provision were inserted in the Bill binding the Revising Barrister to keep open the list until the whole of his inquiry was completed, considerable inconvenience would be entailed. He thought that a rule, requiring the Revising Barrister to sign each list when he came to the end of it, but to hear any objected person who might attend before such signature was made, would meet the objection which had been raised. No doubt it would be a great hardship to strike out a name, simply because the man named had left the Court for a few minutes to get his lunch, or his dinner, or a glass of beer. It would be hard if such a person, on returning into Court, were to find that there had been a rush, and that his name had been struck out in his absence. The usual practice in Registration Courts was that an advocate represented each side—one represented the objectors, and another supported the voter. If the advocate who supported the voter were in a position to say that the claimant had been about the Court, and was only absent temporarily, and were to request the Revising Barrister to pass over the name, it would be certainly very hard for the Revising Barrister to refuse to hear his case on the simple ground that the name had been reached; and he himself had never adopted so strict a course. If the Revising Barrister took that course, he might easily disfranchise, hastily and without consideration, a considerable number of persons. He would not require the Revising Barrister to postpone the hearing of a particular case, until the man came back into Court; but a particular hour, say, the dinner hour, or the close of a particular list, might be fixed for hearing such cases, without resorting to the extreme course of striking out the name, before the voter had had an opportunity of being heard. He threw this out as a suggestion which he hoped might be accepted. He was sorry to hear that cases of this kind did occur on the other side of the water.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. H. G. Allen) was a great authority on these matters. He (Colonel Nolan) thought the hon. Member put the case very favourably for the Irish Members, and he trusted that the Government would feel inclined to accept the suggestion he had made. Unfortunately, cases of this kind did occur in Ireland. It might be that there was no advocate inside at the moment; and in regard to his own county, he had been told more than once that an advocate in the Revision Courts was generally conspicuous by his absence.

MR. P. J. POWER said, he was afraid that, in all probability, the difficulty would increase considerably with the increase of voters. Exception had been taken to the rules which were now laid down by the Revising Barristers. He must say that the Revising Barristers in Ireland, with very few exceptions, did their business in a most unsatisfactory way—at any rate, in a manner unsatisfactory to the majority of the people. He felt bound to mention, as an exception, the County Court Judge of the county of Waterford, who always discharged his duty in this, as in all other respects, to the satisfaction of the majority of the people. He hoped the Government would bear in mind that the coming Revisional Session was one of the most important they had had for generations, and upon it would, in all probability, hinge the nature of the coming General Election. He submitted that, from a variety of circumstances, the new voters would not be conversant with the rules of the Registration Court, and the formalities which should be gone through so as to enable them to get their names on the lists. Under these circumstances, he hoped the Government would seriously entertain the moderate proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton).

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was quite willing to accept, as a com-

promise, the suggestion which had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Pembroke (Mr. H. G. Allen). He confessed that he was astonished at the manner in which the Government held out on a point of this kind—even upon matters of arrangement and compromise. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had said, a few minutes ago, that some of the principal Amendments which had been introduced into the Bill had been made upon the suggestion of the Irish Members. In other words, having inserted in the Bill a variety of Amendments, at the instance of the Irish Members, they had virtually changed the Bill from the character it originally presented. Then why should the Government oppose a further suggestion which certainly had received the support of every English Member who understood the question? He trusted that the Government would not pursue this obstinate course any further, but would come to a compromise upon the matter.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he should like to see his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Pembroke (Mr. H. G. Allen) put the suggestion he made into words; because he (the Solicitor General) fancied that it would be a very difficult matter. Suppose that somebody appeared before the Revising Barrister and asked to have a name postponed. That was a very simple matter; but how was the other work to go on? If the Revising Barrister was to be idle, while people, who ought to be in attendance, were engaged upon other business, and if he was to sit in Court, and wait for them, it would be impossible to carry on the work of revision at all. The Revising Barrister, no doubt, would, and ought, to show every possible consideration, as a Judge would do, in trying a case where a witness was away accidentally. Before he could assent to adopt the suggestion of his hon. and learned Friend, he would ask his hon. and learned Friend to put his proposal in black and white, so that he might be able to deal with it. It would be necessary to meet more than one consideration. For instance, it was not only the Revising Barrister who would have to waste his time, but there were many other people who would be put to inconvenienc. If the Revising Barrister passed over one man's name, the next man's name would be brought on sooner, and he would probably be unprepared. If, in that way, 20 or 30 names were passed over, all the rest would be misled, and would be placed in a position of considerable difficulty. Therefore, it was not only the Revising Barrister who would be inconvenienced by having to postpone cases out of their regular order, but other claimants who were lower down on the list would be enormously inconvenienced also. There were, consequently, two sides to the case. He was sure that no one could desire more than he did that the convenience of everyone should be consulted if possible; but he did not see how the House could adopt the suggestion of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Pembroke, and how they were to make such a provision, unless they were prepared to postpone the revision altogether. He was, as he had said, unable to see how the suggestion of his hon. and learned Friend was to be put into words.

MR. SEXTON said he thought he would be able to make a suggestion which would meet the difficulty.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he would wait until he saw what the suggestion was; but he could not help thinking that the adoption of the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Pembroke would create more inconvenience than it would prevent. It was quite certain that in attempting in this way to meet the convenience of certain persons, they would run the danger of inconveniencing a great many more.

MR. SEXTON said, he would make a suggestion in reference to what the hon. and learned Member for Pembroke (Mr. H. G. Allen) had proposed. The objection to his (Mr. Sexton's) proposal was that it would interfere with the business of the Court, and that the Revising Barrister would be stopped in his inquiry, if persons who were not in attendance when their names were called were allowed to appear at a subsequent period. He would suggest that such persons should be required to appear at a time fixed by the Revising Barrister, who would make provision that on a certain day, and at a certain hour, he would take the cases of persons whose names had been passed over. He trusted that the Government would

evince some desire to meet the objections which had been urged.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that if the proposal of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) were carried out, nobody would attend the Court on the day fixed for the general inquiry, but all of the claimants would postpone their cases until the day to be fixed by the Revising Barrister for the hearing of cases which had been passed over.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 39; Noes 99: Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 193.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 21 (Interpretation).

On the Motion of Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, the following Amendment made: — In page 8, line 38, after "being," insert,—

"The expression 'The Parliamentary Voters (Ireland) Act, 1850,' means the Act of the Session of the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter sixty-nine; the expression 'Revising Barrister' includes a county court judge and chairman of quarter sessions."

MR. SMALL, in moving, as an Amendment, in page 8, line 40, at end, insert—

"The expression 'deputy' of a clerk of the peace in the said Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act, 1850, shall mean the principal assistant of a clerk of the peace,"

said, that by Section 13 of the County Court Officers Act of 1877, Clerks of the Peace were entitled to have assistance; but there was no such officer in Ireland as a Deputy Clerk of the Peace. All were Clerks of the Peace, and great confusion might arise unless an interpretation were inserted to explain that the expression "deputy" in the Act of 1850 should mean the principal assistant of the Clerk of the Peace. The Clerks of the Peace were authorized by another provision in the Bill to name the persons who were to represent them in these Courts, if there were more than one Court held at the same time; and, no doubt, they would nominate efficient assistants to represent them. That fact afforded a further reason why this interpretation should be placed on the word "deputy."

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 40, at end, insert,—"The expression 'deputy' of a clerk of the peace in the said Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act, 1850, shall mean the principal assistant of a clerk of the peace."—(*Mr. Small.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) opposed the Amendment, on the ground that every contingency was provided for, and that any alteration might create confusion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

THE FIRST SCHEDULE.

PART I.—COUNTIES.

FORMS IN COUNTIES.

MR. SEXTON moved an Amendment, in page 9, line 32, at end of note, add—

"The precept for the present year is to be sent immediately after the passing of this Act."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he did not object to the Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to*; words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. SEXTON moved an Amendment, in page 10, line 13, at end, add—

"To aid you in the performance of this duty, the registrars of births and deaths are required to send you, from time to time at your request, returns of the names and residences of all male persons of full age dying within your union, and you must examine these returns to see whether anyone who otherwise would appear in the list of voters is dead."

The hon. Member explained that the provision was taken from the English Act.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that he had adopted nearly all the Amendments which had been taken from the English form. No doubt, this was taken from the English form, and was English law, but it was not Irish law. He was, therefore, unable to accept the Amendment.

MR. SEXTON asked how these facts were to be found out, unless some such provision were made?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, they

would be found out, as they were at the present moment. Of course, the Clerk of the Union would know very well whether the man was dead or not. He objected to the Amendment, on the ground that, in these Schedules, it was impossible to make new law.

MR. DAWSON asked why it should be impossible to make new law in the House of Commons? If they passed this provision, and directed it to be inserted in the precept, surely it would become law.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, it was most undesirable that the name of any dead man should appear on the list.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, it would be the duty of the Clerk of the Union to strike off the names of all persons who were dead.

MR. BIGGAR said, the objection which had been urged was one of the most extraordinary he had ever heard. It was all very well to say that the Clerk of a Poor Law Union would probably know whether a particular man was dead, if he happened to be a large ratepayer, whose name had appeared regularly in the list of persons entitled to pay rates; but it would be perfectly impossible for him to know, under the new law, which of the voters might be dead, unless some such provision as that proposed by his hon. Friend were inserted in the Bill. He agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for the county of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) that it was most undesirable for the names of persons who were dead to appear on the lists of voters.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the objection which had been made by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland was conclusive. They could not put anything in a precept, prescribed in a Schedule, which was not supported by a legislative enactment of some kind, and there was no legislative enactment to this effect entitling this to be done. He quite admitted the difficulty, and perhaps it might be dealt with in "another place." It would not be met by the present Amendment; but he would consider in what way the object could best be achieved.

MR. WARTON said, he thought that some interpretation should be given to the existing law, so as to prevent the overseers from falling into arrear. He would suggest that it might be possible, when the Bill was re-committed, to re-commit it in respect of a clause dealing with this matter.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it would not be convenient to draw up a clause upon this subject to be inserted in the Bill on re-committal. The Bill was only to be re-committed in reference to a special money clause.

MR. SEXTON said, he would not press the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

On the Motion of MR. SEXTON, the following Amendments made:—In page 10, line 16, after "me," insert "on or before the eighth day of July;" and in page 11, line 12, after "me," insert on or before the eighth day of July."

MR. SEXTON, in moving, in page 11, line 20, to insert, after the word "house," the words "rated in the last rate made for the relief of the poor at an annual value not exceeding four pounds," said, that as the Schedule at present stood it struck out from the list the occupier of a house, no matter how small the value might be, if the rates due on the 1st of January had not been paid before the 1st of July. In Ireland, if a man occupied a house of the value of £4 or under, rated for the relief of the poor, the landlord was liable to pay the rates. As the landlord was usually a person of substance, if the rates were not paid, they were easily recoverable. Therefore, there was no danger that they would not be paid, and it was unjust that a large class of small occupiers should be thrown out of the franchise on account of the delay of some other person over whom they had no control. They could not compel the landlord to pay the rates, and all he would have to do would be to delay payment until after the 1st of July in order to deprive them of the franchise. It might be said that the tenants themselves could pay the rates. So they could if they happened to be persons of substance; but it would be absurd, and even cruelty, to ask them at this time to pay a single 1*d.* in addition to that for which they were legally liable. The evil in this case was that the tenant would be disfranchised, not on account of any fault of his own, but on account of the fault of someone else.

He had received a letter from a gentleman who was well informed upon this subject in reference to the question of how far the tenant would be able to pay the rates and afterwards deduct them from the rent. This gentleman asked how it could be supposed that the tenants around the Donegal Coast, and in some of the inland places, could pay the rates? It would be altogether impossible for the majority to find the money. They were poor people who could hardly afford to buy a stone's weight of Indian meal, and if the Government could not see their way to the amendment of this provision, the offer of the franchise to these persons was a pure legislative farce. He maintained that if the provision was to include the occupiers of houses of £4 annual rent and under, the result would be to disfranchise nearly the whole of these poor men. He submitted that justice and common sense required that such a result should be prevented.

Amendment proposed,

In page 11, line 20, by inserting, after the the word "house," the words "rated in the last rate made for the relief of the poor at an annual value not exceeding four pounds."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that it was quite impossible to accept the Amendment. The law provided that the rates should be paid on a certain date, either by the owner or the occupier, and that being so, they could not alter it in the Schedule.

MR. MOLLOY said, the Government might take the same course as that which they proposed to take in regard to another question which had been raised earlier — namely, insert the Amendment in "another place." If the only objection was that they could not make new law in a precept, the difficulty would be obviated by introducing a clause in the House of Lords which would cover the point.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the difficulty he felt in the matter was that this Amendment would have the effect of altering the franchise, and placing it on a different basis in Ireland from that on which it would stand in England and Scotland. It would not be possible, therefore, to accept the Amendment.

MR. BIGGAR said, he would point out that in the town of Belfast it was an invariable rule in regard to all houses under a certain rent for the landlord to pay the rates, charging them to the tenant in the form of an addition to the rent, the tenant paying a lump sum which included taxes. It was perfectly certain that if this Amendment were not made, an agent or an owner would be able to disfranchise one class of tenants, and allow another class to obtain the franchise, or he might be enabled to bring about a wholesale disfranchisement of the people. The principal reason why this custom prevailed in Belfast was this—when local rates to the extent of £20 were paid, the Warrant Commissioner gave a reduction of 25 per cent to the landlord, provided the rates were paid in advance. Therefore, in these cases, the local rates were paid in advance; but the amount paid in each instance by the landlord was added to the rent, which included not only the local rates, but also the poor rates. The usual custom adopted in Belfast was to collect the rates in the month of April for the whole year. That would give a very short time within which the rates must be paid, or the tenant would find himself disfranchised. He would strongly urge upon the Government the propriety of accepting the Amendment.

MR. LALOR said, he would also point out to the Government that by this Bill they would cause a delay in the payment of rates, for they would give to the landlords who were accustomed to pay the poor rates, an incentive not to pay the rates. Under the present system, there were no better paid rates in Ireland than the rates paid by landlords for the small holdings; but in the future, it would be to their own interest for the landlords to defer the payment of these rates.

MR. DAWSON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) must know that in England there was a great inducement to landlords to pay the rates in time. The large bonus of 25 per cent was given to landlords provided they paid the rates in time to secure their tenants the franchise, so jealous was the law of England that no sub-

tenant should lose his vote for the non-payment of rates. It had been shown that no such inducement prevailed in Ireland; indeed, there was every inducement to delay the payment of rates. Under such circumstances, he thought it was only right that the Amendment should be accepted.

MR. SMALL said, that in the case of a man who was required to pay the rates of his house, the knowledge that he would be disfranchised if he did not pay his rates would induce him to pay them. Surely it was unreasonable that men should be disfranchised because the man on whose land they lived neglected to pay the rates in the time he was required to pay them. Besides, the tenants had no means of ascertaining whether the rates were paid or not. If right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench would only look into this matter seriously, they must see how utterly absurd and illogical the present state of the law was. There was no chance of getting an Amendment like this adopted in "another place," because the landlords of Ireland belonged to one political Party. It might be argued that any landlord who neglected to pay the rates ran a great risk of legal proceedings. There was no force whatever in such an argument. Legal proceedings to enforce payment of rates were seldom taken until a very long time after the rates were due; the Guardians never thought of proceeding legally to recover the rates until long after the time had passed for the registration of voters. He thought it was very probable it would be be found that in many parts of Ireland a number of sub-tenants or labourers were temporarily disfranchised because their landlord did not pay the rates in the specified time. A landlord might pay the rates of the house in which he lived, and thus secure the enfranchisement of himself; but by neglecting the payment of other rates for which he was responsible bring about the disfranchisement of a large number of men living in his houses. It was very true, as pointed out by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), that the tenants paid increased rent where the landlord paid the rates, and, as a rule, paid the rent in advance of the time for the payment of rates. Whether, therefore, the landlord paid the rates to the Guardians or not, he himself had long ago received the rates in the shape of increased rents.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. DAWSON proposed an Amendment, in page 11, line 21, after "due," to leave out "on," and insert "up to." He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would accept this Amendment, for it was obviously an error to have different phraseology relating to the same subject. In one page, there was "prior to the 1st of January;" in another page, "rents due previous to the 1st of January;" and in the line in which he wished to make the Amendment, there was "rates due on the 1st of January."

Amendment *agreed to;* words *substituted.*

Amendment proposed,

"In page 11, line 25, after "rated," add nor by reason of its being held by a weekly, monthly, or quarterly tenure."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. WARTON suggested, that, for greater clearness, it would be well to substitute "or which is" for "nor by reason of its being."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was obliged to the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Warton) for taking the trouble to furnish these words. As they would make the matter clearer, he would accept them.

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 12, line 16, by leaving out from the word "You," to the word "statute," in line 18, and inserting the words,—"You are required to allow any person on the list of voters to inspect at any time between the hours of ten of the clock in the forenoon and four of the clock in the afternoon of any day, except Sunday, without payment or demand of any fee, and to make a copy of or to take an extract from:—

(a.) The rate books in your charge;

(b.) The Returns of deaths sent to you by the registrars of births and deaths,—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) opposed the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 12, after line 18, to insert,—"You are required to allow a copy of every register dealt with by you, and of every supplemental list made out by you, in conformity with this precept, to be open to public inspection, and to be perused by every person desirous of perusing it, at any hour between the hours of ten of the clock in the forenoon and four of the clock in the afternoon of any day, except Sunday, during a period of not less than fourteen days from the date of the completion of your function with respect to each such register or list, without payment or demand of any fee."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he was perfectly willing to accept the Amendment if there were added to it—"Provided such document be in your power, procurement or control."

Question, "That the proposed words be added to the proposed Amendment," put, and *agreed to.*

Original Question, as amended, put and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

To add, at the end of the foregoing Amendment:—"You are required to deliver to every person applying for the same, at any time between the hours of ten of the clock in the forenoon and four of the clock in the afternoon of any day, except Sunday, during a period of not less than fourteen days after the completion by you, as directed by this precept, of any register, list, or other document, or written or printed copy of such register, list, or other document or portion of the same, on payment of a price for such copy after the following rate.

"For any copy of a register, list, or other document containing any number of persons names:—

	s.	*d.*
Not exceeding 100 names . . .	0	3
Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 .	0	6
Exceeding 200 and not exceeding 300 .	0	9
Exceeding 300 and not exceeding 400 .	1	0
Exceeding 400 and not exceeding 500 .	1	3
Exceeding 500	1	6"

—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he would not object to the clause, if certain Amendments in it were made. For instance, the words "or written" should be struck out, otherwise there would be a written copy of the Register required, and that would be very inconvenient.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, to omit the words "or written."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

Question, "That the words 'or written' stand part of the said proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) proposed that there should be added after "copy," in the last line of the first paragraph, the words "supplied by him."

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) proposed to omit the words "after the following rate," and insert "after the scale mentioned in the Schedule of the Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act, 1885."

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) proposed to omit the rest of the Amendment from "for any."

Question, "That the words 'for any' to the end of the Amendment be omitted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 16, after line 5, by inserting the words "[*Note.*—This notice is to be published on or before the 15th day of July]."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that under the present law the official had until the 20th to make up his list. He did not think it would be well to alter the law in this respect.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment made.

Amendment proposed, in page 18, by leaving out "Form 8," and inserting "Third Schedule, on page 36,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That 'Form 8' stand part of the Bill."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he

thought that the form was a very proper one, especially if amended as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland intended to propose.

MR. SEXTON considered it was a most absurd form, as it gave no particulars whatever.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 18, line 2, after "parties," to insert "named in any list of claimants."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 21, line 15, by leaving out the words "fifth day of June," and inserting the words "twentieth day of May,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question, "That the words 'fifth day of June' stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) proposed, in page 32, line 6, to insert the following Forms:—

"Part III.—Forms applicable to both Counties and Boroughs.

"Form No. 29.

"Table of Rates of Payment to be demanded and paid for any list or copy of a list (other than a register), where a payment is required and authorised by the Registration Acts.

"For any list or copy of a list containing any number of persons' names:—

	s.	*d.*
Not exceeding 100 names . . .	0	6
Exceeding 100 and not exceeding 200 .	1	0
Exceeding 200 and not exceeding 300 .	1	6
Exceeding 300 and not exceeding 400 .	2	0
Exceeding 400	2	6

"Form No. 30.

"Table of Rates of Payment to be demanded and paid for any Copy of a Register, or part of any Register, where a payment is required and authorised by the Registration Acts.

"For every copy of any register, or any part of any register, containing any number of persons' names:—

	s.	*d.*
Not exceeding 1,000 names . . .	1	0
Exceeding 1,000 and not exceeding 3,000	2	6
Exceeding 3,000 and not exceeding 6,000	5	0
Exceeding 6,000 and not exceeding 9,000	7	6
Exceeding 9,000	10	0"

By this Amendment he proposed to add a Schedule containing a list of prices.

The Solicitor General for Ireland

The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) purposed by an Amendment, which appeared on the Paper later on, to reduce the prices by exactly one-half. As a matter of fact, the prices were fixed by a Schedule to the Act of 1850, and therefore they could not be altered. In any case, he should object to the alteration suggested by the hon. Member.

Question proposed, "That the proposed 'Forms' be there inserted."

MR. SEXTON said, he considered that the prices named in the lists were very excessive, and if it be a fact, as he believed it was, that they could put what prices they pleased in the Schedule, they should receive some assurance that these prices would be reconsidered before the Bill passed through "another place." He could not understand on what principle the prices were arranged. The demand for the lists was sure to be very largely increased, owing to the fact that now a much larger number of persons would take an interest in the franchise. There were two lists, and they certainly were very extraordinary. In the one 2*s.* 6*d.* was charged for upwards of 400 names, and in the other only 1*s.* was charged for 1,000 names. What was the explanation for such a variation in the charges?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) pointed out that one was a register and the other a list.

MR. SEXTON said, they both contained names; and he did not see why, in the one case, a larger charge should be made than in the other. It was perfectly obvious that the prices could be cheapened, and he invited the hon. and learned Gentleman to consider the list of prices which he (Mr. Sexton), after close inquiries, had put upon the Paper.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 34, line 14, by leaving out all the words after the word "note" between the brackets, and inserting the words "this notice must be served upon every occupier who would, if the rate were paid on or before the first of July, be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of the occupation thereof. Service of the notice is to be personal, if practicable, and if not, the notice may be left at the last or usual place of abode of the occupier, or with some

person on the premises in respect of which the rate is payable, or, if no person can be found, it may be affixed upon some conspicuous part of the premises,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that this matter was regulated by the Act of 1867.

MR. SEXTON contended that the "note" was absolutely essential, particularly as the failure of the landlord to pay rates would disfranchise the tenant. He wished that the tenant should be able, by some means or other, to know whether the landlord had paid the rates or not. Surely, there could be no objection to the words—

"This notice must be served upon every occupier who would, if the rate were paid on or before the first of July, be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of the occupation thereof."

He could not assent to fall back upon any old Act. He hoped there would be no opposition to the Amendment.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that the matter would be looked into in "another place."

MR. MOLLOY said, these promises were vague, and amounted to nothing at all. The Irish Members asked that the law might be carried out in accordance with the intention of the House, and the right hon. Gentleman said it should be done "elsewhere." It was to be hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would correct the phrase, and see that the necessary Amendment was inserted in the House of Lords.

MR. DAWSON said, there was a demand note served on occupiers in Ireland; but it was considered waste paper, and not as a substitute for notice of non-payment of rates. He wished to know if there was a similar note appended to the form in the English Act?

MR. SMALL said, that of all the cool things he had ever heard of, this statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the matter would be put right in the House of Lords was about the coolest. The House of Lords was not a place where Amendments beneficial to the people of Ireland were likely to be inserted. In every part of this note there was a trap for the people of Ireland, and it was ridiculous to leave anything to the mercy of the House of Lords, who had never done anything yet for Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): We should be prepared to leave out the note altogether, and be governed by the ordinary law.

MR. SMALL: No; we should not agree to that.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): We cannot alter the law in the Schedule.

MR. SMALL said, it was a trap. The disqualification they anticipated was in the case of men whose rates were to be paid, not by themselves, but by others on whose land they lived. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland knew that demand notes for rates were not served on sub-tenants at all, yet it was said that if the landlord had got a demand note, all the tenants would not be able to vote unless their rates were paid. The rates were struck in September or October, and the disqualifying time was July. Let the Guardians strike the rate in September or October, and let them serve all occupiers with a demand note in November or December, and serve no notice whatever further on anyone, and the result would be satisfactory. Let them consider how the proposed plan would work on a large property. The rate collector came round, and was only bound to serve a notice on one person on the premises. He would go to a landlord, who would have, perhaps, a number of houses rated together, or the landlord's agent. That person would be served with the notice; but none of the newly enfranchised persons would receive one. The agent might have announced his intention of not paying the rate at all. Lord Bantry was a man who would be likely to take that course—hon. Members could imagine for what reason. He had a large amount of money, and he would be likely to take upon himself the responsibility of refusing payment, because, before he could be proceeded against, his sub-tenants would be disqualified from voting. He (Mr. Small) trusted his hon. Friends would press this Amendment to the utmost, and would take care that the matter was not left to the mercy of the House of Lords,

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the precept required something to be done—that a notice should be served, unless the rate had been properly paid or duly demanded by a demand note, and that a notice should be given or delivered to the occupier. All that was now done was to see that the law was properly complied with. The law might be good or not. They could not now do anything to alter it, or do anything beyond what the law required a man to do. Perhaps the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) would allow him to call attention to this—the hon. Member threw all the blame on hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial Bench; but if he desired an amendment in the law, he might have moved it where, though it might not have been applicable, it would have been, at any rate, more applicable than it was now. He should not have held over the matter until they came to a form which was to carry out the law, and not to alter it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Where would it have been more applicable?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): In the Representation of the People Act, we cannot tell the local officials to do more than the law requires. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Small) was insisting on the Government doing something which they could not do.

MR. SEXTON said, there was in the Schedule, in the name of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), an Amendment containing an extremely long instruction, embracing a lot of matters which were not in any law that was ever passed. No doubt they were reasonable. In the English Bill there was an instruction to the effect that on or before the 20th of June they were to give to every occupier a notice by delivering it on him, or leaving it with some person on the property in respect of which the rate was payable. They need not have received the rate if it had been demanded of such occupier. In the English Bill, therefore, a notice would be served on every occupier who would be entitled to be placed on the Register. If the demand of the Irish Members was not yielded to in this matter, they would have to resort to the Forms of the House—that was to say, to move the adjournment of the debate and of the House alternately. They were met by empty and delusive arguments which were not named; and unless the same notice were allowed in the case of Ireland as was given in the case of England the progress of the Schedule would be resisted.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, there would be no objection to putting the English form in the Bill.

MR. WARTON said, that the 28th section of the Act of 1867 said distinctly and clearly that this notice had only to be given when there had not been a demand note. As had been pointed out, it was not now proposed to alter the law, but to make a form to carry it out. The House should have more time to consider the enormous number of questions that these Bills involved; at any rate, an effort must be made to render the measure satisfactory. In 1867 the word "house" was not so comprehensive as it had since become, and the "occupier" spoken of in the clause of the Act of that year was no doubt supposed to be the only person inhabiting the house. Now, however, they had men inhabiting bits of houses; and the question was whether the law should not be altered so as to render it necessary to serve a demand note on every person occupying rooms in a house, or who might otherwise be disqualified from voting. Some years ago a house meant a house in the ordinary sense of the word; but now it only meant a little bit of a house.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We are willing to put in the Schedule the exact English form; but we cannot do it now as the dates will have to be altered. I will undertake that the necessary Amendment shall be carried out in "another place."

MR. SEXTON: The exact provisions in the Act of 1878?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; altering the dates.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman consider the propriety of assimilating the English and Irish law, and of giving the Irish landlords a reduction of 25 per cent if they pay the rates within a reasonable time? That would very much facilitate matters.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. SEXTON said, he desired to add the following note, after the Form of Return, in page 84, line 36 :—

"A copy of this Form shall be served in respect of every separate rating, and the clerk to the Board of Guardians and the respective collector or collectors of poor rates are required to fill in Column No. 1, according to the rate book, before the Form is served.

"When a Form has been mislaid or spoiled, or erroneously filled up, another Form shall be supplied by the clerk to the Board of Guardians, or the rate collector, on application by or on behalf of the person required to fill up the Form.

"The Form, when returned through the post, is to be received, and duly dealt with by the clerk and all other officials, even though the postage be not prepaid."

The first and second paragraphs would be found a matter of considerable convenience, whilst the third paragraph would prevent the disqualification of persons who omitted, through ignorance, to use a stamp.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he thought it would be reasonable to send a stamped envelope.

MR. SEXTON asked that a provision to that effect should be inserted in the Bill. All he desired was to prevent the voter from losing his vote, and that would be guarded against if there were a direction to the clerk to send a stamped envelope.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the question had been raised before, and the Postmaster General had been kind enough to promise that he would consider it. He thought it would be a monstrous thing that the voter should lose his vote on account of any misadventure with regard to the return of the form to the Clerk of the Board of Guardians. Did he understand the Chief Secretary for Ireland to accept the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton).

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he was prepared to accept the first two paragraphs of the Amendment; but the third raised a question as to unpaid postage, and it would be necessary to consult the Postmaster General. He was sorry that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was not present; but at that moment he was not aware of the view of his right hon. Friend upon the subject.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR suggested that the Amendment should be accepted in the form in which it had been proposed by his hon. Friend; and, if necessary, a change might be effected in "another place."

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN declared his willingness to accept that suggestion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 34, line 38, at the end, to insert—

"Note.—The description of the property in the first column should be a copy from the rate book, and should be filled in by the clerk of the union, and if it is a house numbered in a street should specify the street and number.

"The following instructions should be annexed to the form, with such alterations, if any, as the clerk thinks necessary for adapting them to the circumstances of the union or of the property to which the notice refers.

Instructions for filling up the Form.

"The dwelling house in the second column may be either—

(a.) A separate house—for example, a cottage, or a schoolmaster's house;

(b.) A part of a dwelling house separately occupied as a dwelling—for example, a room or rooms over a stable, caretaker's rooms in an office;

(c.) A room or rooms in a house let out in separate tenements.

"If it is a cottage, insert in second column, 'cottage in road,' or otherwise specify its locality.

"If it is a part of a dwelling house, insert in the second column 'rooms over stable,' 'basement of office,' 'rooms over shop,' or otherwise specify the locality of the room or rooms.

"If it is a house let out in separate tenements, insert in the second column the position of the room or rooms occupied; for example, 'First floor, front rooms.'

"In the third column insert, opposite to the description of the dwelling house in the second column, the name of the man who now inhabits it, and has inhabited it since the twentieth day of July last.

"If it has not been so inhabited state so, or omit the dwelling house from the second column.

"In filling up the return it must be recollected that, under the Representation of the People Acts—

(a.) A man may occupy part of a house separately, although he is entitled to the joint use of some other part of the dwelling house; for example, a man occupying the first floor front rooms, and having joint use of a wash-house, may occupy a part of a house separately;

(b.) In the case of what is commonly called the service franchise, namely, a person who occupies by reason of any office, service, or employment, if his superior officer or employer inhabits the same

house, he is not considered a separate inhabitant occupier; for example, a butler occupying rooms in his master's house is not such an occupier;

(c.) If the landlord of a house let out in separate tenements lives in the house, he need not return the names of the occupiers of tenements in that house;

(d.) The head of the family alone is considered to be the occupier."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SEXTON pointed out that the first paragraph (a), which directed that "a separate house" might be "a schoolmaster's house," might be misleading. He moved that the word "labourers" should be substituted for "schoolmasters."

Question, "That the word 'schoolmasters' stand part of the Note," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'labourers' stand part of the Note," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Note, as amended, stand part of the Schedule," put, and *agreed to.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

SECOND SCHEDULE.

ENACTMENTS relative to new Polling Districts and Polling Places and the Lists of Voters therein.

Amendment proposed,

In page 35, line 17, at end, to insert the following sub-section:—"(2.) So much of section eighteen, sub-section two, as relates to the publication in two newspapers, and in the "Dublin Gazette," of the notice herein mentioned, shall be and is hereby repealed."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SEXTON asked for an explanation of the Amendment.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the Amendment dealt with a point in the Ballot Act which required the publication in certain newspapers of notices relating to polling places. Ample provision would be made in other ways for due notice being given to all persons concerned.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

THIRD SCHEDULE.

On the Motion of Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, the following Amendments made:—In page 36, line 2, after "parties," insert "not being persons named in any list of claimants;" and in line 10, leave out from "on," to "dated," in line 21, and insert—

"Here the objector shall specifically state the ground or grounds of his objection. He shall be deemed to have satisfied this provision by naming the column or columns of the register on which he grounds his objection, as thus:—

"And I ground my objection on the column of the register headed—

[Here specify column by reference to its heading]."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had now to move that the Bill be re-committed with respect to the two money clauses.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Bill be re-committed with respect to new Clauses regarding temporary provision for remuneration of local officials, and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Dublin by townships of Pembroke and Blackrock."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. SMALL, in moving to add at the end of the Motion the words "and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Newry by counties of Down and Armagh," said, he inferred from the proposal just made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland that he intended to exclude the case of Newry; and his (Mr. Small's) object in moving this addition to the question was to extend the terms of the re-committal of the Bill so that the Committee should have the opportunity of considering the propriety of requiring a contribution from the counties of Down and Armagh towards the costs of registration in the borough of Newry. If the right hon. Gentleman would indicate that he would accept this proposal he (Mr. Small) would be satisfied, and would defer the discussion of the question until the Bill was in Committee. As the right hon. Gentleman made no motion of assent, he had no alternative but to enter upon the discussion at once. Formerly the Grand Juries were the persons who paid the Town Clerks for the revision of the lists of voters; but by a local Act of Parliament the cost in this case was transferred from the counties, and was made a special charge upon the borough of Newry. The Newry Im-

provement Act was passed in 1871, and one of the provisions of that Act, by an omission, transferred the cost of the revision from the counties of Down and Armagh to the town of Newry. At the time the change was made, it was not taken into consideration that the Parliamentary borough of Newry extended beyond the town of Newry into the two counties mentioned; and the consequence was that the people of Newry were now required to pay out of the local rates for the expense of registering voters who did not reside within the municipality, or contribute one farthing towards the municipal rates. That was considered to be a very great hardship, and it did not exist in any other Irish borough which would survive the passing of the Redistribution Bill. Most of the Irish boroughs had become parts of county divisions. In the cases of Belfast and Londonderry, the Parliamentary and municipal limits were conterminous. The case of Newry stood by itself, because the Parliamentary limits extended far beyond the municipal boundary; and it was unreasonable and unfair that the municipality should be compelled to pay the costs of registration of those who resided outside the municipal limits, seeing that the people of Newry had also to contribute their quota towards the expense of revising the lists for the counties of Down and Armagh. When he had brought forward the question in Committee, the Chief Secretary for Ireland was ready with a great many arguments in opposition to it; but they only proved how very little the right hon. Gentleman knew about local registration in Ireland. Until the Act of 1871 was passed, the entire expenses of the revision of the borough lists for Newry was paid out of the general county funds; and all that he (Mr. Small) asked now was that the counties of Down and Armagh should resume their original liability for the registration of such voters as resided outside the municipal limits of Newry. The Chief Secretary for Ireland offered, as one argument against the proposal, that if the area of the Parliamentary and municipal limits was not in identity, as he called it, it might be changed; but throughout the whole of Ireland the rule was not to charge any special portion of a county, but the entire county at large, and it was for that reason that he proposed to spread the charge over the counties of Down and Armagh. The right hon. Gentleman further complained that no specification had been made of the particular local rates upon which the charge was to be imposed; but he might inform the right hon. Gentleman that all the rates chargeable by the Grand Juries were payable in one way, and that was out of money in the County Treasurer's hands. There was one general fund in the hands of the County Treasurer, and out of that fund all the charges which fell upon the county were defrayed. Therefore, the omission to state from what particular source this charge was to be paid was of no consequence whatever, because it would necessarily have to be paid out of the funds in the Treasurer's hands. The right hon. Gentleman further objected that no notice had been given to the persons chiefly interested of the intention to propose this change. All these matters were reported at length in the Irish newspapers; and, therefore, there had been ample notice given. It was a great hardship indeed that the people of the town of Newry should have to pay the entire cost of revising the lists of voters for a Parliamentary borough which extended far beyond the limits of the municipality into two Irish counties. If his Amendment, extending the terms of the re-committal of the Bill, were agreed to, he proposed to move the following clauses in Committee:—

"The treasurer of the county of Down shall repay to the town commissioners of Newry such sum each year as shall bear, to the entire expenses of the revision of the voters' lists for the borough of Newry, the same proportion as the number of electors of the said borough qualifying out of premises in the County Down portion of the said borough outside the municipal boundary bear to the entire number of electors of the borough, and the treasurer of the county of Armagh shall in like manner repay to the said town commissioners such sum each year as shall bear to the said entire expenses of revision the same proportion as the number of electors of the said borough qualifying out of premises in the County Armagh portion of the said borough outside the municipal boundary bear to the entire number of electors of the said borough.

"The town commissioners of Newry shall not be liable to contribute any sum towards the expenses of the revision of the voters' lists for the counties of Down and Armagh."

He could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for

Ireland should object to this proposal. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have been fully impressed with the justice of the claim made on behalf of Dublin, in the case of the parishes of Pembroke and Blackrock; and he could not understand why the right hon. Gentleman was not similarly impressed with the justice and equity of the claim of Newry. The two cases were exactly similar. The only difference was that in the case of Dublin the outside area, as he understood the right hon. Gentleman to say, was under a separate and distinct municipality; whereas in the case of the Parliamentary borough of Newry that was not so; but the outside area formed part of the large rural district of two counties. That fact, however, did not, in any respect, alter the injustice of the case. In the one case, by transferring a portion of the charge, it was handed over from one municipal body to another; and in the other, the change suggested would simply transfer the charge from a borough to the rural area of a county. At present, the entire charge of registering the voters in the counties of Down and Armagh was paid by the town of Newry; and no one would contend for a moment that the counties of Down and Armagh were not just as well able to pay their own share of the expenses. He begged, therefore, in order to bring the matter fully before the House, to move the addition to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Newry by counties of Down and Armagh."—(*Mr. Small.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in opposing the Amendment, said, there was really no ground for extending the reference to the Committee for the purpose stated by the hon. Member. Section 18 of the Newry Improvement Act of 1871 expressly provided that the borough of Newry should pay the whole of these charges, and that the counties of Down and Armagh should pay no portion of them. That was a clear and distinct Parliamentary bargain, and it would be unfair to alter it in the present Bill. As a matter of fact, the town of Newry simply paid a fair price for the privileges they had obtained. He could not, therefore, consent to extend the Motion for the purpose of inserting the clauses which had been placed on the Paper by the hon. Member.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR gathered that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) did not dispute the justice of the claim of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small). He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that he would not argue against the justice of the claim now put forward, but that he opposed it on the ground that it was barred by the clause in the Act of 1871. Now, that clause, as the hon. Member (Mr. Small) pointed out, was not passed in accordance with the wishes of the people of Newry. The Town Clerk of Newry was distinctly of opinion that that clause was put into the Act, not with the consent, but without the knowledge, of the people of Newry. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) maintained, therefore, that the present Amendment was not barred by the clause in question. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had the section of the Act before him. If the right hon. Gentleman read the section over a hundred times he would never be able to cause the Irish Members to change their opinion in the matter. They must have this subject discussed on its merits, and its merits were exactly similar to those of the case of Pembroke and Blackrock. If Pembroke and Blackrock, being outside the municipal boundaries and inside the Parliamentary boundaries of Dublin, were compelled to pay their share towards registration, why should the places outside the municipal boundaries and inside the Parliamentary boundaries of the borough of Newry be exempted from the payment of their share of the cost of registration? Was there any process of reasoning by which it could be shown that one-seventh of the electorate should be put on the Register without contributing one farthing towards the expenses? His hon. Friend (Mr. Small) was quite justified in bringing forward this Amendment; and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) awaited, with

some curiosity, the argument which could be advanced against it.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that, as the hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had appealed to him, he would point out what appeared to him to be the difference between the case of Newry and Pembroke and Blackrock. He quite agreed it was an anomaly that certain persons outside the municipal boundaries of Newry should have their registration expenses paid by those who lived within the municipal boundaries. But it would be a still greater anomaly if the registration expenses of the electors of Newry were to be paid by people who were outside and had no connection with the borough. Precisely an analogous case would arise if they were to put the expenses of registration of Pembroke and Blackrock upon the county of Dublin. The hon. Member must see that if they did that they would create a greater anomaly than that they destroyed. At present, the voters of Newry had to pay the expenses of the registration of their fellow-voters who lived outside the municipal boundaries; but this Amendment would put the expenses upon persons in the county who had nothing whatever to do with the matter. In the case of Pembroke and Blackrock, it was not proposed to throw the registration expenses upon the county, but upon the borough of Dublin. By the consent of all parties, a perfectly just settlement in the matter could be made. He was afraid he could not support the present proposal, which was one which might with equal justice be made in very many cases. The clause in the Act of 1871 which related to Newry was framed after due consideration, and the House could not depart from it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had advanced no reason to support his *non possumus*. One Act of Parliament was not more powerful than another, and in a case such as that made by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) the Irish Members ought not to be met in the way suggested. The argument in favour of the Amendment was simply this—that the counties of Down and Armagh were in receipt of the rates chargeable and payable in respect of the voters who were outside the borough of Newry. Why the charge for registration should not follow the receipt of money was more than he could understand. Now, Acts of Parliament were not like the Acts of the Medes and Persians; one Act of Parliament could be altered by another; and he failed to see why the Act of 1871 could not be altered to the extent now suggested by the Act of 1885. He hoped the Government would see their way to accept the Amendment. Nothing could be clearer than the equity of the claim put forward by the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small), who understood the case from beginning to end better, perhaps, than any other Member of the House.

MR. BIGGAR said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) spoke of the difference between the townships of Pembroke and Blackrock, and the places which were situated outside the municipal boundaries, but inside the Parliamentary boundaries of Newry. The cases were very much more similar than the right hon. Gentleman seemed to imagine. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman was not aware that the borough of Newry paid what was called county cess to Armagh and Down for the main roads, bridges, and all affairs connected with the counties at large. In addition to that, it was within the power of the Grand Juries of those counties, if they felt so disposed, to lay a specific tax on the part of the borough, which laid within the two counties, to cover the sum which they had to pay to the borough of Newry towards registration. Now, it was impossible for the municipal borough of Newry to charge the rate upon the outlying districts; but it was perfectly competent for the Grand Jury to do so, so that if the Amendment were adopted perfect justice would be done—that was to say, the Parliamentary electors who lived outside the municipal boundaries would pay, not directly to the municipality of Newry, but directly to the Grand Jury, the amount of rate which it was apportioned they should pay towards the expenses of registration. Under the circumstances, he held that the Government ought to agree to this Amendment, seeing that the cases of Pembroke and Blackrock, in which they had agreed to make the necessary alteration, and Newry were,

in point of fact, for all practical purposes, perfectly identical.

MR. DEASY said, he trusted that after the argument addressed to them by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) the Government would see their way to accede to the demand of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small). It did not follow that if the Bill were re-committed for the purpose of taking this subject into consideration the clause would be inserted. All the Irish Members desired was that they should have an opportunity of discussing this question, which was certainly a very important one for the people of Newry. He did not see any justice at all in compelling the electors within the municipal boundaries of Newry to bear the cost of the registration of those outside the municipal boundaries, but within the Parliamentary boundaries. It seemed an extraordinary thing that people should be allowed to vote for Members of Parliament, and yet not be called upon to pay a share towards the expenses of registration. The argument of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was conclusive upon the point, for he distinctly stated that the Grand Juries of the counties of Down and Armagh had it in their power to put a special rate upon the electors who lived outside the municipality of Newry, but within the Parliamentary limits of the borough, towards the cost of registration. Under such circumstances, he (Mr. Deasy) felt that no valid objection could be raised by the Government against the Amendment. He could not understand why they should accept the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) with respect to Pembroke and Blackrock, if they were not prepared to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small). The fact that an Act of Parliament passed in 1871 bound the people of Newry to pay the expenses of registration was no argument against the proposal now made. Although the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) and the Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had stated that the people of Newry were parties to the agreement, there was the evidence of the Town Clerk of Newry, who was then Town Clerk of the borough, that the particular clause in question was inserted in the Act without the knowledge of the people. They were no parties whatever to the agreement, and he (Mr. Deasy) saw no reason why a clause should not be inserted in this Act which would do common justice to the people of the borough. He might point out that the people of the counties of Down and Armagh had received notice that this Motion would be made, and that neither the Grand Jury nor any person in those counties had raised the slightest objection. No letter had appeared in the newspapers concerning the matter; and, indeed, there was no evidence at all that anyone in the counties interested objected to the Motion of the hon. Member for Wexford. He trusted that, even at the last moment, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would see his way to extend the Motion for the re-committal of the Bill so as to embrace the views which were entertained by the hon. Member for Wexford.

MR. SEXTON said, he supported the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Small) apart from the merits of the proposition which that hon. Gentleman might have to make in Committee. He did not think this was the moment for discussing the merits of the proposal by which his hon. Friend proposed to divide the cost of registration between the municipality of Newry and the Grand Juries of Armagh and Down. But what he thought was very objectionable was, that the Government should propose to re-commit the Bill in respect to a settlement between the Corporation of Dublin and the townships of Pembroke and Blackrock, and refuse to re-commit the Bill in order to bring about a settlement with respect to the Corporation of Newry and the counties of Armagh and Down. It was extraordinary that the Government should allow the people in one part of the country to settle their differences, and refuse to allow the people of another part of the country to come to a settlement. The cases were analogous, and, therefore, why were they treated differently? There might be, in the opinion of the Government, a better case in Dublin; but, in his opinion, the nature of the cases was precisely similar. His hon. Friend (Mr. Small) had striven, on various occasions, to have this clause considered. He was put off, or coaxed off, until the state of Report. He was told that if he deferred the matter until

Report it should receive attention. Now, when the Bill was to pass out of the House he made a last attempt. The tactics which had been resorted to by the Government were clever, but they were not right.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked, if his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) was correct in saying it was within the power of the Grand Juries to levy a rate upon these outlying districts to cover the expenses of registration?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): There is no such power.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had said that very clever tactics had been pursued by the Government. Whatever was done was in accordance with the Rules. Were they to alter the Rules of the House to meet every case that arose? The reason why this clause was put off until Report was, that the authorities of the House said it could not be considered, because it was a money clause. The Government had a money clause with reference to Pembroke and Blackrock; but they found it was necessary to re-commit the Bill in order that it might be considered. It was open to the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. Small) to move that the Bill be re-committed for the purpose he desired.

MR. DAWSON said, they had not yet received a definite answer from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) as to why the districts outside the municipal, but inside the Parliamentary, boundaries of Newry could not be separately taxed for the purposes of registration. He would like to know what legal objection there was to the Grand Juries levying a rate upon the districts in question for this specific purpose? He had had some experience of the work of Grand Juries, and he failed to see why arrangements could not be made to order these distinct townlands to pay their proper share of the registration expenses of the borough of Newry.

MR. LEAMY said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had moved to re-commit the Bill in respect of his own clause. He did not consider it proper to move to re-commit the Bill to meet the case of Newry. All the Irish Members asked the right hon. Gentleman to do was to support the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wexford (Mr. Small), because he knew quite well that it could not be carried unless he did support it.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he did not support the Motion, because he could not support the clause.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 24; Noes 58: Majority 34.—(Div. List, No. 194.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *re-committed; considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN moved the insertion of the following clause:—

"There shall be paid to every clerk of the peace who is not in receipt of a salary out of a Vote of Parliament, and to every town clerk, and to the clerk of a union, and to the several collectors of poor rates of a union, and to the Collector General of Rates in Dublin, such sum, by way of remuneration for additional duties, if any, required to be discharged by them in carrying out the registration of voters in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty five, as the Local Government Board, having regard to the circumstances of each case, may award.

"Such sum shall be paid out of moneys to be provided by Parliament."

New Clause (Temporary provision for the remuneration of local officials,)—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."

Amendment proposed, to amend the Clause, by inserting, after the words "having regard to," the words "the number of voters placed on the register in each county or borough, and to."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, to insert "other" before the word "circumstances."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question, "That that word be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

DR. LYONS said, that in connection with this subject he wished to call attention to the fact that no provision whatever was made for the rate collectors, on whom a very considerable amount of additional duty was thrown. The position of these officers was one of considerable grievance.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member intended to move an Amendment?

DR. LYONS said, he meant to propose the addition of certain words; but, in the first place, he might be allowed to say that the rate collectors throughout the country represented to him that for the duties they were required to perform they were very inadequately remunerated. For instance, one collector informed him that he was put to the expense of 18*s.* per day for car hire.

MR. SEXTON rose to Order. This clause provided for the remuneration of collectors of poor rates.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) has not yet stated the words he proposes to add.

DR. LYONS said, he was proceeding to say that the remuneration provided under the Bill for poor rate collectors was totally inadequate. He was told that in County Dublin collectors were put to the expense of 18*s.* per day for car hire, and the rate at which they were remunerated was 6*s.* 10*d.* for 41 tenements, which was about the average served in the course of a day. An absolute loss, therefore, was entailed on these men by these extra duties. He proposed to add at the end of the new clause these words—

"All reasonable provision shall be made to defray the legitimate claims of the officials concerned in carrying out this Act, according to a scale to be approved by the Lord Lieutenant."

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN pointed out that the Amendment of his hon. Friend (Dr. Lyons) was merely a repetition of other words. Poor rate collectors were amongst those for whom remuneration was provided by the clause. He really thought the Amendment was unnecessary.

COLONEL NOLAN reminded the Committee that if the poor rate collectors were remunerated as the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) desired, all the money allowed for registration purposes would be paid to these men alone.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the Clause, as amended, be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

New Clause:—

(Contribution to cost of registration in borough of Dublin.)

"The Commissioners of the townships of Pembroke and Blackrock shall repay to the Treasurer of the Corporation of Dublin so much of the expense incurred by the Corporation in carrying the Parliamentary Registration Acts into effect, in any year, as is properly chargeable to those townships respectively, having regard to the number of electors registered in that year for the borough of Dublin in respect of qualifying premises situated in such townships respectively.

"Such payments shall be made by the Commissioners of the said townships out of the rates applicable by them respectively for the general purposes of the township.

"In case any dispute arises as to the amount properly chargeable to either township in any year, it shall be referred to the arbitration of the Local Government Board for Ireland, who may inquire into the matter, and may make an award which shall be binding upon the Corporation of Dublin, and upon the Commissioners of such township," — (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)

—*brought* up, and read the first time.

Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "That the Clause be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: And now, in accordance with what I stated before, I would ask the House to give its consent to the third reading of the Bill. I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything in support of the proposal.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. SEXTON: I make no objection to the third reading; but I emphatically repeat, so that there can be no mistake about it, that it is understood there will be a note appended in "another place" to include all the provisions embraced by Clause 28 of the English Bill.

MR. WARTON said, that if the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would look at the bottom of page 10, he would find that the Clerks of the

Peace would have to carry out the most difficult sections of the Representation of the People Act. These officials would actually be required to go into questions of title, and to find out whether property had been derived from descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, and so on. It was true these qualifications were contained in the Act; but he contended that if there were any grounds of objection, and if a vote were objected to, it would be impossible to prove the qualification without requiring the Clerks of the Peace to go into these matters of title. There would not be time for them to do it; only such persons as election agents could undertake such work. He pointed this out in the interests of the Bill, and of its proper working; and he should like some of the hon. Gentlemen opposite, who objected to his statement, to have to perform the multifarious duties which the Clerks of the Peace had to discharge, and then to have added to those duties the duty of finding out whether a person got his title to the property, giving him a qualification by descent, succession, marriage, or marriage settlement. He should like to know what they would think of the addition? He hoped that in "another place" this objectionable feature of the Bill would be removed. Generally speaking, the directions given to the Clerks of the Peace in the Bill were far too full, and dealt far too much with questions of law. These officials ought to have their duties laid down as simply as possible. He had felt it his duty to say these few words; and now, having said them, he felt content.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *passed.*

SPORTING LANDS RATING (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 3.]

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. Munro-Ferguson, Mr. Mackintosh, Dr. Farquharson.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. CAMERON: The object of this Bill, Sir, is to carry out the recommendations of a Select Committee, of which you yourself were a Member.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—

CROFTERS HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the tenure of land by Crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Debate arising.

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

LOWER THAMES VALLEY MAIN SEWERAGE BILL.

Sir WILLIAM DYKE, Colonel WALROND, Mr. RUSTON, and Dr. FARQUHARSON, *nominated* Members of the Select Committee.—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND, Bill to confirm two Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland, relating to the Dublin Corporation Waterworks, and to "The Dublin Corporation Waterworks and Fire Brigade Provisional Order, 1874," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND and Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL (BILL NO 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland concerning Mallow and Midleton, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND and Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (TERM OF IMPRISONMENT) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Bill to amend the Law respecting the mode of reckoning a term of imprisonment under a warrant of commitment of a Justice of the Peace, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 180.]

TITHE RENT CHARGE REDEMPTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Bill to amend and extend the Acts relating to the Redemption of Tithe Rent Charge in England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. CUBITT, Mr. MONK, and Mr. VIVIAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 181.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 15th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 3) *; Registration (Occupation Voters) * (111); Registration of Voters (Scotland) * (112); Registration of Voters (Ireland) * (116); East India Unclaimed Stocks * (113); Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (114); Secretary for Scotland (117); Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) * (118).

Second Reading—Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation * (82); Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation * (81); Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) (109).

Committee — Barristers Admission (Ireland) * (100).

Committee—Report—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order * (96); Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) Extension * (101).

Select Committee—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * (31); The Lord Inchiquin added in place of The Marquess of Waterford.

Third Reading—Highways * (98), and *passed.*

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, I beg to lay on the Table, and ask your Lordships to give a first reading to, the Secretary for Scotland Bill; and I desire, in doing so, to point out the main differences that exist between that Bill and the Bill which is already familiar to your Lordships. The first of these—and there are only the two—is that the ancient Office of Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, now vacant, will be attached to the Office of the Secretary of State; and the second is this—that primary, secondary, and University education in Scotland should be under the control of the new Department.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked when it was proposed to take the second reading?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: After the Whitsuntide Recess.

Bill for appointing a Secretary for Scotland—*Presented* (The LORD PRIVY SEAL); read 1ª; and to be *printed.* (No. 117.)

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL.

Read 1ª (*The Lord Chancellor*); to be *printed.* (No. 111.)

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BILL (SCOTLAND).

Read 1ª (*The Lord Privy Seal*); to be *printed.* (No. 112.)

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

Read 1ª (*The Lord President*); to be *printed.* (No. 116.)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR gave Notice that on Monday next he should move the second reading of the Registration of Voters (England) Bill.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he hoped the House would also read the Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill a second time on Monday, as there was urgent reason why it should be passed as soon as possible.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he proposed to ask their Lordships to take the second reading of the Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill on Monday, and he hoped they would see their way to pressing that Bill forward also.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he would make an appeal to the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville). There was a strong desire, not only among supporters of the Government, but also on his own side of the House, that the English and Irish Bills should, if possible, pass before Whitsuntide. That would be impossible if their Lordships adjourned on Tuesday, as was originally intended; and, therefore, he suggested that they should not adjourn for the Recess till Thursday.

EARL GRANVILLE assented to the proposal, observing that there was no chance of adjourning for the Recess before Thursday.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT—LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether he could inform their Lordships of the course Her Majesty's Government intended to pursue with regard to either the renewal or a modification of the Crimes Act in Ireland; whether there was any truth in the rumour that had been promulgated that it was contemplated this Session to introduce a Local Government Board Bill for Ireland; and, whether the Government had any intention to bring in a

Bill to facilitate the purchase of land, which, he thought, they were more or less pledged to do?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I have to say that the Government do intend to bring in a Bill embodying a considerable number, but not the whole, of the provisions contained in the present Crimes Act, and that Bill they intend to introduce on an early day after the Whitsuntide holidays. With respect to the other measures mentioned by my noble Friend, I am not prepared to make any statement in regard to them at this moment.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS BEATRICE.

THE QUEEN'S MESSAGE.

Her Majesty's Most Gracious Message of Tuesday last *considered* (according to order).

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg to move—

"That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for the most gracious communication which it has pleased Her Majesty to make to this House of the intended marriage between Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice and His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg, and to assure Her Majesty that this House, always feeling the liveliest interest in any event which can contribute to the happiness of the Royal Family, will concur in the measures which may be proposed for the consideration of the House to enable Her Majesty to make suitable provision for Her Royal Highness."

My Lords, I have not the slightest doubt that your Lordships will agree to this Motion with cordiality and with sympathy with Her Majesty and her Family. That has always been the case in my experience; and it has been my fortunate lot on several former occasions to make a proposition of an exactly similar character. There is no family relation more touching than that between a mother and her daughter; and I believe many of your Lordships are personally cognizant of what this relation between Her Majesty and Princess Beatrice has been. It is a matter of congratulation that by this marriage—founded on mutual affection—of the Princess Beatrice to one whose personal qualities are universally acknowledged by those who know him, there will be no separation. The daughter will not be taken away from the Queen; but a son will be added to Her Majesty's home. I am perfectly certain that your Lordships will readily agree to any provision of a reasonable character, such as is proposed to be given in this case.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I am sure your Lordships will heartily agree with the Motion of the noble Earl, and will readily join in giving effect to the proposals which may commend themselves to Her Majesty's Government. This House does not take the same prominent share as the other House of Parliament does in dealing with questions of this kind; but we shall not fall short of the other House in the earnestness and goodwill with which we concur in the requisite arrangements, and your Lordships will wish that every happiness may attend those who are about to be united. Her Majesty has been singularly fortunate and happy in the marriages of her children. Those who have the honour of knowing the Princess and her affianced husband will feel that to a long list of marriages which have brought happiness to the Royal Household, and which have shed honour upon a race in whose character and position every Englishman feels the profoundest interest, this marriage now to be added will be like those that have gone before. We shall attend the last of the marriages of Her Majesty's children with the same feelings of hope for the future as those which have accompanied previous unions. I will only say one word more. The Prime Minister intimated in the other House that it was the intention of the Government to deal with this question of providing appanages for the children of the Sovereign, and to review the position and the present condition of the whole subject and the practice that prevails. I do not wish to comment now upon that which is reserved for discussion at a more distant opportunity; but I can only say that I heartily agree in the wisdom of the plan suggested by the Prime Minister, and I think much advantage may come from the consideration of this subject.

Motion *agreed to nemine dissentiente.*

The said Address to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ORGANIZATION AND EQUIPMENT.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to move—

"That the present state of the Auxiliary Forces, deficient as they are in the organization and equipment necessary to enable them, if required, to take and keep the field, demands the immediate and earnest attention of those who are responsible for their efficiency and for the security of the country,"

said, that in 1870 it was known that the Emperor of the French, in picking a quarrel with Germany, asked the Secretary of State for War whether France was prepared for war. The answer was historic and well known. General Lebœuf said they were prepared *jusqu'au dernier bouton*. What was the result of all this? Before even the French Army had crossed the Frontier the Chief of the Commissariat wrote to the Minister of War at Paris, dating from Metz, July 24, 1870—

"The 3rd Corps will leave Metz entirely to-morrow. I have neither attendants to nurse the sick, nor administrative clerks, nor ambulances, field stores, baggage waggons, weighing machines. In the 4th Division (the Cavalry Division) I have no officials at all. I beg Your Excellency to help me out of this difficulty. The great headquarters cannot come to my assistance, although there are more than 10 officials there."

They well knew the result of the Franco-German Campaign—how the French intended invasion was rolled back upon France, how armies were netted by hundreds of thousands at a time, how the Emperor surrendered at Sedan, how at last Paris itself surrendered, how two Provinces were torn from France, and how the French people were made to pay £400,000,000 indemnity. He referred to those events because they showed the result of trusting to smooth official statements; and because he believed that the consequences would be in England even worse, if they had, under present circumstances, to send in an emergency an Army into the field and to depend on its Auxiliary Forces. Of the Army, he only desired to say that at the time of the reforms carried out in the Army in 1871 they were assured that the Reserve in 1880 would amount to 80,000, whereas it only amounted to 34,000 in 1884; and the result was this — that while they had obtained a second line at the expense of the first, which was practically non-existent, only amounting to 30,000 rank and file of 20 years and upwards, they could not engage in the smallest war, and send efficient troops —seasoned men—abroad without depleting the regiments at home; and with regard even to the regiments sent abroad, he had been informed that there was one regiment doing garrison duty abroad 900 strong, having about 300 men who had never fired a shot—though this was a Rifle regiment—and having about one-third of its men under the age of 19 years. If they compared the year 1864 with the year 1884 they found this very strange result—that in 1884 there were 975 men less, including the Reserve, than in 1864 without it. In 1864 the Return of all ranks was 216,791; in 1884 it was 181,227, or 35,564 less; and if they added to the strength of the Army in 1884 the 34,000 First Class Reserve they only obtained 215,227, which was 975 less than the strength of the Army alone in 1864. That was certainly a curious state of things, especially having regard to the fact that the Army Estimate for 1884 was £15,790,000, and the Estimate for 1864 only £13,520,000. As regarded the Army, therefore, those figures, which were incontrovertible, showed that, however gallant the Army might be, it was not such that the nation could trust to it alone for its defences. It was to establish that proposition that he had made this allusion to the Army. He would now refer to the Auxiliary Forces —the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers. Two years ago he brought forward a Motion, which was carried, and which declared—

"That having regard to the present defective military organization and to the great importance of the Militia Force, it is essential that the Militia be forthwith recruited up to their established strength; and that the Militia Reserve should, as intended by its originator, the late General Peel, and as recommended by the Militia Committee of 1877, be borne in excess of the Militia establishment."

There was a discussion on that occasion; and, though all those who had held Office opposed the Motion, it was carried by the patriotism of the House by a majority of five. In bringing forward that Motion he gave the following figures. The Militia Establishment in 1883 was 128,069, but only 104,431 men were enrolled. Deducting 30,000 men who belonged to the Militia Reserve, and also those men who were under 19 years of age and

who could not be regarded as real soldiers, deducting also the Artillery and one-fifth for casualties, there were left 36,638 rank and file. Their Lordships would probably not be surprised to hear that the Resolution carried in that House had been treated as waste paper, and that nothing had been done which it recommended. In 1884 the rank and file of the Militia Establishment was nominally 129,737; but the number present at training was only 93,925, and after deducting the 30,000 Militia Reserve and the men under 19 years of age, Artillery, and one-fifth for casualties, there remained 27,473 available men. That was the state of affairs regarding the numbers of the Militia. As regarded organization, nothing could be worse. They were wanting in Transport, in Field Artillery, and in Cavalry. He had communicated with some Militia officers on the subject, and one of them—a most efficient officer—had replied—

"The state of the Militia is precisely what that of the Navy was before the recent scare,"

and their Lordships knew what that meant. This officer said that the system of sending recruits to the depôts to be trained, instead of at once attaching them to their regiments, discouraged enlistment. He also regretted that the Adjutant and permanent Staff of a regiment were no longer appointed by the Commanding Officer. The result of the existing state of things was that the command of a Militia regiment was not as desirable a prize as it was formerly, and that the Militia was inefficiently officered. Many young men entered the Force with the sole object of obtaining commissions in the Line, and consequently left it at the end of two years. The fraudulent enlistment and desertion that occurred in connection with the Force were very great. With regard to equipment, his informant complained that the want was almost total. The pouches of the men could only contain 20 rounds of ammunition; their knapsacks were worn out, and their belts obsolete. They had no leggings, water bottles, or helmets, and were but imperfectly provided with greatcoats. The fact was that the Militia was not in the state in which the public believed it to be, either in point of numbers or organization. Public opinion ought to be brought to bear upon the subject, and more cognizance taken of this invaluable Force. As to the Yeomanry, he held that every effort should be made to keep that old Constitutional Force up to the proper standard. In time of need it might render invaluable service to the country. He came now to the last branch of his subject—namely, their Volunteer organization. Sir Edward Hamley, in a recent article in *The Nineteenth Century* entitled *The Volunteers in Time of Need*, said—

"Since their first establishment the Volunteers have largely increased in numbers. There was a time, some 15 years ago, when for some years the Force kept diminishing. But since 1873, when the number enrolled stood at 172,000, of whom nearly 19,000 were non-efficient, it rose steadily, till it stands now at 240,000 enrolled men, of whom less than 7,000 were non-efficient. That so many men, of whose lives leisure forms but a small part, should give so much of it to this almost gratuitous service proves that they have taken up the task in no holiday spirit, and is one of the hopeful signs of the times."

Sir Edward Hamley also pointed out that in a case of necessity the Volunteers would probably form two-thirds of our defensive Army. Now, it was a melancholy fact that this Force, so enthusiastic and patriotic, was, as an Army, practically inefficient. Their muskets were of the very worst kind, and they had none of the absolute requisites to enable them to take and keep the field. As a result, if those men should be suddenly called to take the field sickness would prevail to an alarming extent. At a recent discussion at the United Service Institution a statement was made of the articles, greatcoats, valises, water bottles, leggings, &c., of which the Volunteers were in need; and it was agreed that a certain additional sum—10*s.*—ought to be given to Volunteers to enable them to procure those articles, the grant being made on the principle of payment by results. Another matter to which attention was drawn at the meeting was the desirability of forming a Volunteer Reserve. That, however, did not exhaust the catalogue of wants. More ranges were needed, and Morris's tubes for shooting practice should be provided for all regiments. It was said that there was ample transport in the country; but what use was that when the transport was not organized? When the crash came there might be chaos here beyond anything that had been found in France. With

regard to Auxiliary Cavalry they had none; and yet they ought to look to the Yeomanry as the proper Cavalry Force in aid of the Volunteers. It would add greatly to the efficiency of the Yeomanry if they were made a Rifle Cavalry Force, and were armed with a rifle good at 2,000 yards, instead of a carbine as now, which carried only 1,000. The men should be trained to use this arm on foot as well as on horseback. If he were the Secretary of State for War he would be inclined to say to the Yeomanry—"You are capable of being made a most efficient Force. We are ready to assist you; but we insist upon your becoming Rifle Cavalry. If you do we will increase your grant." He hoped the country would take this home—that they had at present a Royal Artillery insufficient in number for an Army even on a peace footing, and absolutely insufficient for an Army on a war footing, as regarded the proper proportion of guns, horses, equipments, and men. It had not that reserve of men, horses, or equipment which would be necessary for war. As regarded the Militia, there was no Field Artillery of any kind. The illustrious Duke on the Cross Benches (the Duke of Cambridge) would bear him out that this was the old story mooted in 1870. He asked his noble Friend (the Earl of Morley) the other day a Question about the 40-pounders they had got. His noble Friend declined to give any information, upon the ground that it would be indiscreet to do so; but the fact was that the only people who would be kept in the dark upon the subject were the people of England, as through their Military Attachés Foreign Governments knew every particular of every gun we had. The 40-pounder was not as good as a gun half its weight; but it might be improved. Let some use be made of those guns; let them be handed over to the Volunteers. That was what General Hamley proposed—that those guns should be given to the Volunteers, and that stores should be built; and he calculated the whole cost at £800,000. The total cost of Volunteers numbering 214,000 was £769,400. Of that sum the capitation grant amounted to £388,800, stores to £93,000, Adjutants £67,400, and Sergeant-Instructors £85,100. He hoped he had said enough to induce their Lordships to support his Motion.

The Earl of Wemyss

He thought he had shown that whether they looked at the Army or the Auxiliary Forces everything was in a condition in which it ought not to be. That was due to the policy of both sides. They dreaded to spend money on things for which money was required; and there was a want of courage on the part of those who were responsible, and who ought to come forward and state what was wanting in money and otherwise to make their Forces efficient. This question was in the Slough of Despond of Party rivalry. General Hamley said in *The Nineteenth Century* of last March—

"The reason of this disastrous neglect lies in the extraordinary means by which we are content to administer our Departments of War. They are in the hands of Ministers 'who never set a squadron in the field or the division of a battle know,' but who are pledged to maintain the interests of a particular political Chief and political Party. I speak not of any particular Party nor any particular Minister—it is the vice of the system. It is not peculiar to these Departments that they postpone the interests of the country to the interests of Party. There is no more powerful projectile with which to assail a political adversary than a charge of extravagance. Accordingly, at every crisis the Leaders use these missiles to bombard each other:—'The right hon. Gentleman's Administration cost the country £6,000,000 more than that over which I had the honour to preside.' 'Not at all; the noble Lord forgets that a much larger expenditure than that was entailed upon us by his own policy,' &c., to the great edification and delight of his hearers. If the speakers were to be perfectly frank on these occasions, like the inhabitants of the Palace of Truth, their avowals would take something of this character—'I found my best claim to your confidence on a remission of taxation. The expense of preparing for war is very irksome in time of peace. As I hope for peace in my time, the odium of meeting war without preparation will not fall upon me. I have, therefore, reduced this item of expense to the lowest point consistent with the maintenance of appearances. I have allowed the Army to become a huge simulacrum; I have encouraged the cheapest of national defences — the Volunteers — to enrol themselves, but chiefly at their own expense. I have withheld from them all that could render them of service in case of invasion. I have left the walls of our most important fortresses incapable of resisting attack, for to render these defensible, expensive works would be necessary. I have left the Navy short of ships, and the ships short of guns. While Foreign Powers are vying with each other in the effort for military superiority, I have displayed in this respect a masterly inactivity. I am told that in given possible circumstances we might be invaded and even conquered. But let us hope that the contingency is remote, and not to be considered of any importance in presence of the fact that I hope next year to take 1*d.* off the

Income Tax.' Now, strange to say, it is by no means incredible that a popular Minister might address an audience in these very terms, not merely without disapproval, but with applause. The political prescience of our rulers is bounded by the next quarter's taxes. Yet there have been, and they may come again, times when such a policy would have led, not to Westminster, but to the Tower."

But it was not by money alone that all that was required could be done. To put their military system on a sound footing, they ought to revert to the old Constitutional law, which was only in abeyance of the ballot for Militia service. Commissions had reported in its favour, and Ministers had spoken for it. Recently the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill had been taken out of the lines of Party. But whether a borough was to be absorbed in a county or not was a trifling thing. But this was a question that was vital to the nation—a question in which their Empire, their homes, and everything that was dear to them were at stake, and yet it was made the shuttlecock and the battlefield of Party. He would advise Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to come to an understanding with the leading men on the other side with a view to bring back the old Constitutional system by which every man who was born a free citizen was born also liable to serve in the ranks for the defence of his country. He thought that the Militia ballot should be so applied that when a man attained 20 years of age, unless he was serving mainly at his own expense in some other Force—such as the Yeomanry or the Volunteers—he should be liable to serving in the Militia. Thus a man would only once in his lifetime run the chance of compulsory service. If such a regulation were adopted, he felt confident it would have a most salutary effect upon the youth of the nation, and consequently upon the nation itself; for, even when speaking in the presence of the right rev. Prelates opposite, they would bear him out when he said there was no greater moral agent than the drill sergeant. It might be alleged that the ballot interfered with trade and commerce. On that point he wished to refer to words spoken a short time ago by Prince Edward of Wales—wise words of early promise spoken when presenting prizes to the Cambridge Town Volunteers. The young Prince first urged his hearers to become good shots, and then went on to say—

"It was, however, on account of its beneficial results to the individual citizen, arising from control and discipline, that he considered the Volunteer Service of chief value to our country. He was deeply impressed with this by his five years' naval training. The value of military training, he considered, was exemplified in the most striking way in the case of Germany, and he did not believe the military system of that country weighed nearly so heavily upon her peaceable and mercantile subjects as some would persuade themselves. The steady expansion of the German trade and population within the last 20 years was the best proof that the military discipline, so far from hindering, on the contrary, aided both individual and national achievement. Method and order, temperance and persistency, combination and enterprize—these were the virtues, that, whether in the workshop, the study, the counting-house, or the camp, promoted success in life."

The practical suggestions he had made he had not included in his Motion, because he thought such matters were better left to the discretion of the Government. What he asked was that they should seriously consider the question of compulsory service, and apply the sound old English principle in the most lenient but effective manner they could. He, however, left the question of the best means of attaining the end in view to the Government. All that he now asked their Lordships to do was to pass the Resolution that he had placed on the Paper; and he did not think that the Government could do otherwise than accept it, because it simply stated a truism, and to reject it would be abnegation of their duty, of which he could not think they would be capable. He asked the Government, therefore, to make their home defensive forces effective, and to have them properly organized; for, at present, they were neither. By adopting that course they would do much alike to give security to the Empire, to render their shores inviolate, and—by making England strong—to promote the peace of the world.

Moved to resolve, "That the present state of the Auxiliary Forces, deficient as they are in the organization and equipment necessary to enable them, if required, to take and keep the field, demands the immediate and earnest attention of those who are responsible for their efficiency and for the security of the country."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

THE EARL OF LONGFORD desired to support the noble Earl who had just sat down. They must maintain suffi-

cient naval and military strength to uphold their interests wherever they were put in danger. They were apt, when anything unexpected happened, and when some Foreign Power trod on their toes, to forget, perhaps, how many toes they had. Even a glance at the births, marriages, and deaths column of *The Times* would show them how widely their people were scattered over the world, and how many interests they had in every quarter of the globe. They were in constant danger of coming into conflict—not necessarily hostile conflict—with those who had greater regard for their own interests than for ours; and the disputes that arose from time to time were not always arranged to the credit of this country. The agents of their Foreign Office in different parts of the world required to have some backing to strengthen their hands. The British Flag waved with most effect from the topmast of an iron-clad, and more respect was shown to their "thin red line" when it was not so very thin. The noble Earl had called attention to that most important element of military strength—the proper maintenance of their Reserve Forces. He must express his sense, which he was sure their Lordships shared, of the patriotic spirit in which the Volunteers and the Yeomanry had maintained or increased their numbers to the public advantage at considerable personal sacrifices. The Militia certainly had his sympathy in its troubles, for troubles they were. In numbers, in the establishment of officers, in equipment, in musketry training, and in other points, it was very far below what the country ought and could afford to make it. The valuable services performed by the officers and men under considerable disadvantage were but slenderly remunerated. As encouragement to good men to enlist, he urged that to soldiers of merit on leaving the Service some preference should be given in regard to public employments. The claim of such men was admitted, indeed, but was not sufficiently recognized in practice. They assumed that all Parties were anxious to maintain the honour of the country; but the way to do so, no doubt, was to keep up a supply of the proper means of asserting themselves under all circumstances. Even in a narrow financial view, it was more expedient to expend an extra £1,000,000 a-year for strengthening their military resources than to suddenly pass spasmodic Votes of Credit, which had amounted probably to £20,000,000 within a few years.

LORD TRURO said, he did not think that any Government could object to some such Resolution as that moved by the noble Earl. The object was to call the attention of the public and of the Government to the condition of the Auxiliary Forces. The noble Earl who introduced the Resolution referred to the Regular Army and to the Militia, and he desired to trouble their Lordships with one or two points in relation to the subject. It could not, he thought, be known, either to their Lordships or to the country generally, that a surprisingly large number of those who joined the Volunteer Forces had, from time to time, entered the Regular Army. No less than 300 men of the corps which he had the honour to command had entered the Regular Army. Those men were not what they might call the lower order of artizans. Many of them had been earning from £1 to £3 per week; and yet occasions had arisen when, in consequence of labour being short, they had resigned, and had been passed into the Regular Forces. The Government, under such circumstances, should give the best attention and assistance they could to the Auxiliary Forces. This was not a question entirely for the consideration of the Government; but whether the country was prepared to consent to the additional expense of making the Auxiliary Forces as efficient as possible. The Militia Force had been the recruiting Force for the Regular Army; but in the Volunteers they now had another source of recruiting, which would be much more valuable than their Lordships could at present conceive of. He earnestly hoped that the Government would, as soon as the great pressure of expenditure had somewhat diminished, turn its attention to the Volunteer Forces, and make them as efficient as their Lordships could possibly desire them. He thought it most lamentable that it was not thought expedient to give the Volunteer Forces some Field Artillery. It was, he knew, the opinion of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief that it was not expedient to give any portion of that arm of the Service to the Auxiliary Forces; but he could not help pointing out what would

be the effect of such a policy in time of war. He could not suppose that anyone who knew the condition of the Artillery Force in this country would state that there was a sufficient Force of that branch of the Service to support the action of the Regular Forces, the Militia, the Yeomanry, the Volunteers, and the Reserve Forces. No military man, certainly with the Returns before him, would stand up and say that the country was provided at the present time with an adequate Artillery Force. What must be the condition of things in the event of an immediate attack upon the country? Nobody knew better than His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief that of all branches of the Service none took so long to learn as the Artillery.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE said, that only the other day he sent 20 guns to the Force commanded by the noble Lord.

LORD TRURO said, it was true that His Royal Highness was good enough to concede the guns for a single day, but they were not the sort of guns that would be used in the Army at all; they were known to be obsolete. It was an act of kindness on the part of His Royal Highness to concede the guns, but they had not in the Volunteer Force to play at soldiers; they went into the Service for the purpose of making sacrifices in the interests of the country. He repeated that it was an act of kindness to give the guns for the use of the Force at Brighton; but to say that Field Artillery was conceded when the guns were obsolete—well, he would make no comment. He was not in the Volunteer Force to play at soldiers and go out with obsolete guns; any man who became a Volunteer for that purpose was contemptible. What must happen in time of war was this. The Militia Artillery and Volunteer Artillery would be sent into forts; that was the present idea. If the men could learn Artillery drill in one, two, or three months, there might be some reason for that; but Artillery drill, with the guns of the new character now being provided, could not be learnt in six or nine months. If that be so, he submitted that they must send perfectly unskilled and ignorant men into the forts, and take the Volunteer and Militia Artillery to serve the field guns—and why? Because they would not have a single man in the country capable of doing Field Artillery work. No one knew so well as the Commander-in-Chief that they could not make a Field Artilleryman in four or five months. There was no alternative but to make use of Volunteer Artillery, to give them guns, and let them do the best they could with them in time of peace. He did not ask for any extravagant number. There were very few regiments in the Volunteer Artillery Service who desired these guns—very few who could afford to have them. Unless a regiment was very strong, or unless the Government gave larger grants, the expense attending them could not be paid. He appealed to His Royal Highness to reconsider his decision, and say whether he could not concede, to half-a-dozen or a dozen regiments, say from two to four guns of Field Artillery. He had gone into the Volunteer Service with an overwhelming desire to do his duty as a soldier; and he felt it was a positive injustice to the country not to utilize the services of men of intelligence, and who made great sacrifices to serve their country. The Government ought to endeavour to get as much as they possibly could for the money grant, and that could only be done by acting in the direction he had indicated. Another point he desired to mention was the appointment to the Volunteer Adjutancies. When the Volunteers were first established, many of the Adjutants were men who had been non-commissioned officers, and who had earned those posts by their services in the Regular Army. A great error had been committed in depriving non-commissioned officers of the privilege of being appointed to those posts, for which they were so admirably fitted, and which were regarded as rewards for long service. Those comfortable berths were now given to officers in the Regular Service; and if he refrained from stating what had been the experience of himself and others, it was because he would not wound the feelings of a large number of officers now in the Volunteer Service. Another grievance was that Adjutants were compelled to retire at the age of 55, although they might be in perfect health, and quite able to discharge their duties with efficiency. It was a loss to the country that a man whose services were invaluable should

thus be got rid of. He trusted that on both those points the present practice or Regulations would be reconsidered and revised.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: I had intended to abstain from offering any observations until after the speech of the noble Earl who represents the War Office (the Earl of Morley); but I have been so pointedly appealed to by the noble Lord who has just sat down that it would ill become me to allow any time to elapse before answering the observations of the noble Earl. I am glad, however, in one respect, that the noble Lord has referred to me in the way he has, since it enables me to assure your Lordships that a finer regiment, better turned out, with position and field guns, than that under the command of the noble Lord at Brighton the other day I have never seen. I made that remark on the ground; and I have great pleasure in repeating it in this House. I cannot, I must confess, understand what the noble Lord means when he says we have no Field Artillery for the Volunteers. The Field Artillery to which the noble Lord refers requires the most minute manipulation and driving. It is one of the most delicate and difficult arms of the Service. I certainly am of opinion that, unless that arm is practised from day to day, it is impossible for the Field Artillery to be properly and efficiently worked. It is on that ground I object altogether to the noble Lord's statement of what he considers, and some Volunteer officers consider, as suitable Field Artillery for Volunteers. What is the object of the Militia and the Volunteers? It is the defence of the country. It is not to go abroad. It is true, the Militia do go abroad; but where do they go? They go to garrison towns. Have we not Militia Artillery and Volunteer Artillery? We have large bodies of Volunteer Artillery, which can be put into our forts and batteries on the coast. We want to keep the enemy from landing on our shores. We do not want Volunteer Field Artillery within our shores, because no enemy should be permitted to land on the coasts of this country. We have both Volunteer and Militia Artillery, which can be put into our forts and batteries on the coast; and unless we have to contemplate the almost impossible contingency of an enemy landing on our shores, Volunteer Field Artillery can be of little or no use. I have never had the slightest objection to the heavier kind of Field Artillery, which would practise the Volunteers in gunnery; and I hope that every Volunteer Artillery regiment will follow the example of the noble Lord, and fit themselves for working batteries of position as well as the guns in the batteries round the coast. The noble Lord said we gave them obsolete guns. I am not aware that the 20-pounder is an obsolete gun. It is a heavy gun of position; I wish we had more of them. If we have not enough, it is a mere matter of expenditure. As for saying that the 20-pounder is a bad gun, or an obsolete gun, I am sorry to contradict the noble Lord. It is a mistake, because it is the best position gun you have. The 40-pounder is no doubt a heavier gun; still, I should like to see 40-pounders exchanged, to some extent, for 20-pounders. That, again, is a matter of expenditure. The next thing I wish to refer to is the question of the Adjutants. I have no doubt that the noble Lord has a very good Adjutant in his regiment, and I am glad to hear it. I am satisfied that he has very good material in his regiment, and that he is very well supported. I have not otherwise heard of complaints about the Adjutants. On the contrary, I have recently seen Yeomanry corps, Militia corps, which had Adjutants appointed on the new system of five years. They said that the greatest advantage had arisen to corps in general by the new system of Adjutants —and why? It stands to reason. A man comes from the Regular Army, and he knows that if he does not perform his duty well he is sure to get a bad name, not only in the corps in which he serves, but in the Army generally. What was the case formerly? A man was appointed, for instance — a very good man—and he got old and inefficient. The consequence was that, perhaps from personal feeling, having been in contact a long time, it would be said— "Oh, let him go on a little longer; he has done so well." Now, no question arises, and as soon as the five years are over, as a matter of course, he goes back to his regiment. If he goes back to his regiment, and is known to have been a bad Adjutant, he would probably not be promoted in the Army. I believe

the present system is a sound one, and I should grieve, indeed, to see any change made. The noble Lord said that the new system of selecting Adjutants debarred officers from rising from the ranks. I can only say that if an officer of the Army who had risen from the ranks was well qualified to be an Adjutant, he would be selected in preference to another in order to give him a good berth for the time. There is not a large number of non-commissioned officers risen from the ranks; and I am not aware of any Regulations preventing their being appointed to Adjutancies. I think I have answered the noble Lord in the several remarks he has made. I consider this one of the most important subjects that could possibly be brought before the notice of your Lordships; but the mischief and the misfortune is that though your Lordships are asked to come to a Resolution, which no doubt would have a great effect, still you are not in a position to carry out what your Resolution implies. Your Resolution would imply a very large additional expenditure. It is no use denying that it is a matter of money. Many of the matters brought forward this evening by the noble Earl and the noble Lord would be most desirable. I quite admit that the efficiency of the Militia, and the efficiency of the Volunteers, would be greatly improved if they had all the advantages which the Army at large possesses in the shape of accoutrements, arms, and so on; but that, again, is entirely a question of expenditure. The question is—If you have only a certain sum of money, are you to give it to the Volunteers and to the Militia, to the disadvantage of the Army, or are you to give it to the Army, and so try to make it more efficient? If the question was put to me, I cannot for a moment hesitate as to which I should give it. I should say the first thing is to make the Army efficient; and, having done so, the next thing is to make the Auxiliary Services, whether Militia or Volunteers, as nearly as possible identical in point of efficiency with the Army itself. Of late we have been trying to do this to the fullest extent; but we are always hampered with the difficulty of expenditure. There is the question of accoutrements, which you may say is a small matter; but I must say that I think appearance is everything with a soldier. To make a good regiment, you must make a man not only proud of himself but of his regiment—well equipped, well found, and with all the acquired smartness that belongs to the Regular Army. I may mention to your Lordships that I saw two London regiments, not selected, being embodied in the present circumstances; they were completely equipped like any other battalion of the Army, and I can only say that, considering they had only been two months embodied, they were as efficient as you could possibly expect. I was perfectly astonished to see what could be done in such a short time. I agree that it would be a great advantage if the whole of the Militia were equipped as those battalions were; but, unfortunately, the difficulty of expenditure always comes in the way. We cannot overcome that difficulty without going to another Assembly, who are not always quite disposed to see these matters in the same light as ourselves. I have said before, and I say it again, that questions affecting military matters and the defence of the Empire ought not to be made, and they are not, Party questions in themselves; but they become Party questions because of the question of finance. Naturally, with every Government, there is an indisposition to impose increased taxation; but without increased taxation you cannot have large establishments, whether for the Army or for the Navy. If, therefore, you can get rid of this Party question by coming to some understanding as regards finance, I think it would be of the greatest possible benefit to the public. If anything which is said to-night can produce such a result, I, for one, should greatly rejoice. The noble Earl advanced some views on other points with which I entirely agree, and I quite concur that Yeomanry regiments ought to be encouraged. As to the shooting power of the Yeomanry, I am not one of those who have a very bad opinion of the carbine.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: It only shoots half as far as the rifle.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: I admit that it does not shoot the same distance as the other weapon; but it shoots wonderfully well for its size. There is no question that on horseback the smaller weapon is much more easily carried than the long weapon. [The Earl of WEMYSS dissented.] My noble

Friend shakes his head. No doubt he has some knowledge and experience, but I have also some knowledge and experience; and I can only say that I would much rather ride with a carbine than with a long weapon. I can see no reason why, if it should be wished, the arming of the Yeomanry with long rifles should not be acceded to; but personally I am satisfied with the carbine. I agree with the noble Earl that we ought to try and get yeomen to shoot better. Then comes the general question of shooting—a most difficult one, I admit. With a splendid arm, we now have ranges so extended that shooting practice is very dangerous. This country is so thickly populated, and there are so few places where you can shoot with impunity, that the question of suitable ranges is becoming a very serious one. It affects not only the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, but the whole Army. That is, unfortunately, the difficulty we have in the matter. Then there is the question of the expense attendant upon shooting. A Volunteer going out shooting has to pay his own way. I do not know how to get over this difficulty, except by additional expenditure; and if you have additional expenditure you must deduct from something else. There are many difficulties we have to contend with; and, such being the case, I am glad to have had an opportunity of bringing to the notice of your Lordships the great difficulty which any Minister or any Administration has to deal with in regard to the military or naval affairs of this country. My noble Friend wishes to see the Militia full; but to get recruits we must go into the labour market, and if they do not find that the advantages offered are sufficiently attractive they will not join. That brings us again to the matter of expenditure. I believe that the Militia is in a very efficient and good condition, except as to numbers. My noble Friend also referred to the difficulty about getting officers. That is, no doubt, the fact; but I understood him to say it was a mistake to pass officers from the Militia into the Army.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: No; I did not say that.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: Well, he said that young men only came into the Militia to pass into the Army, and that is very much the same thing. He would prefer the Militia officers staying in the Militia. That may be desirable. But a large number of young men are attracted to the Militia so as to be able to pass into the Army; and if they were prevented doing so, why there would be still fewer officers. I have made these observations not at all in a controversial spirit, but to explain how matters stand, and to show the difficulties in which every Government is placed in regard to this matter.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, he would not go into the question of the ballot or the Army Reserve; but would remind the House that the Volunteer Force was a very cheap Force—that it cost about as much as an iron-clad, which was not much to pay for a Force of 200,000 men. The noble Earl had alluded to three points—organization, clothing, and equipment. With regard to the first but little remained to be done. Corps formerly scattered over the country had been formed into consolidated regiments and attached to territorial districts—one of the changes which remained to be accomplished was the consolidation of small corps in large towns into regiments of two battalions. That would save much expense as regarded ranges and other items.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE said, this was certainly desirable; but it was left entirely to the Volunteers themselves to say where they should go.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE: With regard to the Volunteer Artillery, it was the most valuable portion of the Force; and anyone connected, as he had been, with the National Artillery Association, could not fail to be struck by their admirable practice at Shoeburyness, which had elicited warm praise from officers of the Royal Artillery. He was very glad to hear the illustrious Duke speak in such high terms of the late Captain Darley's organization. Those who had been to Brighton Reviews must know how admirably the system had answered, and how they marched past with their farm horses. That was a system which he should like to see more encouraged. Captain Darley, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, stated that at any time he could lay his hand on 300 horses. If he could do that, others could do the same; and there should be a system of registration somewhat like what the noble Earl had

sketched out. There was, he presumed, a Mobilization Scheme in the pigeon-holes of the War Office. The Volunteers should, in time of peace, be told off for practice at the batteries, which they would be required to man in case of invasion, instead of going to Brighton and acting as Infantry. One word as to Field Artillery. The noble Lord opposite had always been in favour of field guns for the Volunteers; but he was well aware that without great expense the manning and keeping up a field battery was impossible. He (Viscount Hardinge) quite approved of the suggestion contained in the Report of the War Office Committee, that a special allowance should, in certain cases, be given to those corps who would undertake the organization of a field battery. As to Cavalry, it was, of course, impossible to have a due proportion of Cavalry for so large a force as the Volunteers. The Auxiliary Cavalry consisted of the Yeomanry; and it would be well that instead of their paying so much attention to parade movements they should pay more attention to outpost duty and skirmishing. It was idle to talk of converting them into Mounted Infantry. The Light Horse organization had failed for want of support; and in these times of agricultural depression it is not likely that Mounted Volunteer corps would be properly kept up. As regarded clothing and equipment, the Force should be uniform in those respects; and he would much prefer that the Government should provide great coats and valises, rather than see them provided out of a 10*s.* grant. The men would wear their great coats off parade; and as in most corps they were not made answerable for wear and tear there would be no security against their being misused. The Government should also provide water bottles, and have a sufficient number of regimental carts in store. As for general transport, each Brigade Colonel should register all the carts available in his district, so that in case of need he should know where to lay his hands on them. Every encouragement should be given to the new Ambulance Corps, and the necessary appliances should be provided at the public expense. All these military questions were, unfortunately, decided not on their merits, but according to the pecuniary exigencies of the moment. He should, therefore, support the Motion of the noble Earl.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, no one was more desirous than he was to promote the interests and efficiency of the Militia Force; but he differed from the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) as to the measures he had suggested with that view. The noble Earl had quoted the opinions of a Colonel of Militia. Had the noble Earl made further inquiries, he would have discovered that a great many Colonels did not share those opinions. For his part, he was in favour of the system by which recruits were drilled at the depôts, and he held that the present practice in regard to Adjutancies was preferable to that formerly existing. His special object, however, in rising, was to reply to an observation of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Truro), and to state that from his own personal experience, and from all he had heard from others, the Adjutants of both Militia and Volunteer Corps performed their duties in an admirable and efficient manner.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA said, he thought that the present depôt system was doing good in bringing together the Regular and Auxiliary Forces. Those Forces, however, were not even yet brought together as much as was desirable. As to the subject of equipment, he would observe that it was of very little use to maintain a Volunteer Force if through an absence of equipment the Force could not perform the duties which would be entrusted to it in the emergency of war. The men were ready to go at a moment's notice wherever they might be wanted; but their spirits would not avail them much if they were insufficiently equipped and insufficiently provided with ammunition. They ought to be so equipped as to be able to take the field and keep it. They ought not to be short of supplies. Every Volunteer regiment ought to possess a small field carriage, to contain reserve ammunition and small necessary supplies. The horses could be provided when the occasion for using the vehicle arose. He should support the Resolution of the noble Earl.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that he came down to the House expecting to hear some observations upon the Volunteer Force only; but the discussion had

ranged over a variety of questions. He had had some 26 years' experience with the Volunteers; and he considered that if it were desired to maintain that Force in efficiency something more should be done for it. Seven years ago a War Office Committee appointed by the late Government to inquire into the condition of the Force communicated with the Commanding Officers of all the corps throughout the Kingdom. They were asked what was the total expenditure of their respective corps; how they spent the capitation grant; whether they found that grant sufficient for its purposes, and, if not, where the surplus came from? In fact, the Committee investigated the financial position of every corps in the country. The result was remarkable. Out of 278 Commanding Officers who sent in answers only 38 had been able to keep within the limits of the Parliamentary grant of 30*s.* per man. That was seven years ago, and matters had not improved in that respect since. He did not believe that there were now 38 corps throughout the country which could keep within the capitation grant. There were various matters which had to be provided for out of the grant. The expense of headquarters was heavy, especially in towns where the rent was high, and sometimes they had to build. Then there were the ordinary drills, the marchings out, which could not be done without expense, and the care, maintenance, and repair of arms, gun and drill practice, and reviews, which formed a very heavy item. Then the brigade drills imposed by War Office Regulations came very heavy on the corps, and also the permanent staff, band, and refreshments. The Committee thought that something might be done by consolidating the battalions. But now that the consolidation had been carried into effect, the expenses were still not brought within the capitation grant. Then there was the expense connected with the organization of the Volunteers. If they were to be at all efficient in case of invasion they must have organization and means of locomotion and of acting together in large bodies. Now, 25 years after the establishment of the Force, the men were not provided with great coats, water bottles, or transport. Seven years ago the Committee of which he spoke called upon the Volunteers for very considerable further sacrifices with a view to increased efficiency. The Volunteers complied with the requisitions. They were asked for 30 drills the first year, and nine drills in the second; but now they were asked for 30 drills in the second year. It was hardly possible to carry demands for efficiency further; the men were efficient in their drill, and it was not fair to ask any more from the Volunteers themselves. Neither could a cut-and-dried scheme be made which would fit everyone. The only way to meet the requirements of the case was to raise the capitation grant; and though 30*s.* was not enough he believed that 40*s.* would be sufficient, and that that was the general opinion throughout the Volunteer Force. He hoped his noble Friend would encourage them with some hope.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that he felt some difficulty as to the remarks he had to make, seeing that the speech of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) and those of the noble Lords who followed had ranged over so vast a field. He thought he might claim for the Government that they were as anxious as the noble Earl could be to improve the efficiency of the Volunteer Force; and they were only too glad to receive any suggestions which might help them to do so. But the only suggestion which he had heard from the noble Earl were, in the first place, one with respect to the adoption of the ballot. But when the noble Earl spoke of the ballot in connection with the efficiency of the Volunteer Force he was dealing with a matter which hardly came within the proper range of the discussion. He did not think there was the slightest chance of the ballot being applied in this country, and, indeed, he believed it would be unnecessary, for the moment danger threatened their shores the ranks of the Volunteers and the Militia would, he was sure, be full. An important point had been raised when it was said that it was absolutely necessary to increase the capitation grant of the Volunteers; but before coming to that he might be allowed to reply to some of the criticisms made by the noble Earl, who commenced by making a most unfair comparison between 1864 and 1884, the conclusion he arrived at being that the Government had entirely sacrificed their first line of defence, and that now there

were fewer men in the Army than then. What were the real facts of the case? He had with him the figures relating to the year 1865 and the figures relating to 1884. The noble Earl said that in the year 1864 they had 216,000 men of all ranks. The number in the following year was 208,000. At present the number was 183,000. But how were the men distributed in the former year? They had 118,000 men abroad, and they had this year only 89,000. In 1865 they had at home an Army available for any service that might be required of 80,000, and on the 1st of January, 1884, they had 86,000 men in addition to 40,000 Reserves. Therefore the noble Earl, so far from being right in the figures he quoted, was absolutely and entirely inaccurate. He did say, most distinctly, that the way in which the noble Earl quoted the figures was calculated to mislead the public. He repeated that in 1865 they had at home 80,000 men, and they had now 86,000 men, and 40,000 Reserves. They also had at the present time in Egypt a force which was equivalent to a whole Army Corps. The noble Earl said that the changes which had been made since 1871 had tended to weaken the Army. He ventured to think that any fair-minded man would admit that the figures he had quoted entirely upset that theory, and established the fact that the country at the present time was far more capable of placing an Army Corps in the field than ever. Then with regard to expense, His Royal Highness had already called attention to the misleading calculations of the noble Earl. The expenditure in 1864, the noble Earl said, was £4,000,000 less than now. But had the noble Earl made any calculations as to how far the increased expense was due to armaments, ammunition, stores of all kinds, increase of soldiers' pay, and increase of barrack accommodation, which became necessary in consequence of improvements introduced into the Service? The way in which the noble Earl had quoted the figures was most unfair, and apt to mislead the public. He wished to say a few words as to what fell from him with regard to the Militia. He could not say that the Militia Force had escaped the attention of the Government. They had a most earnest desire to improve its efficiency; and he should be glad if the noble Earl could tell them how they could attract more men to the Force. The noble Earl stated that the organization of the Militia was deplorable. He joined issue with him there, and asserted that it was not in a deplorable state. Then the noble Earl said that depôt training discouraged enlistment. He most distinctly gave a contrary opinion, and certainly the general opinion was absolutely at a variance with that of the noble Earl. Since the establishment of depôt training they had a larger number of men than ever passing into the Militia. He did not deny that the Militia was considerably below its establishment, and no one deplored that fact more than he did; but, at the same time, it was a fact that the Militia had never been nearly up to its authorized numbers, and he must say that there never was a period when the officers and men were more efficient than now. The noble Earl said that much evil was done in consequence of the Adjutants not being appointed by the Commanding Officers. He thought he might be allowed to say that, as far as he knew, that opinion was absolutely contrary to the opinion of almost all officers of Militia or Volunteer battalions. One of the most useful changes made in the organization of the Auxiliary Forces was that by which regiments every five years received new blood. As to the Yeomanry, he quite agreed with what had fallen from almost every speaker. It would be most unfortunate that anything should be done to discourage that Force, which he thought should be made as efficient as possible, as that branch of the Auxiliary Service would be of immense use in case of invasion. Then, with regard to the Volunteers, he fully admitted the enormous value of that Force, which had been growing year by year, not only in numbers, but also in efficiency. Every fresh demand that had been made upon the Volunteers had been met with cheerfulness, perseverance, and energy. As the noble Earl had stated, a very important Committee sat seven years ago to inquire into matters relating to the Volunteers. When the present Government came into Office they found that some of the recommendations of that Committee had been carried into effect with great benefit to the Force at large. Subsequently, the present Government had carried out all the recommendations of the Committee. As to the supply of great coats and water-bottles,

the Committee thought that every requirement would be met if a certain number of these articles were kept in store ready to be issued to the Volunteers when required. There would be great difficulty in storing all the articles that might be used in an emergency; and if they were issued to the Volunteers there would be a risk of their being used for non-military purposes. The suggestion that the capitation grant should be increased by 10*s.* he heard with surprise, seeing that the Committee was of opinion that the grant was sufficient for all purposes, with the exception of three items, and that with proper organization the grant need not be increased. In the face of the Report of the Committee, the Government could not propose to increase the grant. The camp allowances had been increased to even a greater extent than the Committee contemplated. This year 88,000 men had expressed a desire to go into camp. The War Office had assented to the application of the whole number, although it was twice as great as that of seven years ago, the actual expense being four times greater. It should be remembered that the Volunteer Vote was not a stationary Vote. In 1879-80 it was a little over £500,000; this year it was £600,000, being an increase in the six years of £93,000. It was highly expedient that their Lordships should not commit themselves to any increased expenditure without very careful consideration. He admitted that the Volunteers were not equipped ready to take the field at once; but he did not suppose that the whole of any Army in the world was able to do so. They could not separate the Volunteers or the Militia from the Army Estimates generally. He should be glad if £100,000 more for the Volunteers could be got from the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he should not like it to be done at the expense of the other Services, or without considering whether the money might not be more properly employed. It was not a proper way of arguing the question to ignore expense, actual and relative. Looking at the matter in all its bearings, he thought it would be very unfortunate if their Lordships were to pass a vague Resolution which could have no practical effect, but which might bind those who supported it to an increased expenditure in the future. The Secretary of State for War yielded to no one in his desire to render the Auxiliary Forces efficient, or in his appreciation of the services they performed by the stimulation of private enterprize. Nothing in their power would be wanting to render them as efficient as it was necessary that they should be.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in reply, said, it had not been denied that their military strength was greater in 1864 than it was now. He repudiated the suggestion that the House of Commons would refuse to sanction expenditure asked for by the Government, particularly if the Secretary of State, or the Commander-in-Chief, were prepared to resign in case of refusal. What were they paid for if not to let the country know its real position? By resisting this Motion the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley) was repudiating his own *raison d'être* as Under Secretary of State for War.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 20; Not-Contents 23: Majority 3.

Resolved in the *negative.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—(No. 109.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2*a*."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

LORD DENMAN said, he had taken great interest in the Reform Bill of 1867; it was read a second time in one night, although Viscount Halifax moved a Resolution against it. He (Lord Denman) would never move a Resolution; but he held in his hand the Reform Bill of 1831, with the words, in his Predecessor's handwriting—"The first of the Reform Bill was drawn by me." It contained 60 clauses and 10 Schedules, and it was stated that at first His Majesty King William IV. only approved of Schedule A. Every Commission was included in the Bill, which consisted of 60 clauses and 10 Schedules. This Bill of 28 clauses and eight Schedules was faulty in principle and detail. The principle of single Members was proved faulty by the two Members for

South Derbyshire (Sir Henry Wilmot and Mr. Evans) joining to restore, as far as could be, the old names to the divisions; and the attempt to reject students of Dublin University past 21 years of age was an attempt to reject duly qualified persons as voters, while the exclusion of duly qualified women showed that those who inhabited their houses might vote rather than their employers, who, unlike them, paid rates and taxes. He especially condemned the mode in which the counties were cut up into slices by the Bill as utterly fallacious; and pointed out that what rendered Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, so formidable in the House of Commons was the fact that he represented the whole of Yorkshire. The late Lord (since Earl) Cairns in 1867, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, carried a scheme for representing minorities by preventing voters from giving more than two votes out of three; and he (Lord Denman) tried to prevent Birmingham from having more Members than Sheffield. He hoped their Lordships would condescend to look into *Hansard*—especially Vols. 291, 292, and 293—for what he said on the Franchise Bill, and not trust to any newspaper report, as all his remarks were perverted. He gave Notice that when the Motion was made for going into Committee, he would move, as an Amendment, that the House should go into Committee that day six months.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I am anxious to place the Committee stage of the Bill for an early day. There are really very strong reasons why the Bill should pass through its various stages quickly; because it is obvious that registration depends upon the timely issue of the precepts to the officers of the different districts. I should, therefore, have been very glad to have induced the House to proceed with the Bill at once, believing there would not be much difficulty in Committee, although I daresay there will be some discussion of Amendments in regard to the names, which have excited an enormous amount of discussion in the other House. I am afraid that the noble Marquess and noble Lords opposite may think, in the circumstances, that it would be impossible to proceed with the Bill in Committee on Monday; and, that being the case, I shall have no alternative but to yield to the wishes of the noble Marquess on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I feel very strongly the force of the considerations to which the noble Earl has alluded, and how necessary it is that this Bill should pass early into law. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that this Bill has been under very careful consideration in the other House; and I think it would not be proper for a Bill of this character to pass without being subjected to the most careful consideration of Members of your Lordships' House. I think such a course all the more necessary, because the Bill came into existence by a somewhat abnormal process. It came, so far as its main provisions are concerned, into existence by the agreement of the Leaders of the two Parties in both Houses of Parliament; and, therefore, it becomes all the more necessary that the other Members of the House should have the fullest opportunity of discussing, examining, and deciding its details, lest it should seem that we had taken upon ourselves a responsibility and power which we had no right to take, and which we could not claim, and should appear to hustle the Bill through. I think, in order to avoid any suspicion of that kind, it is not of much importance the saving of a few days to which the noble Earl refers. I hope the noble Earl will allow us till the first or second day after the holidays to go into Committee. I believe after the Bill has been examined and dealt with by the House no formidable alteration will be made in it, and that the main stage will be got through with considerable rapidity.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he still felt, and he was glad to see the noble Marquess himself felt, the real urgency of passing the Bill. At the same time, the considerations to which the noble Marquess referred had considerable weight, especially as to the mode with which, no doubt, this Bill was originally agreed to. He confessed it was not unreasonable on the part of the House that they should require a fair time for the consideration of the Bill; and, no doubt, if they proceeded with it at once, it might possibly have the appearance of haste. It was unfortunate that the Whitsuntide holidays intervened and caused a break in their

Sittings; but, upon the whole, he thought he had no choice in the matter but to yield to the request of the noble Marquess, and to fix Monday, June 8, for the Committee on the Bill.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM expressed the hope that with regard to a Bill of this importance, the noble Earl would be prepared, on the Motion for going into Committee, to make a statement in regard to its provisions.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he thought that in the present small attendance it would be more respectful and more convenient to the House to make his statement on going into Committee, because the Bill was essentially one of detail.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 8*th* of *June* next.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES (EXPENSES OF CONFERENCES) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to provide for expenses incurred in relation to conferences of local authorities—Was *presented* by The Lord THURLOW; read 1ª. (No. 118.)

House adjourned at Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 15th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* County of Denbigh, *v.* Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, deceased.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Third Reading*—Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, and *passed.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders * [182]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [183].

Considered as amended—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) * [116].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK BILL (*by Order.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

The Earl of Kimberley

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he wished to call the attention of the House and of his hon. Friend who had charge of the Bill to certain particulars connected with it which he thought were entitled to the consideration of the House. The Bill was called "The Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill." There had been five Bills on that interesting subject before the House in the last five years, commencing in 1880, and continuing in 1882, 1883, and 1884. It was now proposed to amalgamate those four Acts into one Act in the present Session. The Bill purported to have been introduced for the purpose of extending the line for the compulsory purchase of land and for the completion of certain of the authorized works of the Company; but it ought to have been added—"and the abandonment and relinquishment of a railway authorized to be made by the Act of 1880." He was sorry that the Chairman of the Company (Colonel Gerard Smith) was not present on that occasion, because last year the hon. and gallant Member was in his place, and, treating the matter in a cavalier manner, the hon. and gallant Member told the House that it was owing to his inexperience of railway management that the expense of this railway had been increased from the sum of £4,000,000, which was originally thought adequate, to £5,500,000. Now, the construction of this railway was a matter which had greatly interested the public for several years. The original Stock of the Company was £3,000,000, and it was shown in the debate which took place last year that so little were the public satisfied with the soundness of this concern that, although it was thought desirable to issue the Company's Stock upon the extraordinarily favourable terms of £80 for every £100 Stock, at 5 per cent, the public only subscribed £75,000 of the money. Consequently, the Company, finding themselves in difficulties, issued Debenture Stock to the extent of £1,000,000. That was before last year; but last year the Company came down to the House of Commons, and the ordinary Rules of Procedure were suspended in favour of a Bill which en-

abled the Company to issue £1,500,000 of Debentures, making the Debenture Stock, with the £1,000,000 previously issued, £2,500,000, or within £500,000 of the original Share Capital of the Company. That in itself was a very unsatisfactory state of things; but the Company were now asking for an extension of the period provided by the Act of 1882 for the completion of their works. It was distinctly laid down in the House of Commons last year that if the House granted £1,500,000 additional Debenture Stock the railway would be completed for the money. But the Company, in the present Bill, under Clause 8, proposed to abandon one of the railways, for the construction of which they had obtained the public money; and in abandoning that railway they proposed to apply the money which they had raised for one of their lines—namely, Railway No. 1A—to other and entirely different purposes. He would like to know—and he thought the public were entitled to know—what was to be done with this Railway No. 1A, because, if the money had been spent upon it already, it could not be devoted to "other purposes;" and if it had not been spent there had been a direct breach of faith with the House of Commons, because it was stated last year that the sum of £1,500,000 then applied for would be adequate for the construction of this line. It was distinctly laid down in the Act of 1882 that the works were to be completed within a period of three or five years; and now, although £1,500,000 additional was granted last year, on the clear understanding that the railway would be completed for that money, this Bill, called "The Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill," sought for an extension of time, under Clause 12, for the completion of the works—namely, three years from the passing of the Act. He was bound to say that, after the long discussion they had last year, and the very unsatisfactory appearance made by the hon. and gallant Member for Wycombe (Colonel Gerard Smith), it was to be regretted that the hon. and gallant Member had not favoured the House on that occasion with his presence, seeing that he must, no doubt, have acquired much greater experience than he himself admitted that he had last year. On that occasion the hon. and gallant Member candidly stated, not without some feeling of shame, that, although he was Chairman of this Railway Company, he knew nothing whatever about railway management. It must be in the recollection of the House that last year this additional sum of £1,500,000 Debenture Stock was asked for; and that Bill was granted because the President of the Board of Trade came down and told the House that it would be a serious thing, at a moment of general depression, to suspend the works. Now, as the promoters of the railway had failed to carry out the scheme they had originally promoted, he thought he was bound to ask his hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), whom he saw opposite, and who, he believed, was connected with this railway, to explain to the House the circumstances under which the promoters—under which the Company—now came forward with their new Bill. In his (Sir Robert Peel's) opinion, it had been brought forward in a somewhat surreptitious manner. He had come down there on several occasions for the purpose of opposing it, and in the hope that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Wycombe (Colonel Gerard Smith) might be in his place to take part in any discussion that was again to be raised. But his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and himself had both been treated by the hon. and gallant Member in a most cavalier manner. He might mention that they could now prove that their original contention was correct, and that there were circumstances connected with this railway which entitled the House to some further information than it had yet received with regard to the object of this Bill, and if that information were not supplied he should certainly oppose the further progress of the Bill. Before he did so, however, he trusted that some hon. Member, whether connected or not connected with this railway, but connected with the railway interest generally, would get up, and, with greater knowledge than the hon. and gallant Member for Wycombe (Colonel Gerard Smith), explain to the House what were some of the main features and proposals of the Bill. Recollecting how the public were—he would not use the word "swindled," because it was not a Parliamentary

word—but, remembering how the public had been defrauded—[An hon. MEMBER: No, no!]—well, he would say disappointed—in the expectation they had formed when they invested their money originally in this railway, he did think that some explanation was due to the House before it consented to pass the third reading of the Bill.

MR. NORWOOD said, he very much indeed regretted that his hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Company (Colonel Gerard Smith) did not happen to be present. Of course, if he had been present, he would have been able, much better than he (Mr. Norwood) was, to deal with the strong expressions which had been used by the right hon. Baronet.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I did not use them.

MR. NORWOOD said, that, at any rate, he had heard them used.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: "Disappointed in their expectations," is what I said.

MR. NORWOOD said, that the right hon. Baronet had used very strong language indeed, and he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had done so, because it was scarcely justified by anything the Bill contained. He was not pecuniarily interested in the Hull and Barnsley Railway and Dock Company; but, as his name was on the back of the Bill when introduced into the House, he was able to inform the right hon. Baronet that, in the first place, this Bill contained no money power whatever. Nor did it seek power to construct any new works, except to substitute for an authorized line another line of less than a mile in length, for the purpose of forming a more convenient junction with the Midland Railway than the line now authorized. It was also necessary to extend the line for the completion of the Hull and Halifax branch, authorized by the Act of 1882. Owing to certain financial difficulties, it had been found impossible to proceed with the construction of that line as rapidly as was originally expected.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Have the Company raised the money?

MR. NORWOOD believed the Company had not raised any money for that line. The money referred to in the Bill was simply money already authorized to be raised, but which the Company proposed to apply to the construction of the substituted junction. It had no reference whatever to the Hull and Halifax and Huddersfield extension. The Bill was originally opposed by two interested parties, both of whom had been satisfied, and the Bill had been sent to the Chairman of Committees, by whom it had passed as an unopposed measure. It had previously passed a second reading without the slightest manifestation of hostility against it, and the right hon. Baronet was now taking the unusual course of opposing the third reading. He joined in the regret which had been expressed by the right hon. Gentleman at the absence of the hon. and gallant Member for Wycombe (Colonel Gerard Smith); and he thought that the hon. and gallant Member would have been in his place if he had had the slightest idea that the Bill was to be discussed on that occasion. He believed, however, that there was very little to be explained. The Money Bill of last year passed with the full knowledge of the House. A portion of the capital had been raised, and it had been devoted to the purposes for which it had been raised.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: All the money?

MR. NORWOOD said, he believed, subject to correction, that a certain portion of the money had been raised; but there was really nothing in the present Bill which gave the Hull and Barnsley Railway Company any position or power different from that which it already possessed, except a power of extending the period for the construction of the Hull and Halifax Railway, and of substituting the construction of a small junction, less than a mile in length, for a junction with the Midland Railway already authorized. He trusted that the right hon. Baronet would be satisfied with this explanation, and would not deem it necessary to press his opposition further.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he hoped his right hon. Friend would not be satisfied with the very unsatisfactory explanation of the hon. Member who had just sat down. His right hon. Friend and himself had taken great interest in this Company for the last three Sessions running; and although they had never been able to prevail upon the House of Commons to arrest the downward course of those unfortunate persons who, in their capacity of Directors, were deluding the public

year after year, still, at the same time, he felt certain that Parliament would take on itself a tremendous responsibility if year after year it consented to give large powers to the Company which would more or less enable them to extract money from the public, while time after time the Company came down to the House and confessed that they were unable to avail themselves of their powers for the benefit of the public. This was the last Session of the present Parliament. He did not suppose that his right hon. Friend and himself would be able to stop the depredations of this undertaking; but, at any rate, certain points ought to be noticed. The Company asked, according to the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), for an extension of time on account of being involved in financial difficulties.

MR. NORWOOD: I am not aware that I used those words. If I did so, I will withdraw them. I merely meant that they had not yet raised the money.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, his hon. Friend knew perfectly well that there was no difficulty in raising money at the present day if the securities were sound. Indeed, money was cheaper than ever it was before if there was good security; but this wretched Hull and Barnsley Railway had not got 6*d.* on its own account, and yet it was continually coming to Parliament for fresh powers in the endeavour to offer some kind of security to the public. The Company, in their present Bill, asked for an extension of time; last year they also asked for an extension of time, and also for an extension of their powers, in order that they might complete a certain line of railway. This year they came down to Parliament and announced that a considerable portion of the railway they had undertaken last year to complete was to be abandoned. Clause 8 of the Bill gave them power to abandon Railway No. 1A, which was originally authorized by the Act of 1880; and now they asked, in addition, for a further extension of time to enable them to complete other portions of the line. In fact, this line would never be completed by the present Directors. The hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), and every other hon. Member who ever had a connection with this Company, knew that not a single original shareholder would ever receive back a single 6*d.* he had embarked in it, and which would never have been embarked but for the dangerous and special facilities which Parliament had granted to this Company. He would direct the attention of the House to some passages in the Preamble of the Bill. It said—

"And whereas the last-mentioned sum of £1,500,000 has been duly raised, and the principal works authorized by the said Act of 1880 will shortly be completed;"

and then it went on to say—

"And, whereas by reason of the difficulty in raising the necessary funds for that purpose until the completion of the aforesaid works authorized by the Act of 1880."

There was a complete contradiction between the two statements; and, as a matter of fact, there was a contradiction between the statement of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), and the view of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Dover (Major Dickson), who sat below him. The hon. Member opposite said that only a portion of the money had been raised, whereas his hon. and gallant Friend (Major Dickson) said that the whole of it had been raised. In the Preamble of the Bill it was certainly distinctly admitted that the money authorized to be raised had been raised. He trusted that his right hon. Friend, if he received further encouragement, would take the sense of the House upon the third reading of the Bill, in order that a protest might be recorded in the Journals of the House as to the extremely unsatisfactory manner in which Parliament had accorded special facilities to this Company.

MR. DODDS said, that the right hon. Gentleman who introduced the discussion had expressed a hope that he would receive an explanation from an official Member of the House, or from someone connected with railways generally. Now, he (Mr. Dodds) begged to say that he was not in any way, directly or indirectly, connected with this railway or with railways generally. He was, therefore, able to speak simply in the public interest as to the facts disclosed in this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman began by saying that the Company had obtained various Acts up to the present time for raising money; but he did not find that that assertion was justified by the provisions of the Bill. The Bill must, no doubt, be read in connection with other Acts, but it contained no

powers for increasing its capital. The right hon. Gentleman said the Bill involved the abandonment of some works contemplated by previous Acts of the Company. That was true in this sense, and in this sense only—that this Bill authorized the abandonment of a spur line of railway which was to effect a junction with the Midland Railway at Cudworth; but it authorized the construction of another line as a substitute for the one abandoned, and therefore, so far as the Bill sought to abandon anything originally contemplated, it merely sought to abandon a small piece of line for the purpose of substituting another means of junction with the Midland Railway, which would be of a less expensive character. Then it was said that the Bill enabled the Company to raise additional capital. From the beginning to the end of the Bill there was nothing whatever to disturb the arrangement entered into last year as to capital, except to this extent—that the capital of the Company already authorized to be raised might be applied to the construction of another junction. In no other way did it interfere with the arrangement as to capital which received the sanction of Parliament last year. It neither enlarged nor diminished the power of the Company in that respect.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Has not money been already spent on the line which is now proposed to be abandoned?

MR. DODDS said, he believed that no money had been expended on the abandoned railway; but the line sought to be abandoned was, of course, subject to the rights of such owners of land as might be affected by the abandonment in any way whatever. It was one of the most ordinary of the Bills which came before Parliament from time to time, at the instance of Railway Companies who had been delayed in raising their capital. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) said there was an apparent contradiction in the Preamble—that it said in one paragraph that the authorized capital had been raised, while in another it asked for an extension of time in which to raise it. That simply meant that the money would not be raised immediately, and that it was not needed for immediate expenditure; and, therefore, an extension was asked of the time in which, by previous Acts, the Company were required to raise the money. As he had pointed out, the only deviation from former Acts was the proposal to abandon a small junction in order to substitute a fresh one. It would not alter the capital arrangement in the smallest degree; but it simply extended the time within which the money was to be raised. He knew nothing about the shareholders of the Company, nor had he the slightest interest in the railway; but he would say that persons who took shares in undertakings of this kind did so on their own responsibility, and must take the consequences. The Bill did not affect their position in any way whatever, but was confined to the two very small provisions he had explained. This was the last stage of the Bill, and he failed to see why it should be opposed by the right hon. Baronet, who had no interest in it. It was also opposed by the noble Lord, who was equally disinterested in the undertaking; and he could not understand why they should offer this opposition. If there were any grounds of opposition on the part of the public interest, such opposition would have been more properly raised elsewhere, if raised at all. He trusted that the House would consent to read the Bill a third time.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he thought that his right hon. Friend the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had done some public service in calling attention to this Bill; but, at the same time, he thought the explanations of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) and the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) were perfectly satisfactory. It was not a matter to be wondered at that anybody who knew the history of this Company should display a certain amount of jealousy in regard to its proceedings. He had himself endeavoured, in the last Session of Parliament, to point out the unfair character of the legislation of the House in granting special facilities to this Company for raising capital on Preference Shares on Debentures; and he had called attention to the fact that many of the shareholders had been brought into the undertaking, as his right hon. Friend had stated, by being told that they would have 5 per cent

out of the capital during the construction of works. This Bill, however, did not affect that point, but it was simply a measure to enable the Company to finish their undertaking by bringing it into connection with the Midland Railway, and by extending the time for the completion of works. The Bill was certainly one which the House would feel bound to pass, seeing that it only granted to the Company reasonable facilities for the completion of their works.

MR. LEWIS said, he should not have risen to say a word upon the present occasion if it had not been for the extraordinary speech of the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), who began and ended with one key-note—namely, that the hon. Member did not know what respect ought to be paid to the views of the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord, because they had no interest in the matter. He (Mr. Lewis) certainly recollected a case where the disinterestedness of an hon. Member with reference to a Private Bill assumed a somewhat different aspect, and he had not expected that the hon. Member for Stockton, of all persons in the world, would have used such an argument. The hon. Member now contended that the disinterestedness of the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord disqualified them from offering an opinion to the House, whereas he claimed for himself the right of guiding the verdict of the House on the ground of his own disinterestedness. As he (Mr. Lewis) knew a little of the proceedings of the hon. Member, who acted as a sort of deputy for the hon. Member for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster) in connection with Private Bill legislation, he was not disposed to take advice from the hon. Member, but would prefer that of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees (Sir Arthur Otway). He certainly knew enough of the Hull and Barnsley Railway Company to feel that any additional powers they sought to obtain ought to be jealousy watched. He hoped the House would assert their own disinterestedness in the matter, and display it in a rather more reasonable and consistent fashion than the hon. Gentleman—namely, in the Division Lobby.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY trusted that there would be no necessity for going into the Lobby at all on the present occasion. He could not say that there was no justification for the inquiries which the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had made. No doubt, the circumstances of this Company really had been of a very exceptional character, and on a previous occasion he had himself proposed that exceptional steps should be taken in order to facilitate certain proceedings on the part of the Company, having been influenced by the statement that a large number of persons would be thrown out of employment if the Bill then introduced were not passed. He had not understood the right hon. Baronet to conclude with any Motion?

SIR ROBERT PEEL: No; I only asked for information.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he did not think the right hon. Baronet would desire to do so after he received the information which he (Sir Arthur Otway) was able to give as to the nature of the Bill. He would first explain that the Bill had not been before him, but that, at a time when he was engaged with Public Business in the Chair, it had been passed by a Committee presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee and Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray). What remained for the House to consider was whether the Bill, as it was now proposed, really contained in it any provisions of such an unusual character as to require its rejection on the third reading. He could assure the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord that it contained nothing whatever to excite their suspicions. It was quite true that the capital authorized by the Act of 1884 was to be applied to certain purposes, and that the present Bill involved an apparent deviation from those purposes; but it did not do so in fact. By the 19th clause, the Company were authorized to apply the money which might have been lawfully applied for the purposes of the railway authorized by the Act of 1880, and by the present Bill authorized to be abandoned, to the construction of a line in substitution, and the money already sanctioned was directed to be applied to the construction of the substituted line. What was proposed was simply an arrangement for a junction with the Midland Railway

which would be more convenient and less expensive than the one now authorized at Cudworth. The whole length of it was under a mile. The cost of construction would be very small—about £5,000—and there would be a saving effected of about £500. He did not think the right hon. Baronet would feel it necessary, therefore, to persevere with his opposition.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Has any of the line now authorized been constructed?

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he really did not know how far any portion of the line originally authorized had been completed, but he was speaking simply of that part of the line which was before the House in the present Bill. He would repeat that he was not at all surprised that information had been sought for, because he must say that the circumstances of this railway in the past had been of a peculiar character; but in every respect, except in those which had been mentioned, the provisions of the Act of 1884 were completely adhered to.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he hoped that, after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, he might be allowed to say that, of course, he did not mean to put the House to the inconvenience of a division. He had merely been anxious to bring the case of this unfortunate railway, from which the public had suffered so much, under the notice of the House. He did not say that the Company were defrauding, but that they were disappointing the public, who had been induced to invest in the undertaking by the 5 per cent they expected to receive for every £80 representing £100 Stock they took up. Certainly, the explanation given by the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), if it had not been supplemented by the further explanation of the Chairman of Committees, would have induced him to persist in his opposition. He begged now, having entered his protest against the proceedings of this Company generally, to withdraw any further opposition.

Motion *agreed to* (Queen's *Consent* signified).

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—THE INVENTIONS EXHIBITION.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Postmaster General, Whether the managers of the Inventions Exhibition are exempted from the payment of postage for circulars, parcels, and letters; and, whether, considering that part of the Exhibition consists of illuminated gardens, bands of music, &c. and that large profits are made, and that no such exemption is granted to any similar exhibition not under a Royal Commission, he will advise the Crown that the exemption should be withdrawn?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No, Sir.

MR. HOPWOOD further inquired whether this exemption had not existed in respect to previous Exhibitions; and when it had ceased to exist?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am not aware that it has existed in the case of other Exhibitions. I will inquire on that point; but I was only speaking of the future.

MR. HOPWOOD: I have the authority of the late Postmaster General for that statement.

MR. HOPWOOD also asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Inventions Exhibition and the two previous Exhibitions have been or will be charged with Income Tax on profits as commercial undertakings?

MR. BIRKBECK said, that before his hon. Friend answered the Question he wished to ask, Whether it was not a fact that in the case of the International Exhibition of 1851 a profit of about £150,000 was made, and no Income Tax paid; and, whether he was aware that in the case of the Fisheries Exhibition of 1883 all the profits were handed over to charitable objects?

MR. HIBBERT: No doubt it is correct that the profits of the Fisheries Exhibition were not used for commercial objects, but for public purposes. In reply to my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Hopwood), I have to state that, though, strictly speaking, the Inventions Exhibition and the previous Exhibitions cannot be said to be commercial undertakings, it is intended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to endeavour to charge Income Tax upon the profits of those undertakings.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—DR. MOLONY, MEDICAL OFFICER, ARKLOW DISPENSARY DISTRICT.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Dr. M. J. Molony was recently elected medical officer of the Arklow Dispensary District by a majority of the committee, but was refused the appointment of medical attendant on the Constabulary, which was given by the authorities to his unsuccessful opponent, who had only obtained his degree three weeks; whether he is aware that Dr. Molony had considerable practice in the mining and manufacturing districts of England; whether it is usual to unite the two offices in country districts where practice is limited and stipends small; and, whether he will inquire into the circumstances under which the Constabulary authorities passed over an experienced medical man in favour of one who had only just obtained his qualification?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Dispensary doctors have no priority of claims to be appointed medical attendants to the Constabulary. Dr. Halpin, who was appointed in this instance, obtained his diploma as surgeon in May, 1883, and as physician in March last. Dr. Molony obtained both diplomas in December, 1882. The appointment was made by the Inspector General on his own responsibility; and he informed me that in making it he had solely in view the interests of the Force.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—SECTION 34 (SEARCHES, &c.)—CASE OF MR. JOHN O'ROURKE, REDHILL, NEWPORT, CO. MAYO.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Sub-Inspector Ball, with a party of police, searched the house of Mr. John O'Rourke for arms at Red Hill, Newport, county Mayo, on the 21st of April 1884; whether, on that occasion, Sub-Inspector Ball carried off several letters, which have not since been restored to their owner; and, whether there is now any objection to restore the letters in question to Mr. O'Rourke?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand that there will now be no objection to restoring these letters, which were seized on account of their suspicious character.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED BREACH OF THE LICENSING LAWS AT DYSART, CO. ROSCOMMON.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that a disturbance took place on Sunday 1st March 1885, in a public house kept by a man named Donohoe, in Thomas Street, Dysart, county Roscommon; whether some of the parties engaged in the disturbance have been sentenced to imprisonment; and, whether the police have prosecuted the keeper of the public house for selling drink on Sunday; and, if not, what is the reason of the failure to enforce the Law?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: An assault was committed on the 8th of March at this public-house on a man who was in the habit of calling there for his letters, and the assailant has been sent to prison for a month; but the police are not aware of any breach of the Licensing Act having taken place?

MR. O'KELLY: Did not the assault take place on a Sunday morning?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; on Sunday, 8th March.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Do I understand the Chief Secretary to say that the assault took place on a Sunday morning? If the public-house was open for the sale of drink on Sunday, was not that a breach of the Licensing Act?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware that any breach of the Licensing Act occurred.

MR. O'KELLY: Will the police undertake to make an inquiry?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: They have fully inquired into it, and the man has been prosecuted and sent to prison.

MR. O'KELLY: For selling the whisky?

[No reply.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—FIRING AT THE PERSON—CASE OF W. R. PERCEVAL.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

Whether a private inquiry was held at Wexford, on the 2nd May, into a statement made by a man named William Robert Perceval, on the 27th April, that he had been fired at near Ardcavan; whether he can state what evidence was taken at this inquiry; whether it is the fact that the constabulary have come to the conclusion that there is no truth whatever in Perceval's story; and, whether a prosecution will be instituted against Perceval?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Mr. Perceval, who is in occupation of an evicted farm, reported on the 27th ultimo that he had been fired at, while driving along the road, and an inquiry has been held, under the Prevention of Crime Act, with the result that his statement is corroborated by several witnesses, and the marks of shot and pellets have been found in his croydon. The police have come to no such conclusion as that alleged in the Question.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE ACT, 1884—SEC. 9—DUTIES OF OVERSEERS.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the following notice issued by the authorised agent of the Dorset Conservative Association, Shaftesbury Division:—

"Private and Confidential.

"Dorset Conservative Association,
"Shaftesbury Division,
"Newland Offices, Sherborne,
"11th March, 1885.

"Dear Sir,

"Having regard to the 9th section of the Representation of the People Act, 1884 (the last Franchise Act), the duties of the overseers of the different parishes are considerably extended, so far as they relate to entering on the rate book the name of every man entitled to be registered as a voter who is an inhabitant occupier of any dwelling house in their respective parishes within the meaning of that Act. It therefore becomes important that we should see that the overseers to be appointed in vestry during the present month shall be men who will see that the Conservative voters are properly entered.

"With this view, I would venture to suggest that steps should be taken in order to secure, as far as possible, the appointment of overseers who are themselves Conservatives, and that you shall see that some one attends the vestry with that view.

"I would venture to remind you that vestries hould return, previous to the 25th March, to he justices of their division, a list of men qualified to serve as overseers, and this list should contain not less than three names. It is customary for the justices to prick the two top names in such list, unless there is some reason assigned to the contrary. You will, perhaps, bear this in mind, and see that those you wish appointed are proposed first.

"I need hardly say, if any notion of the step I advise becomes known to 'the other side,' you may have difficulty in carrying out the suggestion, and therefore I must ask you to receive this letter in the strictest privacy.

"Yours faithfully,
"(Signed) J. TREVOR DAVIES,
"Chief Agent;"

and, whether such notice is a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act?

MR. FINCH-HATTON inquired whether the Attorney General saw any *primâ facie* objection to what was, on the face of it, the object of the Circular—namely, that Conservative voters should be properly entered?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, he had received several copies of the Circular, and he did not understand that its authenticity was denied. He regretted that there were no provisions in the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act to deal with such a case as this; because when the Act was passed it was not contemplated that the appointment of overseers would be made a subject of political contest. Perhaps it would be enough that attention had been called to the subject, as he was sure no one would like to see overseers turned into political agents.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ARMS LICENCE—NENAGH PETTY SESSIONS—CASE OF GEORGE NAPIER.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether George Napier, of Roscrea, was fined in a penalty of £2 10*s.* at Nenagh Petty Sessions for having in his possession a revolver without having paid the usual Excise Licence; whether this is the same George Napier who was accused of "riotous behaviour" and "presenting a revolver at children" in the streets of Nenagh; whether he will receive sworn affidavits to the effect that, on the occasion of George Napier's trial before Petty Sessions Court at Nenagh, Major Waring used the words that—

"The magistrates who gave the defendant licence to carry arms did not use discretion in doing so," "and that he handled the revolver

in a manner he ought not to have done." "You are a Northman, and being such you ought to know better when and where to use arms;"

and, whether, taking into account the published reports of these words of Major Waring, and his subsequent denial of their accuracy, he will cause inquiry to be made into the conduct of this magistrate; and also whether he will furnish a Return of all licences to carry arms granted by the Roscrea magistrates?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand that George Napier was fined, as stated, for not having an Excise licence, and that he is the person mentioned in the Question. I have received an explanation from Mr. Waring which satisfies me that he did not impute want of discretion to any magistrate; and I see no cause for an inquiry into his conduct, nor for a Return of the arms licences issued in the Roscrea district.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman has not said whether he will accept the sworn affidavits?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: If the hon. Member sends me any document I will inquire into it; but the magistrate has already given me a full account.

RAILWAYS — SOUTH HETTON AND SEAHAM HARBOUR COAL RAILWAY —CASUALTY AT SEAHAM.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to an accident to the rope-drawing waggons on the South Hetton and Seaham Harbour Coal Railway Line, which occurred at Seaham Harbour on Wednesday, by which seven very young children were seriously injured; and, if he will inquire whether any precautions are taken to prevent children resorting for play to the neighbourhood of the line?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had caused an inquiry; but the Report was not yet ready.

INLAND REVENUE—SPIRIT DUTIES.

COLONEL NOLAN asked Mr. Attorney General, If it is legal to extract the spirits from sherry or other wine which has paid Duty without paying a fresh Duty on the spirit so extracted?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): This is not a subject to which I have paid much attention; but I understand from the Inland Revenue that the Duty to be paid on the import of wine is a Wine Duty only; and no one can distil for the purpose of obtaining spirits without obtaining the permission of the Excise, and also paying another Duty.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CRIMINAL RETURNS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If there would be any objection to laying upon the Table a Return of offences committed in England during the year 1884, similar to that from time to time made of offences committed in Ireland?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he believed the facts would be found in statistics already published. There would be a difficulty in publishing the facts in the same form as the Irish Returns; because in Ireland they were obtained from one authority—the Constabulary — and in England the Police Authorities were independent.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the figures would be prepared so as to be intelligible to the House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he would inquire.

ASIA—SOUTH COAST OF ARABIA—H.M.SS. "DRAGON" AND "ARAB"—SEIZURE OF NATIVE FORTS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, with reference to the blockade and capture from Machy Makiber of six strongly fortified forts on the Red Sea littoral, and the deportation of that chief and his followers to Aden, Whether the forts in question were or were not in British territory; if in British territory, whether Machy Makiber had committed any offence against British Law; if not in British territory, whether Machy Makiber was attacked on any ground connected with slave dealing, piracy, or any violation of International Law; what reason was given by the Indian Government which induced the Admiralty to allow two of Her Majesty's ships to be employed in the blockade and capture; did the capture of the forts involve any loss of life, Arab

or British; and, what was the cost of the operation, and has it been repaid by the Indian Government?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The forts in question were not in British territory. The reasons for the operations were, briefly, as follows:—The Chiefs of Shahr and Makulla had been at feud for many years. Both parties frequently applied to the Resident at Aden to settle their differences, and he, more than once, effected a truce. In February, 1881, the two Chiefs signed three alternative agreements, declaring that they would consider themselves bound by whichever of the three the British Government might consider the most suitable. The Government of India adopted the second of the three, which provided that the Makulla Chief should sell outright the whole of his possessions to Shahr, in accordance with a proposal made by the Makulla Chief himself, and known to be acceptable to Shahr. The Chief of Makulla, however, declined to adhere to the agreement, and commenced intrigues prejudicial to the British position at Aden and to the peace of the Persian Gulf. In the circumstances, it was decided that the agreement, which both parties had bound themselves to accept, should be enforced, and that the Chief of Shahr should be given the support of Her Majesty's ships. The capture of the forts involved no loss of life, Arab or British. The operations do not appear to have involved any expenditure outside the lump sum paid annually by the Indian to the Imperial Government for naval services, except 239 dollars for presents to various persons, and Rs.138.14.4 field allowances to the officers and men of the *Dragon* and *Arab* for services on shore at Makulla, which were defrayed from the Aden Treasury.

DR. CAMERON asked whether it was to be understood that gunboats went there at the expense of the British taxpayers to enforce a civil contract?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No, Sir; they did not go at the expense of the British taxpayer. Their services were reckoned as included in the amount which the Indian Government pay to the British Government for naval services in the East.

DR. CAMERON said, he would call attention to the subject on the Estimates.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Czar has approved the frontier of Afghanistan adopted in London by Lords Granville and Kimberley and Baron de Staal and M. Lessar; whether this frontier leaves General Komaroff in possession of Penjdeh; and, whether the Russian Government decline to give any pledges as to Herat and other parts of Afghanistan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No answer has yet been presented by Russia to Her Majesty's Government. I can give no details with regard to negotiations which are still going on.

DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND).

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true, as recorded in the last Parliamentary Report, that 318 of the persons appointed as governors of district asylums never attended a board meeting during the year 1883; whether these persons consist chiefly of noblemen, deputy lieutenants, and justices of the peace, and are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant under statute; whether the duties devolving on governors include sanctioning the admission of patients, taking contracts, and general fiscal control; and, whether he will devise some system under which so large a number of the governors will not absent themselves from their duties?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have not verified the hon. Member's figures; but, assuming them to be correct, it must be borne in mind that these Asylum Boards are very large, and that the object of having them so large is to secure, not that all these gentlemen—who have diversities of pursuits and engagements—should always attend, but that there shall always be a quorum for the transaction of the necessary business. I am not aware of any complaints of failure in this respect; and it is always in the power of the Lord Lieutenant to strengthen any Board when that is deemed necessary.

MR. W. J. CORBET: Can the Chief Secretary say whether it is not the case that for some years past the annual expenditure has increased from £53,000

to £210,000 a-year, and the average cost per head has increased by £6; and, whether he will inquire whether this is due in any way to the neglect of their duties by these gentlemen?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That is entirely a matter of argument.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF AUSTRALASIA BILL.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, before the stage of Committee upon the Federal Council of Australasia Bill, he will present to the House a Paper showing what Agents General were present at the interview between Lord Derby and the Agents General of the Australian Colonies on 30th April last, and what Amendments, were discussed and agreed upon?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: There is no record of the interview between the Agents General and the Secretary of State, and I cannot, therefore, lay a Paper on the Table; but for the information of my hon. Friend I may say that there were present the Agents General of New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, Queensland, and South Australia; that he can see what Amendments were under discussion by comparing the draft Bill in Command Paper C. 4,266 with the Bill as it lies on the Table of the House; and that all the Amendments which have been embodied in the Bill were agreed to by the Agents General, except in the case of Clause 31, no doubt a very important Amendment.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC CHILDREN IN ENGLISH PROTESTANT CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS — CASE OF ROSE DOYLE.

MR. DAWSON (for Mr. GRAY) asked Mr. Attorney General, If he can state the circumstances under which the application of James Doyle, a Catholic of Dublin, made in the Queen's Bench Chamber, London, on the 13th of April 1885, before Mr. Justice Smith, for the restoration to him of his child, Rose Doyle, aged ten years, at present in a Protestant school at Ealing, was refused by the learned judge; and, if it is true that ample assurances were given on the occasion that the child would be provided for equally well as at Ealing, and in such a manner as to secure that she would be reared in the religion of the father, and instructed in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, in which she has been baptized?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, he was not in a position to answer the Question, as he had no knowledge of the facts of the case, which had not been reported. He had not thought it right to apply to the learned Judge for information on the subject, as he did not wish to seem to discuss the decision of the learned Judge.

ARMY—SMALL POX AT MANCHESTER —THE 5TH DRAGOON GUARDS.

MR. LEAHY asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has received the following Resolution from the Sanitary Authority of Newbridge and Curragh Camp, and if he will take any steps to comply with their request?—

"13th May 1885.

"The Board having considered the letter of the Secretary of State for War relative to removal of the 5th Dragoon Guards from Manchester to Newbridge, it was resolved that, though the regiment may be free from small-pox, we see from newspaper reports that the disease is spreading round Manchester into Salford, and that many persons, tradesmen and others, who will not be medically inspected, will accompany the regiment; under these circumstances the Board request that some arrangement may be made to either cancel the order for removal or delay it until the disease abates in Manchester.

"(Signed) R. H. BORROWES, Clerk.

"G. MOLLOY, Executive Sanitary Officer."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The strictest orders have been given that no civilians shall be permitted to accompany the regiment to Ireland in any capacity whatever, unless they are medically examined and certified by the medical officer to be free from small-pox, or the danger of conveying it to others. Beyond this I cannot go. The Memorial referred to in the Question has been duly received.

MR. SEXTON: Might I ask the noble Marquess whether the soldiers are not now in communication with their families, who are in communication with others, in a district admitted to be infected with small-pox?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it was not considered that there was any danger.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—REPORT OF SIR CHARLES WILSON.

MR. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any despatch has been received from Colonel Sir Charles Wilson since the 11th of February last; and, if so, whether he has any objection to communicate it to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; Lord Wolseley has sent home a Report from Sir Charles Wilson, dated the 23rd of March, relative to the Expedition under his command to Khartoum. The Paper can be presented if the hon. Member will move for it.

EXTRA POLICE TAX (IRELAND)—THE CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—LEGISLATION.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he proposes to introduce the promised measure relating to the enforcement of the claim of the Government on the Limerick Corporation in lieu of the ordinary process of existing Law?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: A Bill dealing with this question will be introduced after Whitsuntide.

ARMY (INDIA)—CAMP FOLLOWERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in *The Indian Statesman* of the 21st of April, to the effect that the impressment of the people as camp followers with the troops on the frontier is creating considerable excitement in the districts where it is being attempted, the villagers leaving their homes to avoid the conscription; and, if he can say what is the official report as to the proceedings referred to?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have seen the paragraph referred to. No official Report has reached the India Office that any such measures have been needed or taken; and I understand that no conscription is enforced in India.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF KASSALA.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the Italian Government would send assistance for the relief of the garrison of Kassala if directly pressed by Her Majesty's Government; and, whether, in the interests of humanity, he will make an earnest appeal to the Italian Government to lend a helping hand before it is too late?

MR. GLADSTONE: Although it has been quite understood all along that the garrison of Kassala was never within the sphere of the British military operations in the Soudan, nevertheless great interest has naturally been felt in the fate of that place in consequence of the gallant manner in which the Commander and the garrison have held their post. Her Majesty's Government have considered various proposals embracing the subject of their relief, and have taken such measures and have offered such suggestions as they could properly offer; but, I am sorry to say, at present without any positive result. With regard to Italy, I am not aware of the state of facts to which the hon Gentleman refers—namely, the statement that the Italian Government is prepared to send assistance for the relief of Kassala if asked to do so by Her Majesty's Government. There have been communications with the Italian Government on the subject; but they are of a confidential character, and therefore I have nothing to state at present in regard to them.

SIR JOHN HAY asked whether the garrisons of Kassala and Senaar were not among the garrisons which the late General Gordon wished to withdraw from the Soudan; and, whether the orders given to Admiral Hewett on his Mission to Abyssinia did not also include the withdrawal of these garrisons?

MR. GLADSTONE said, the withdrawal of these garrisons, if it could be effected, was always an object of interest to the British Government. What he had stated was that the relief of the garrison of Kassala had never been within the sphere of their military operations, and that was strictly correct.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE NEGOTIATIONS

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to ask the right hon Gentleman a Question of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether the negotiations with Russia respecting the Afghanistan Frontier have been brought to a close; and, whether Papers on the

subject will be laid upon the Table to-night, as we were led to expect they would be?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the negotiations with Russia have not been brought to a conclusion. I understand from my noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley) that he is awaiting and expecting to receive through the Russian Ambassador an answer from St. Petersburg to a communication which has been made respecting one portion of the frontier. Some days, however, may elapse—I cannot say how many—before an actual answer is received upon that part of the case. With regard to the latter part of the right hon. Gentleman's Question, the Papers have been laid upon the Table, and will, I believe, be circulated to-morrow; but as the negotiations have not been concluded, we cannot give the House the whole case. The Papers will, I believe, break off at the time, if not sooner, of the incident at Penjdeh, and the remainder will be presented at as early a period as possible.

MR. BOURKE: I intend to give Notice, although, of course, it is premature, that, considering the importance of this question, it will probably be our duty to call attention to these Papers after the Recess.

ARMY—DEFENCE OF THE COALING STATIONS.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary of State for War, When it would be in his power to make any further statement with regard to the defence of their coaling stations, and with regard to the construction of guns, and the supply of steel required for such guns?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he thought the most convenient opportunity for making a statement would be on Vote 12 of the Army Estimates. He would then endeavour to give the Committee of Supply the fullest information in his power, both as to the expenditure on the ordinary Vote, and also as to the expenditure which had taken place on the Vote of Credit.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS FROM SUAKIN.

COLONEL STANLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any further information could be given as to the withdrawal of any portion of the British Forces from Suakin?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not able to state yet the final arrangements as to the strength and disposition of the garrison at Suakin and the neighbouring positions. All I can say at present is that orders have been sent for the return of the Brigade of Guards as soon as possible, and that arrangements have been made for the return to Australia of the Australian Contingent.

COLONEL STANLEY: Might I ask upon that point whether it is intended before the Australian Contingent returns to Australia that they, either as a whole or any detachment of them, should have an opportunity of coming to this country?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That subject has been considered; but it has not been found that satisfactory or convenient arrangements for that purpose could be made. I do not think I could give any further information without Notice; but no official arrangements have been made on the subject.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that he would repeat the Question on a future occasion.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. BULWER rose together amid some cries of Order.

MR. BULWER: I wish, Sir, to ask a Question.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have to fulfil an engagement on the part of the Government, that I would to-day mention to the House any Bills which might be considered of first-class importance which we intend to introduce during the present Session. In fulfilling that engagement I will confine myself strictly to matters of fact, and shall make no reference to some important Bills for the amendment of the law in England which are now in the House of Lords. Neither shall I refer to Bills of considerable importance that are already on the Notice Paper of this House with respect to England. The time has not

arrived when it would be possible to give to the House information which is usually given at the close of the Session with regard to any conclusions which the Government may have arrived at as to the withdrawal of certain Bills or proceeding with them. I will only venture to remind the House that we are now not at the beginning of a Session, and that, therefore, we shall not present to the House a list of Bills framed as if we were. We are, as I conceive, much nearer to the close of the Session than the beginning; and although many will, no doubt, be disappointed at the inability of the House to prosecute certain important and interesting subjects of legislation, yet we have this consolation—that the House has accomplished a very great legislative work already — a work, perhaps, quite enough in itself to commemorate this Session as one distinguished in the important description of its Business. The Bills which we intend to introduce are these. I may mention one Bill, though it is now on the Paper, and therefore not strictly within the purview of what I have to say—namely, the Crofters Bill, because that is a Bill to which we not only attach a very great deal of importance, but to which we also think it our duty to give a special precedence in order to its being passed into law at a very early period, if, happily, it meet with the approval of the House. There is also a Bill before the House of Lords relating to Scotland—namely, the Scottish Secretary Bill, which has just been introduced there, and which we hope will reach this House, and which we are very desirous to see passed into law. With regard to Wales, we propose to introduce a measure for the promotion of intermediate education; and in order that we may give that Bill every chance which it is in our power to afford, we propose to introduce it on a very early day—I hope, certainly, before Whitsuntide. With respect to Ireland, of course there is one subject which is not a matter of choice but of necessity for us to consider—namely, the subject of the Prevention of Crime Act. Upon that subject I have to say, without entering into any detail, which would be quite contrary to the rule and practice of the House, that we shall embody various provisions of that Act which we deem to be both valuable and equitable in a Bill, and it will be our duty to press it upon the attention of the House with a view to its being passed into law. There are two other subjects on which we should have been most anxious had the circumstances of the Session been more favourable—that is to say, had not the House of Commons gone through already so much exhausting labour—there are two other subjects upon which we should have been most desirous to present measures to the House, one of them relating to local government in Ireland, and the other relating to land purchase in Ireland. I will not attempt to determine at this moment the comparative value of those measures, which may be differently viewed by different persons, and by different sections of the House; but I will say that both of them are measures with regard to which the Government feel that they have unfulfilled obligations, and it is a matter to them of great regret that they cannot ask the House to deal with either of them during what remains of the present Session in a satisfactory manner. ["Oh, oh!"] I am bound to say that some indications which have just reached my ears do not at all seem to weaken any opinion I might formerly have entertained as to the duty which we have with respect to those subjects, and as to the fact, very much to be regretted, that we have no power of redeeming this obligation during this year. So that, having referred to the Bills with regard to Scotland already before Parliament, and that there are important Bills in the House of Lords, I have only to mention the proposal we shall feel it our duty to make in regard to the subject-matter now touched by the Prevention of Crime Act, and also to ask the favourable attention of the House to the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill when it is introduced. I may say, with respect to the Prevention of Crime Act that we shall endeavour to find a very early day for the introduction of the Bill to which I have referred, but it will be after the Whitsuntide Recess.

MR. BULWER, as a point of Order, wished to know whether it was competent for the Prime Minister, or any other Member of the House, after answering a Question, to proceed to make a statement having no reference to the Question answered, and so prevent another hon. Member from putting a

Question, as he was about to do when the right hon. Gentleman interposed his statement?

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman was quite regular. He was making a statement, and had not finished it when the hon. and learned Gentleman put his Question; and the hon. and learned Gentleman can put any Question he pleases after the right hon. Gentleman has sat down.

MR. GORST: With reference to the statement which the right hon. Gentleman has just made, we understood him to say there were certain valuable and equitable provisions of the expiring Irish Act which he proposed to renew. I wish to know whether those valuable and equitable provisions will, when renewed, apply to Ireland only, or to the United Kingdom generally?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not think I ought to enter upon any explanation with regard to the particulars of the Act. The best satisfaction I can give to the hon. and learned Gentleman, and to the House, is the engagement I have entered into, that we will endeavour to find an early opportunity after Whitsuntide of introducing the Bill.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked when the second reading of the East India Loan Bill would be taken?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not name a day for the second reading; but every facility for the discussion of the subject would be afforded. With regard to the course of Business next week, on Monday the Government proposed to proceed in Committee of Supply in the first instance with a Vote on Account, which it was necessary to take; secondly, they proposed to hear the statement of the Lord Advocate on the Crofters Bill, and to obtain the first reading of that measure; and, thirdly, they proposed to take the Telegraphs Acts Amendment Bill. On Tuesday and Wednesday, as the House was aware, they would have no control over the proceedings. On Monday he hoped to be able to state exactly what they intended to do on Thursday. The Government were anxious to make what might be found the most convenient arrangement with regard to moving the adjournment of the House for the Whitsuntide Recess; but he could not state until Monday what that arrangement would be.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What is the amount of the Vote on Account?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is for six weeks.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Considering the disappointment there will be that there is to be no remedial legislation for Ireland this year, I would earnestly beg the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether one very small measure might not be introduced—that is to say, such an amendment of the Tramways Act as will enable railways to be made in the South and West of Ireland, for which that measure was specially intended?

MR. GLADSTONE: Nothing I have said would preclude the consideration of any proposal of the kind. I am only under a pledge to the House to state what Bills might be considered of first-class importance which would be undertaken by the Government in the present Session. When my hon. Friend says there has been no remedial legislation for Ireland this year, I would remind him that Ireland has received this year an Act of enfranchisement. [*Derisive laughter from the Irish Members.*] I think I heard expressions of ridicule; but I hope that measure may be considered in the nature of remedial legislation.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he meant legislation special to Ireland.

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government intend to take any measures for passing the second reading of the Labourers Act before the introduction of their new Coercion Act?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not used the expression "Coercion Bill." ["Oh, oh!" *from the Irish Members.*] Well, it is best to keep our good humour under all circumstances. We are very desirous of securing an opportunity of going forward with the Labourers Bill; but I am not in a positon to give a particular pledge about it.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: With reference to the answer given by the Prime Minister to an hon. Member opposite, I wish to ask, if it should be the intention to extend any of the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act to the United Kingdom, whether he will give fair Notice of such intention on the part of the Government, so that the people of Eng-

land may know that they, too, are to be subject to coercion?

MR. GLADSTONE: I will certainly undertake that anything that is done in relation to the subject-matter now embraced in the Prevention of Crime Act will be done with fair Notice.

MR. SEXTON asked for what period it was proposed to ask the House to renew the Act?

MR. GLADSTONE: That will be one of the provisions of the Bill; and if I state one provision of the Bill, there is no reason why I should not state the others.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—"THE PENJDEH INCIDENT"—THE PAPERS.

MR. CHAPLIN: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question arising out of his answer to the Leader of the Opposition. Do I understand him to say that we are to expect no Papers relating to the Penjdeh incident until the negotiations with regard to the proposed agreement with Russia are completed?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; It is not my duty to prepare those Papers, and the Question had better be addressed to my noble Friend (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice). I understand the Papers now laid on the Table come down to the Penjdeh incident, and that they do not come later than the Penjdeh incident, and it is not thought there would be any advantage in laying later Papers until the matter is concluded. We trust the conclusion may be very near at hand.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—A RUSSIAN ENVOY AT CABUL.

MR. ONSLOW: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question of some importance. A statement has appeared in the papers that the Russian Government had sent an intimation that they wished to send an Envoy to Cabul. In the interests of the peace of India, I should like to know if that statement is true; and, if it is not, that there may be an opportunity given of contradicting it?

MR. GLADSTONE: I know nothing of any such application on the part of Russia.

THE PAPAL SEE—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE VATICAN—MR. ERRINGTON.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked, Whether it was true, as stated in *The Standard*, that the authorities of the Vatican had given to Mr. Errington three names for submission to the English Government with reference to the appointment to the See of Dublin; and, whether the Government were now considering which of the three names they would recommend?

MR. GLADSTONE: As far as I am concerned, I know nothing, and I will go further, and say I believe nothing. I have read *The Standard* with considerable care; but I am afraid I missed that paragraph.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF KASSALA.

MR. O'KELLY asked, Whether any steps had been taken on the part of Her Majesty's Government or of the Government of the Khedive to inform the Governor or Commander at Kassala that no effort was to be made to relieve the garrison, and to advise a surrender in order to prevent a massacre?

MR. GLADSTONE: My information is only general, and I cannot answer the Question; but if the hon. Member will give Notice of it, I will take care to obtain as good an answer as I can.

SEA COAST FISHERIES—FISHING VESSELS—TRAWLERS' LIGHTS.

In reply to MR. BIRKBECK,

MR. CHAMBERLAIN stated that he was glad to say that he thought they had at last arrived at a satisfactory settlement of the somewhat difficult question of trawlers' lights. The fact was that various bodies of smack owners had from time to time made alternative suggestions for the use of a distinctive light for smack owners and trawlers, and some months ago the Board of Trade sanctioned one of these proposals in the shape of what was known as the duplex lantern. That lantern had now been legalized, and would continue a legal light. The sailing smack owners, or a considerable proportion of them, had expressed preference for a white light at the masthead, together with the use of a flare, and the Board of Trade had come to the conclusion that it would be

their duty to recommend that this light also should be sanctioned upon certain conditions, which, he was glad to say, had been mutually agreed to.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—"THE PENJDEH INCIDENT"—THE PAPERS.

MR. CHAPLIN asked the Prime Minister, Whether he could give the House a clearer indication when the Papers relating to the Penjdeh incident would be presented, and whether they might be expected before Whitsuntide? The right hon. Gentleman had, on the night of the division, told the House of Commons that the ratification of the proposed agreement would certainly be received, or was expected, within two or three days at latest. Several days had elapsed since then, and now it appeared that there was to be an indefinite delay.

MR. GLADSTONE: I never stated that I could name a day within two or three days within which the negotiations would be concluded. What I certainly did was to express my opinion that it would be desirable that the House should have the whole case before it. That, I am afraid, is not quite possible. I cannot undertake to say—if it depended on ourselves exclusively I could say very well—but I cannot undertake to say absolutely, as it does not depend upon us, by what day the negotiations will have concluded. Therefore, I cannot promise to give the entire Papers by a particular day. If the hon. Gentleman is anxious that the Papers should be given at as late a day as they can be given before the Whitsuntide Recess, I myself will communicate with my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a view to see whether anything of that kind may be done.

MR. BOURKE asked whether the Papers ordinarily coming from the India Office and those relating to the conference at Rawul Pindi, and also the despatch of the Earl of Dufferin with respect to the Russo-Afghan Frontier, would be included in those to be presented to the House?

MR. GLADSTONE: I believe that the Papers which come direct from the India Office will be more conveniently included in those presented.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

FORESTRY.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, in rising to call attention to the state of Forestry in this country; and to move—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider whether, by the establishment of a Forest School, or otherwise, our Woodlands could be rendered more remunerative,"

said, that, as last year he had the opportunity of addressing the House on the subject, he would not trespass long on their indulgence. The subject was one of considerable importance. England was almost the only country without a Forest School. Such institutions existed in Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, France, Switzerland, Austria, Sweden, Spain, Russia, and, in fact, in almost every other country. The need for a Forest School in England had by no means reference only to the State forests. There were some 2,800,000 acres under wood; while, in the Colonies, the forests were estimated to cover no less than 340,000,000 acres. In fact, our interests in this respect were larger than those of any other country in the world. He would only give two instances out of many which might be quoted to show how much might be effected in this direction. Thirty years ago, the Landes was one of the poorest and most wretched regions in France. It had been judiciously planted, and was now one of the most prosperous. The increase of value was estimated at no less than £40,000,000. In India, 15 years ago, the net forest revenue was only £52,000; while, since the establishment of a Forest Department, it had risen to over £400,000, which, of course, would represent an immense increase in capital value. Competent authorities had estimated that there were over 5,000,000 acres of land in this country which might be planted with advantage. M. Boppe, one of the greatest French authorities, had recently visited this country on behalf of the India Office, and clearly indicated his

opinion, though he expressed it as courteously as possible, that we were behind other countries in the management of our woodlands. Our own highest authorities were of the same opinion. Mr. Brown, in his standard work on *Forestry*, said that—

"If our woodlands had been judiciously managed, we should not find so great a part of the woodlands of Great Britain in the unprofitable state in which they are."

Mr. Cruikshank, in his *Practical Forester*, said that—

"Nothing was more common than to see trees planted in situations for which they were utterly unsuited,"

and he gave many illustrations. *The Journal of Horticulture* said that—

"It is little less than deplorable to witness the miles of woods that are practically valueless from a commercial point of view, whereas, under skilled supervision, they might yield a substantial revenue to their owners, and in addition be an advantage to the trading and agricultural community."

And the same view has been ably advocated by *The Journal of Forestry*. At a recent meeting of the Convention of Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland, held in Edinburgh on the 8th of April last, on the motion of the Lord Provost a unanimous resolution was adopted in support of the Motion which he had the honour of moving. Indeed, so necessary was a scientific training that the officers intended for the Indian Forest Service were sent to study at Nancy. No doubt, that was an admirable institution; but, naturally enough, it was specially adapted to French requirements. For instance, one of the subjects was French law; again, of course, French technical terms were used. The India Office proposed, he believed, that a part of the course should in future be passed at Cooper's Hill, but that the students should spend some time in France to study the practical part. The fact that we had to send our young officials to a foreign School of Forestry was an acknowledgment of the truth of two things —first, the advantage and importance of the systematic course of training of those who were to be engaged in the management of woodlands; and second, that such systematic training could not be obtained in this country. With respect to the latter point, he was informed that the West Indies having recently applied to the Colonial Office for someone to advise them on their Forest management, it had been impossible to find any person in this country competent to do so. The Cape of Good Hope and Cyprus had also been compelled to intrust their forests to foreigners. They were indebted to the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) for several interesting reports on Forest management; but he would leave his hon. Friend to deal with them. The present was, for two reasons, a particularly favourable time for the inquiry he proposed; because Dr. Schlich, the head of the Indian Forest Service, was now in England, and, he believed, that this was also the case with his predecessor, Dr. Brandis. They would, therefore, have the advantage of the advice and co-operation of both those gentlemen. He believed, secondly, those gentlemen were, with the India Office, engaged in considering the organization of the instruction of Indian officials on the subject. He was always reluctant to ask the aid of the Government for any object that could be effected by private enterprize; but it was almost impossible for private individuals to establish for themselves a satisfactory Forest School. It was, indeed, a case which could not be left altogether to private enterprize, because a Forest School necessarily required access to a considerable area of forest. If a well-organized Forest School was established, the Indian students would afford a valuable nucleus in the first instance. He did not, however, wish to express any decided opinion in favour of the establishment of a Government School of Forestry. It was a subject for inquiry, and he thought it at least worthy of consideration whether some intermediate system might be adopted which would enable some one or more existing institutions to benefit by the national forests and woodlands for the instructions of young persons in forestry. He also urged the appointment of this Committee, on the ground that anything which tended to revive the interests of agriculture was of the greatest importance and ought to be encouraged. At present, the landed interest was so greatly depressed that they ought not to neglect any step by which its condition might be improved. To show the demand for timber, he reminded the House that our annual import was about £16,000,000. He believed that the average income derived

from woodlands might be substantially increased. Moreover, he thought it was clearly desirable that the whole question should be investigated, before the Government committed themselves to a new system of training for the Indian Forest officials. He trusted, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government would consider that he had made out a strong case, at any rate, for inquiry, and that the House would accede to his Motion. In conclusion, he begged to move for the Select Committee of which he had given Notice.

DR. LYONS, in seconding the Motion, said, he would remind hon. Members that he had, for some years past, called attention to this subject in connection with Ireland. It was, undoubtedly, the case that, of late years, a very considerable diminution had taken place in the amount of wood planted. Ireland had formerly been able to carry on a large amount of iron smelting by means of her wood, and the smelting had come to an end when the supply of wood had ceased. He had to thank the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) for the ready assistance which they had given him in investigating the important subject of Forestry. In Reports, which included the greater portion of Europe, it was clearly laid down that those countries could no longer afford to export an unlimited amount of timber to this country. It was the same with regard to the United States and to Canada, where the timber had been recklessly cut down, and where constant forest fires destroyed as much timber as would have supplied European demands for some years. The hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock) had referred to our timber imports as amounting to £16,000,000. That Return, he (Dr. Lyons) thought, must refer to timber alone, without other Forest produce, such as tar, pitch, resin, and bark. The whole of the Forest produce imported into this country really amounted to about £30,000,000. With regard to European countries, France was not in a position to supply all her own industrial wants, but was importing a large amount of timber every year. We must also look for a cessation of the timber supply from the Baltic in a very short time; the countries in that neighbourhood had lately been supplying small timber, which showed that they were cutting down miniature trees. There could be no doubt that a vast amount of good had been done by the enclosure of existing forests, and the planting of new ones; and equally certain was it that one of the main economic causes which had hindered the progress of Ireland had been the destruction of her forests. The forests had been destroyed, partly in order to prevent the natives from sheltering there from their oppressors, and partly for smelting purposes. The amount of woodland in Ireland was decreasing; there were now 45,000 acres less than in 1841. The total amount of timber now standing in Ireland was only 350,000 acres. How much that was below the amount of woodland Ireland ought to possess, was seen from the fact that the best authorities had held that to keep a country in good order and insure the proper growth of crops from one-third to one-fourth ought to be protected by woodland. Moreover, it had been conclusively proved that the absence of forests was productive of torrential rains, which caused much devastation along the course of the natural systems of drainage in a country. The amount of woodland possessed by Great Britain, though much larger in proportion than that of Ireland, was small compared with other countries. In Prussia there were 34,000,000 acres, in France 22,000,000 acres, in Austria 23,000,000 acres, and in Hungary 22,000,000 acres of woodland. To the excellent management and cultivation of her forests he believed that the present prosperity of Hungary was in a great measure due. It had been well and truly said that shelter was as good as half food for cattle, and he had no hesitation in saying that the amount of timber in the British Empire was infinitely below what it ought to be for the proper protection of the soil, the proper protection of flocks and herds, and for the general development of industry. The question of our timber supplies was of the greatest agricultural, commercial, and industrial importance to this country. At present, a large amount of timber was imported into this country; and if, through the breaking out of war, one single year's

supply was stopped, many industries would be ruined, probably, for five years to come. How much might be done by the State for Forestry was, he thought, shown by the conduct of our Indian Government. The Indian Forestry Department had saved the Indian Forests from the destruction and devastation to which they were rapidly becoming a prey, and had made their administration financially and in every way a great success.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to consider, whether, by the establishment of a Forest School or otherwise, our Woodlands could be rendered more remunerative,"—(*Sir John Lubbock,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL supported the Motion. He said, that it was Dr. Johnson who, on the occasion of his visit to Scotland, said that during the whole of his travels in that country he only noticed two trees which were large enough to hang a man upon. If that was a true picture of Scotland at that time, it must be said that the face of the country had been very much altered, and that they were fairly entitled to put forward a claim for encouragement by the Government, inasmuch as they had done a great deal for themselves—private enterprize had undoubtedly done a great deal to reafforest many of the barren hillsides of Scotland. He might instance the county of Inverness, which now contained over 900,000 acres of woodland—he thought the largest area of woodland in any county in the United Kingdom, not even excepting Yorkshire. Perhaps no stronger argument could be put forward in favour of the appointment of the Committee, as suggested, than that used by the hon. Baronet the Mover of the Motion (Sir John Lubbock), when he said that this was the only great country of Europe which took no notice at all of the national property in its forests. The hon. Baronet had said that we had 3,000,000 acres under wood in England, and yet, as regarded the proper management of that immense property, the Government did absolutely nothing. On the contrary, the Government, not very long ago, offered a direct discouragement to the formation of additional woodlands when the Act was passed for rating of woodlands. He did not complain of woodlands being rated. They were property, and as such should be rated; but, nevertheless, it was a discouragement to those who were inclined to continue planting to find that what must for some time to come be their most unremunerative property was to be subject to rating. What might they expect from the sittings of the proposed Committee? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had said yesterday that little could be expected from a Committee at this period of the Session. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] Then he must have misunderstood him. If they were not to expect the establishment of a School of Forestry in this country, an immense amount of information would, at all events, be collected and placed at the disposal of the public. It might be asked, what was the difference between Forestry and any other description of culture, such as horticulture? Why should the State be expected to take steps to encourage Forestry? There was this great distinction between Forestry and all other sorts of rural industry — namely, that it called for an amount of foresight, and patience, and self-denial on the part of those engaged in it which was not the case to the same extent with such pursuits as agriculture and horticulture. The returns were not immediate. They might expect, from the labours of this Committee, that it would make accessible to the public a vast amount of knowledge in regard to Forestry, which was not at present accessible to them. They might expect that information would be collected as to the best kinds of timber to plant. There was an immense quantity of money wasted just now in mistaken Forestry operations. No one who had spent any portion of his life in studying the subject could fail to be distressed in going through the country to see hundreds and thousands of acres of neglected woodland. Considering the amount of private energy and self-denial involved in the formation of woodlands, it was not too much to ask the Government of this country to recognize that, and to take steps to place within the reach of the public the best

possible information on the subject. The present Prime Minister, as they all knew, took a great deal of pleasure in some of the pursuits connected with the arboriculture of the country; and it was surely not too much to expect that the right hon. Gentleman would extend his energies to the constructive arts of arboriculture as well as to the destructive arts.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will answer the earnest appeal of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell); but I am sorry to say I must accompany my complete answer to that appeal with a criticism on the manner of it, and the phrase which he has employed. The hon. Gentleman said he hoped I would consent to extend my energies, and add constructive to destructive arts in respect to arboriculture. I should have hoped that the hon. Gentleman would have been disposed to contend—as I am disposed to contend—that those who cut down the trees are the only true Conservatives. The hon. Gentleman said, most truly, that there are multitudes of ill-managed woods in this country. Why are they so ill-managed? Simply because of the superstition of their owners, which prevents them from properly thinning and clearing them. I am prepared to contend that there is nothing that does more to increase the ground of complaint with respect to the condition of our woods and plantations in general, than that superstition of a multitude of their owners, which leads them to think that it is a kind of sacrilege to cut down a tree; and, moreover, it tends to injure their woods, instead of its being the only ready way of keeping them in a good condition. I agree cordially with the hon. Gentlemen who have spoken, in thinking that it is quite worth while to appoint the Committee proposed by my hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock); but I must make a certain reservation. I do not wish to be bound, on the part of the Government, to the establishment of any Forestry School, and I will give the reasons why I do not think there should be any foregone conclusion upon that subject. My hon. Friend who made this Motion—and I feel we are indebted to him and to those who have supported it—has spoken of the Forestry Schools that were instituted abroad. Now, that is quite true; but there are two observations to be made—first of all, that in foreign countries they depend much more on the direct aid of Government than we do in this country; and, secondly, that the scale of operations to be conducted is infinitely larger. I am not quite sure that we are all agreed as to the amount of field that is open. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down stated, I think, that in the county of Inverness there were 900,000 acres of wood. I am convinced that that must be a complete error on the part of the hon. Gentleman, and that there can be nothing approaching to that figure in the county of Inverness. In fact, I have heard from those who have looked into the subject that the whole amount of woodland in Scotland does not reach 900,000 acres. I would not venture to give a confident opinion upon that matter; but I am convinced it is an error to say that there are 900,000, or anything like 900,000 acres of woodland in Inverness.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I may have been wrong in the figure I have given; but of this I am sure, that the acreage under wood in Inverness is larger than in any other county in the United Kingdom.

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not wish to contest that point. There are very large acreages in one or two other Scottish counties; but I am convinced that they do not amount to anything like the figure mentioned by the hon. Gentleman.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I think it is 400,000 acres.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I could not afford even that. My hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock) was understood by me to say that there were 2,800,000 acres of wood in England. I am disposed to question that figure also.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: That includes Scotland.

MR. GLADSTONE: At all events, I believe this, that there is plenty of room for improvement in the management of woods in this country. Everything is done almost at haphazard. There is no fixed tradition, there is no authoritative system, and I may say, though the land agents are a body of men quite as intelligent as any other class in the community, and in many cases of very high intelligence indeed, yet it is rare to find a land agent, as far as I know, who has

any practical or useful knowledge of Forestry. You will find them men admirably qualified for every other department of their duty, and yet unable to lend assistance in this respect. I said I wished to be quite free on the question of the establishment of a Forestry School, and I mentioned one reason why we should be free. But another matter is this—allusion has been most properly made to the study of Forestry in India; and eulogiums have been pronounced, which I believe to be hardly deserved, upon the leading servants of the Indian Government who have been connected with that interesting subject. The Indian Government has had the most special reasons for giving attention to it. First of all there was the great question whether, when pursued on a large and systematic scale, it was possible to make Forestry profitable, which hitherto it had not been. I certainly have the hope that that question either has received, or is in course of receiving, a satisfactory answer in the Indian Dominions of Her Majesty. But, besides that, it must be recollected that in India there have been most important reasons connected with climate, with the provision of a due supply of moisture in the air, and with the regular growth of the food of the people, which are not present here, and which give an altogether extraordinary importance to the subject of Forestry in India. But the Indian Government had, and still has, a School of Forestry in India as well as in England; and that latter school it should be known, as I understand, though it belongs to the Indian Government, is not in any way confined to persons connected with India, or contemplating residence in India. I understand it is allowed to anyone desirous, and able to pay the necessary fees, to be a candidate for admission to that school. It is possible that very valuable assistance may be derived from that school for the purposes of afforesting in England. But I think that besides the comparatively limited scale of operations in this country we have some other difficulties to deal with which ought not to be left out of view. First, our woods are so broken down into detail, that the number of properties on which there is the amount of wood that would admit of the large application of systematic training is not great. I myself have had a good deal to do with one estate, which, although not so large in regard to growth of timber as some estates in Scotland, is almost as large as any in England. It has somewhere about 6,000 or 7,000 acres of wood, and that is a growth extremely rare, not in Scotland, but in England. But besides the fact that our woods are so cut down into small bits of patchwork on the face of the country, it must never be forgotten that they are not kept here to any large extent for the purpose of profit as woods, but for the purposes of landscape beauty, and of pleasure and of sport—of sport above all. All these things must go, I think, to moderate our expectations as to what can be done; but, at the same time, it is quite true that my interest in these subjects has certainly caused me constantly to observe, from the manner in which woods are managed, and the degree of accomplishment and attainment brought to the management of them, how much might be gained if there were more of common tradition on the subject—which common tradition must be the fruit of a good deal of training. There are some parts in this country—in the Midland counties—where, I believe, the art of woodcutting is practised with a nicety, and, I believe, with an actual beauty, which is not to be found anywhere else; but there are other parts where scarcely anyone knows how to cut down a tree. That deficiency indicates a general want of attention to the subject. I will not enter any further into the matter. The subject is one of very great interest; and I have some considerable hope that great utility will arise from the inquiries of this Committee. I think the hon. Member who has just sat down (Sir Herbert Maxwell) did not catch exactly what I said yesterday with regard to the appointment of Select Committees at this period of the Session. What I did say was that it was unadvisable at this period of the Session to appoint a Select Committee to conduct inquiries which could not produce satisfactory results; but as regards the Select Committee now asked for, in the first place, my hon. Friend who has asked for it has given special reasons why at this moment the appointment should be made; and, in the second place, although it is true that the working time will be short, and that a Dissolution is likely to intervene between this Session and next, still

a partial inquiry this Session may perfectly well be made, and taken up in a future Session and carried on to its completion. Therefore, it will be understood that we remain perfectly free with respect to the direction which the inquiries of the Committee may take, and the recommendations it may make, upon which it will be the duty of the responsible Ministers of the Crown for the time being to pass judgment. With that due and just reservation, I can give my hearty support to the proposal, and I sincerely hope that very great benefit may result from the inquiries which the Committee may make.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought the House was greatly indebted to the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir John Lubbock) for having brought forward the subject; and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was greatly pleased at the acceptance of the Motion by the Government, for he quite agreed with the remarks that fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, to the effect that the art of thinning out trees had been tremendously neglected in this country. It was one of those subjects which required large study, and ought to be more cultivated than it was. Few men knew how to thin a plantation, and scarcely two would agree as to the proper time when the thinning should take place. It was on this account that our plantations in England had suffered so severely. He also agreed entirely with the right hon. Gentleman opposite as to the area of land under wood in this country. He did not think that anything like the area was under wood which had been stated by some hon. Members. In the county of Sussex they had turned their attention towards growing timber, but especially underwood for the purpose of providing hop poles, hoops, and other matters, and had greatly increased the value of these woods, though he was very sorry to say that lately, not only had timber and bark fallen, but underwoods had been reduced in value quite 35 per cent. An additional result was that they found employment for large numbers of poor people during the winter months. In pursuing that course, however, they could not shut their eyes to the fact which he had just stated, that the value of this underwood and timber had greatly depreciated; and he was afraid it would not be until there was a diminution of the supply from abroad that the value of timber in this country would rise to a fair level. He was informed, however, that nearly all the timber near the rivers of America, and except in the interior of France, Italy, and Spain, had been cut, and there was but little chance of many large supplies reaching us in the future from those countries. Therefore, there was every opportunity for the profitable growth of woods and timber; and he hoped that we, in this country, should not neglect planting such kinds as would grow fairly well on land that was not good for agricultural purposes. He believed that this Committee would do a great deal of good, and he should be glad if one of the results of the inquiry was to teach young men the art of cultivating timber. As it was, there was considerable difficulty in getting men to manage woods properly. He hoped that the general result of their labours would be to increase the growth of timber everywhere, giving increased employment to the working classes in the winter which it was hardly possible to procure in any other way.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he had great pleasure in congratulating the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) on the acceptance of his Motion by the Government. He (Dr. Farquharson) was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister that at length Forest culture was to be placed in this country upon a satisfactory basis. He (Dr. Farquharson) came from a part of the country where a great deal of planting was going on, and which was well known to the Prime Minister; and although that planting was conducted liberally, largely, and well, yet there was in it a little too much of the haphazard mode of which they had just heard. They heard a great deal in these days of increasing the agricultural output of the soil; but they heard very little about the great increase in the value of their land, which might result from a proper method of planting and growing trees on waste land. A great deal of waste land had been taken in for agricultural purposes which would never repay the expense; whereas, if it were planted, they would obtain an excellent crop of trees which would pay in every case,

and which would confer great benefits on the country in the improvement of the climate and in other ways. He thought it was discreditable that they had to send to France or Germany to learn a science which their young men might as well learn at home, if they had the proper materials; for he was sure that if they had in Scotland sufficient opportunity, they would be able, from the excellent woods there, to teach the young men how planting should be carried on. As an instance, he would call the attention of hon. Members to the afforesting operations on the property of Lord Seafield, so admirably managed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce). At the present time, he had a successor to a forester who was very anxious to obtain some instruction, so as to be able to do things on a better and more scientific scale, and he did not know where to get opportunities of instruction without sending him abroad at great expense. He should hope that, in future years, he would get that instruction at home. He was very glad to hear of the appointment of this Committee, for he was certain that from its deliberations great good would ensue. There were many thousands of acres of waste land in England that might very profitably be afforested.

Mr. DAWSON said, he thought the discussion came very appropriately at a time when the Committee on Irish Industries was sitting; and he had no doubt that the two Committees would recommend the Government to take greater interest than they had hitherto done in the development of those industries, including Forestry, especially as there was no part of the United Kingdom where improved methods of Forestry would be of more advantage than in Ireland. The hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons), who had made himself remarkable by devotion to this question, had dealt instructively with many branches of the subject; but there was one to which he had not referred—namely, the fact that whilst we taught our poorer children all sorts of useless subjects, we gave them no instruction in those technical arts by which they could obtain a livelihood. In the Black Forest and in Switzerland the young people were profitably employed in making the thousands of toys which were imported into this country. There was no reason why many thousands of our unemployed and starving population might not find the means of subsistence in this industry. The Prime Minister had deprecated the interference of the State; but the State had, in Holland, reclaimed the land from the sea, and here, at home, as he (Mr. Dawson) had said, was expending its resources in teaching many subjects to the children of the poor, which, from a wage-earning point of view, were absolutely useless. It would be much wiser that children should receive good technical training in the trades by which they were to make their living.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was glad that the Government had consented to the appointment of the Committee; and he took as an illustration of the gross ignorance on this subject the wretched condition of the trees in Kensington Gardens. He thought one had no need to go further than that locality to see what a lamentable want existed of scientific Forestry in this country. With regard to the Indian Forest Department, great compliments were paid to it; but he (Sir George Campbell) considered they were a little too laudatory. No doubt, the Indian Government had honestly desired to establish it efficiently, and had been as successful as could reasonably be hoped; but yet it had not been so successful as some people seemed to think, because they had not had here at head-quarters a School which would be a foundation from which young men could be sent out to do good. Whatever had been done of good had been done by sending young men abroad to France and Germany, where, on account of ignorance of the language and otherwise, they laboured under disadvantages. The Indian Forestry Department had been petted and praised in anticipation; but it had not yet succeeded in establishing scientific Forestry, and its receipts were derived largely from cutting down wood, giving it something of the nature of a commercial Department.

Mr. ACKERS said, he was gratified to find that for once England, Scotland, and Ireland were thoroughly united on this matter, for the subject was one in which the Three Kingdoms were equally interested. There was no good School

of Forestry in the country; and nobody need go farther than our magnificent Parks and Gardens to see that the art of Forestry was absolutely unknown in this country. Thousands of our best trees were killed because similar treatment was apparently applied to all trees alike, and it did not appear to be known that what was good for one tree killed another. While agreeing with the Prime Minister that there should be no foregone conclusion, he hoped the matter would not be entered upon with the idea that a School of Forestry was not necessary, and that Government assistance should not be given to it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

Ordered, That a Select Committee be appointed to consider whether, by the establishment of a Forest School, or otherwise, our woodlands could be rendered more remunerative.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF THE BROTHERS DELAHUNTY.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. KENNY rose to call attention to the conviction and sentence of the Brothers Delahunty at the Cork Winter Assizes of 1882; and to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable, in the interests of justice, that inquiry be granted by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to investigate certain important matters which have since transpired calculated to throw material doubt upon the original conviction,"

when——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at five minutes after Seven o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 18th May, 1885.

MINUTES.] — *Sat First in Parliament* — The Viscount St. Vincent, after the death of his brother.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading* — Consolidated Fund (No. 2)*; Registration (Occupation Voters)* (111); Registration of Voters (Scotland)* (112); Registration of Voters (Ireland)* (116).

Committee — *Report* — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3)* (84).

Report—Barristers Admission (Ireland)* (100).

Third Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order* (96), and *passed.*

SOUTH-EASTERN AND LONDON, CHATHAM, AND DOVER RAILWAY COMPANIES (ARBITRATION) BILL.

MOTION.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving that the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee to whom the said Bill was committed, said, that the Bill was promoted by the South-Eastern Railway Company for the purpose of having referred to arbitration certain matters in dispute between them and the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company, which disputes, he believed, arose out of one of those lamentable arrangements by which Railway Companies were frequently in the habit of depriving the public of the benefit of competition. The amount in question was something approaching to £10,000,000. The Bill came in due course before their Lordships' House, and passed a second reading without any comment whatever. If there had been anything very erroneous in principle about the Bill, his noble Friend at the Table (the Earl of Redesdale) would, no doubt, as he always did, have taken notice of it. His noble Friend's attention had evidently been called to the Bill, for he made the remark that he presumed that both parties assented to the proposed arbitration; but he did not think it worth while to ascertain whether that was the case or not, and the Bill was read a second time. As a matter of fact, he believed that the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company did not consent to arbitration, but was vehemently opposed to it; but the contention of the other party was that the matter could

not possibly be dealt with by the ordinary Courts of Law, and that it ought to be referred to arbitration. Whether they were right or wrong in that contention he knew not. After being read a second time, the Bill was referred to a Select Committee, presided over by his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Camperdown). The counsel for the promoters stated the object of the Bill, and read the Preamble to the Committee; but no sooner had he come to the first enactment clause, when the counsel for the other side got up and objected to the Bill being proceeded with, on the ground that it was objectionable in principle, because it was a Bill to oust the jurisdiction of the Courts of Law. The Chairman of the Committee, struck with that argument, asked for a precedent; and although it was a mistake to suppose that a precedent was necessary for an Act of Parliament, their Lordships every Session being called upon to pass Acts wholly without precedent, yet the promoters' counsel was able to cite the precedent of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Arbitration Bill of 1869, the Preamble of which was almost on all fours with the present Bill. The Chairman of the Committee, however, demanded a precedent for acting precisely in the same way. Now, his point was that if there were no precedent at all it did not in the least affect the question; because by reading the Bill a second time their Lordships had decided that the principle of the Bill was a proper one; and what the Select Committee had to do was to inquire whether the allegations in the Preamble could be sustained by evidence. The Committee, however, absolutely refused to hear one word on the merits, and said that it was not desirable to proceed with the Bill because of its principle. The action of the Committee had created, so far, a most dangerous precedent in regard to Private Bills; because their Lordships' House, in reading a Bill a second time, affirmed generally its principle, subject to the proof of its Preamble in Committee, and in this case the Committee had declined to allow any evidence to be given in support of the Preamble. The Committee, he submitted, had committed an error of judgment, as the wisest men were liable to do; and he, therefore, now moved that the Bill be re-committed.

The Earl of Milltown

Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee to whom the said Bill was committed."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, as Chairman of the Select Committee on the Bill, wished to give his version of what took place. The Committee were perfectly unanimous in their decision, and after reflection he thought they had arrived at what was the only sensible conclusion in the matter. The Bill, which was not an ordinary one, was brought forward by the South-Eastern Railway Company for the settlement of certain disputes between them and the London, Chatham, and Dover Company, and the latter Company was strongly opposed to the Bill. The Preamble said that, whereas under agreements large sums of money had been divided between the two Companies, and whereas disputes had arisen as to the validity of such agreements—what the disputes were was not stated—and whereas claims had been made by each Company upon the other involving long and intricate investigations and many complicated matters which were unsuited for a Court of Law—that was, unsuited in the opinion of the South-Eastern Company—therefore it was expedient to appoint a Court of Arbitration, to which all claims in connection with the agreement between the Companies were to be referred. That Court of Arbitration was to be empowered, if it thought fit, to declare the agreement void, to alter, vary, or rescind it in whole or in part, and to require the two Companies to enter into a new or modified agreement. It simply came to this, therefore—that the South-Eastern Railway Company having a dispute with the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company, which was actually at that moment before a Court of Law, introduced this Bill for the purpose of stopping all the operations of the Courts of Law, and of substituting a Court of Arbitration which they proposed to set up. It would be acknowledged that, even if the parties were agreed, such a Bill was not quite of an ordinary character; but, as a matter of fact, the London, Chatham, and Dover Company opposed the measure tooth and nail, their contention being that the questions at issue were at that moment before a Court of Law. The noble Earl had referred to a precedent cited by one of the counsel for the promoters. He desired

to point out, however, that there was a great difference between the two cases. In the case of the London, Chatham, and Dover Act of 1869 the parties were agreed; but in the case under consideration they were disagreed. He thought that was a tolerably important difference between the two cases. The noble Earl said this Bill was read a second time, and that if there was anything objectionable in the principle of the Bill the noble Earl at the Table (the Earl of Redesdale) would have stepped in. When the Bill was read a second time the noble Earl was not in possession of information that the measure was opposed. The Bill was handed over by the House to a Select Committee; and if the Committee discovered in the Preamble of the Bill—that was to say, in its principle—something which, in their opinion, appeared objectionable, and that it was inadvisable to proceed with it, he asked their Lordships whether it would be right to put the parties to the additional expense of inquiring into facts, quarrels, and disputes between the different officials and Chairmen of the Companies when the Committee had made up their minds that the principle of the measure was one which it was not expedient for them to sanction? The noble Earl said that there was no precedent for what the Committee had done; but in 1876 the South Wales Atlantic Steamship Company Bill was unanimously rejected by a Committee on the preliminary objection that it was a Bill to alter existing legal rights. He could assure their Lordships that the Committee over which he presided gave a most attentive consideration to the principle of this Bill; but the objections to it appeared so overwhelming to them that they thought it was inadvisable to proceed any further with it. If their Lordships wished to re-commit the Bill, he, of course, would bow to any decision which might be arrived at; but he should like to point out that the principle of the measure was one which ought to be discussed in the House itself. Was it right, when there were two parties to a dispute, and when that dispute was before a Court of Law, that on the application of one of those parties a Bill should be passed totally suspending the operation of the Courts of Law, calling into question and possibly upsetting an agreement which had been acted on by both parties for 20 years? He submitted that a question of that kind ought to be decided in the House. At the same time, he hoped their Lordships would uphold the decision of the Committee.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, the noble Earl moved the re-committal of this Bill on the ground that, having been read a second time in their Lordships' House, the principle of the measure was thereby admitted. He thought that was a wrong contention. The pith of this Bill was contained in the Preamble; and when their Lordships were asked to re-commit it they were virtually asked to say that the Preamble had been proved. The point they had to consider was, whether it was advisable to allow such a Bill to proceed? The questions in dispute between the two Companies were at that moment before the Law Courts; and until the Courts had given a decision in the matter it seemed to him to be an objectionable proceeding to come forward and ask for the appointment of a special Court to consider the question. If their Lordships consented to the re-committal of the Bill they would virtually come to a decision to allow the measure to proceed.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he hoped that the House would decline to give any countenance to the Motion of the noble Earl. He demurred entirely to the proposition laid down by the noble Earl that that House, by reading this Bill a second time, had affirmed its principle, so as to take the consideration of that principle out of the province of the Select Committee. The Members of that House, who were not Members of the Standing Orders or the Select Committee, knew nothing of the merits of any Private Bill; and if the House were, under such circumstances, to reverse the decision of the Select Committee, the present system of Private Bill legislation would be a perfect delusion and a snare, and ought to be abolished. But if there was one case in which such a course would be more objectionable than another it would be in regard to the present Bill. The second reading of this Bill would never have been proposed by the noble Earl at the Table, if he had not—as he expressly stated in his note upon it—assumed, as of course, that both Companies concerned had consented to it. The pro-

moters of the Bill, after they had seen that note, omitted to inform the noble Earl at the Table, or the Standing Orders Committee, that there was no such consent. It was only the other day that the House, on the Motion of the late Earl Cairns, refused to give a second reading to a Bill similar to this in principle, which proposed to alter a Parliamentary contract between Trinity College, Dublin, and their lessees, because it was not consented to. The House, when it read the present Bill a second time, was left in ignorance that it was not consented to. He noticed also that the Bill provided, forsooth, to lay new duties on the Lord Chancellor by casting on him the task of appointing arbitrators. His consent to undertake this duty had never been asked, and, as a matter of fact, he entirely objected to it. The Motion to re-commit the Bill was entirely without justification.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in reply, said that he neither advocated nor opposed the Bill; but contended that the Committee had acted wrongly in the matter. He thought that the whole House was the proper tribunal to consider the principle of a Bill.

Resolved in the *negative.*

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—ABANDONMENT BY ENGLAND.

RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, until a settled government has been established in the Eastern Soudan, in the interests of civilization, of the native population, and of commerce, and for the security of Egypt, this country cannot relieve itself of the responsibilities it has incurred through the warlike operations that have during the last two years been twice undertaken in that part of the Soudan,"

said, the Resolution told its own story. He was not one of those who saw evil in all that the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did; on the contrary, he congratulated him on the efforts he was making to maintain peace, for he did not think that they were in a position, without an ally or friend, to enter into a contest with Russia with a light heart. He hoped that the efforts of the noble Earl might lead to a satisfactory solution of that great question. But in regard to the policy of the Government in Egypt, he confessed he was unable to find anything for satisfaction from beginning to end. If there could be a free expression of opinion in the House of Commons, he did not believe that the Government in regard to this matter would be supported by a majority of the House. He did not know why their troops were ever sent to Egypt; for it appeared to him that it could not matter to England who ruled in that country—whether it were Ismail, Tewfik, or Arabi—provided only one thing, and that was that the Suez Canal was safe. But it was to the interest of whoever ruled in that country that the Canal should be safe, and the only danger the Canal had ever run was the outcome of the interference of this country; because it was well known that Arabi's chief engineer did all he could to induce Arabi to break up the Canal. But the Motion which he was about to submit to the House did not turn upon the question of Egypt, but upon the question of the Soudan; and, looking at that question, he could not help feeling very strongly that when Her Majesty's Government enthroned Sir Evelyn Baring on the seat of the Pharoahs, and announced that they intended to give up the Soudan, that was a very high-handed act on the part of the Government of a country which was nothing but an intruder in Egypt. In doing so they entirely gave the go-by to the Egyptian Government and to Turkey, the Suzerain of Egypt. Let them assume for a moment the position of things reversed, and Turkey in the same position with reference to this country as this country was with reference to Turkey and Egypt, and that Turkey, being dissatisfied with our rule, bombarded Portsmouth, seized London, and occupied England, and then announced that, in consequence of the Government's maladministration of affairs in Ireland, she would hand over that country to the representatives of the ancient Milesian Kings, of whom, out of 168, history tells us only 20 died natural deaths. He thought that was a fair analogy to draw, and he could perceive no difference in the two cases. However, the point to which he wished especially to direct the attention of the House was the question of the Eastern Soudan; and in doing so he would not again refer to the circumstances connected with Lord Wolseley's aquatic expedition up the Nile, which

had at least shown this—that our troops should have been sent out sooner, nor would he dwell upon the delay of Her Majesty's Government, which was the direct cause of its failure. Every man knew the strong things Lord Wolseley had said with reference to that delay; and how he had written home to a friend saying—

"What would I not give now for those three months that were wasted while Mr. Gladstone was making up his mind!"

All those matters were fully gone into a few days since by his noble Friend (Viscount Bury); and, therefore, he would confine himself to the question of the Eastern Soudan. It mattered not what cause took them there, whether it was to smash Osman Digna or to relieve the garrisons who were slaughtered by their delay in starting; it mattered not whether it was to relieve Gordon or for the suppression of the Mahdi. It was sufficient that they had been there, and had done what they had done, and that they were still in that country. The Government and those who supported them had incurred responsibilities which they could not cast aside, and he was anxious to bring those responsibilities home to them. What were those responsibilities? On the 2nd of August, 1883, only 20 months ago, Mr. Power, with two other Englishmen and a guide, and three camels, was on his way to join General Hicks, and described the people around Suakin as very handsome and beautifully built, and although they looked most fierce, they were gentle, civil, and good-natured fellows. Let them compare that state of things, when a party of three Englishmen and a guide, with no armed escort, could travel quietly from Suakin to Berber, with the state of things existing now, when no one could move out of camp unless strongly escorted, like a Cabinet Minister in London. That would give a measure of the responsibilities this country had incurred by its interference. Nothing could show better the results of the policy that had been pursued than the change that had taken place in the character of that population. In his original Resolution he had asked the House to affirm that the railway that had been commenced from Suakin to Berber should be completed; but many noble Lords had urged upon him that they were not prepared to do so, and he had therefore left it out of his present Motion, though he believed a railway to be the real civilizing element in that country. If, however, the House would affirm the rest of the Resolution, the major would include the minor; for the first thing the Government would have to do in establishing a settled government would be to make a railway. The benefits of a railway, commercially and strategically speaking, would, he believed, be untold. The strategical benefits would be discussed by his noble and gallant Friend who would second the Resolution (Lord Napier of Magdala); but with regard to its commercial value, he believed it was put before Her Majesty's Government that a railway from Suakin to Berber would tap all the unknown wealth supposed to exist in that part of Africa—a fact of which the Marquess of Hartington seemed to be aware when he recently spoke on the subject. General Gordon, in a letter dated the 17th of December, 1882, expressed the view that no real progress could be reckoned on in the Soudan until a railway was made between Suakin and Berber. A railway was a *sine quâ non* for the well-being of the Soudan. Now, there might be difficulties in the way of the construction of this railway; but they were certainly not insuperable. He had just had a conversation with a gentleman who had constructed 1,200 miles of railway through a country very like the Eastern Soudan, and who was ready to form a Company for the purpose of completing the railway projected there. At any rate, the Government could not get rid of all their responsibility to those whom they would leave in the Soudan for the next five months. The Government proposed to give the friendly tribes a few thousand pounds in order to induce them to protect the railway that had been begun. They should, at least, make the pounds guineas. The way to treat the friendlies was to pay them well, to organize them, as had been done in India, and to teach them to trust you. They ought to learn that by working for us they would benefit themselves. They would naturally prefer to carry British gold in their loin-cloths, rather than British lead in their loins. If the confidence of the Natives could be gained, the country would surely subside into quietude, and then trade and commerce could be de

veloped. If the Government should now cast aside the responsibilities which they had incurred, and if the treasure and blood of this country had been spent and spilt for no purpose, the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers could only be described as insensate. It was a policy which would make England ridiculous and the laughing stock of the civilized world. Personally, he felt very strongly upon this question of the Soudan, as all those of their Lordships who had had friends and relatives there would no doubt do. The first Expedition had been successful, as it practically opened up the road to Berber; and he understood that it was confidently stated by General Graham that he was prepared to march to that place if he had been instructed to do so. The Government should not have put an end to that Expedition by bringing General Graham and the troops home. The consequence had been a large amount of slaughter and expenditure of money without any practical result; and the second Expedition was deemed necessary through the incompleteness of the first, and the vacillation and inconsistency of the Government. In the second Expedition, every man, whether Native or British, who perished in it, was as much slain by the vacillation and inconsistency of Her Majesty's Government as if slain and done to death by their hands. In their Lordships' House the breath of public opinion circulated freely; they did not inhale the mephitic and Caucusified atmosphere which "elsewhere" numbed the senses and paralyzed independent action, and he trusted that their Lordships would not decline to support him in voting for the Resolution. Feeling strongly as he did the responsibilities the Government had incurred, he wished to purge his conscience of any responsibility in leaving the Soudan to barbarism, after all the waste of treasure and blood which had taken place. For if we now ingloriously retired what records, what monuments should we leave of our temporary occupation of the land of the Pharaohs? Why, nothing but chaos, perpetuated slavery, an accursed name, an abandoned railway, and bleaching skeletons.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA, in seconding the Resolution, said, he considered that if the Earl of Dufferin's proposals had been carried out Egypt would be now in a much better state. He would not now refer to the causes which had altered the state of Egypt; but say that a great burden had been undertaken by the Government. When they occupied that country, they incurred the full responsibility of government. He believed that, in the first instance, the notion of the abandonment of the Soudan by Egypt was referable to the opinion expressed by General Gordon that the insurrection was the result of the bad government of the Egyptians. It appeared scarcely honourable to restore a government which General Gordon described in such strong terms. But there was a better course open, and that was to improve the government of the Soudan, instead of abandoning all control of it. Few people would now approve the Mission of General Gordon to Khartoum. General Gordon was a great man; but he was sent upon an impossible task. He would not re-open the wound caused by the delays and refusals to relieve him; but by General Gordon's defeat and death their military character had sustained a great blow—he would almost say an irretrievable blow. It was the opinion of that man that the possession of Khartoum and the Frontier of the Nile were necessary for the protection of Egypt. To that end, and also to recover their military character, it was necessary that their Forces should retake Khartoum. That was then the opinion of the Government, and to accomplish the object a railway from Suakin to Berber was a necessary consequence. Why Her Majesty's Government had now abandoned that idea he did not know. At what time had they abandoned it? Just at the very time when success was attending upon General Gordon. From private letters which he had received, it appeared that General Graham himself was most anxious to go forward. English officers were 30 miles from Suakin among the tribes, and were perfectly safe. It was only necessary to get control of the land between the Nile and the Red Sea, and then they would be in a fair way to get the tribes on their side. Their presence between the Red Sea and the Nile would have had a most material influence on the tribes, and would have gone a long way towards the establishment of a settled government at Khartoum, and towards

the future security of Egypt. He did not know whether Her Majesty's Government had any reasons which were not before the public, and which had led to the sudden abandonment of this Expedition. He was not aware that it had been caused by the health of the troops. The climate had not been complained of, although warm. The troops had been supplied with all necessaries, and probably suffered no more than the troops suffered in India. It was possible that the want of those troops for other purposes might have caused their withdrawal. They had been called for Reserve and for other purposes; but it had been quite open for Her Majesty's Government, when they made up their minds to go to Khartoum, to supplement the British Army in such a manner as would have prevented the unnecessary abandonment of this Expedition. He most cordially supported the view of the noble Earl who had brought forward this Motion, and he hoped their Lordships would be brought to consider it favourably.

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, until a settled government has been established in Eastern Soudan, in the interests of civilization, of the native population, and of commerce, and for the security of Egypt, this country cannot relieve itself of the responsibilities it has incurred through the warlike operations that have, during the last two years, been twice undertaken in that part of the Soudan."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

LORD WENTWORTH said, he was sorry the noble Earl had persevered with a proposition which was contrary to the almost unanimous conviction of the people. Among those politicians who would shortly have to face a General Election, he did not know where to find anyone, whether Conservative or Liberal, who was willing to come forward in support of the measures insisted on by the noble Earl in his Resolution and speech, and he had hoped that in their Lordships' House also the universal feeling of relief would have prevailed, and that the Marquess of Hartington's announcement would have been acquiesced in with a good grace. Their Lordships were asked to pass a Resolution hostile to the evacuation of the Soudan, though the recall of the Forces was so much approved everywhere else that in "another place" its announcement called forth congratulations from one of the most eloquent and enlightened of Conservative Leaders—a noble Lord who was generally excessively adverse to Her Majesty's Ministers. He thought he was justified in appealing to the political friends of that noble Lord not to condemn a measure which they had not the most distant chance of reversing, and which was so decisively approved by those Tories who would bear the brunt of the coming elections. The overwhelming weight of public opinion against the Resolution rendered the discussion purely academic. It was now fully understood that to make and hold a railway in the Soudan would be to inflict on themselves an open wound which would never heal while they were there. To the inhabitants of that region it must be what the Channel Tunnel would be to us—an entrance for aliens who would enslave them. For the time being we had become their enemies, and it would be difficult to bring to a close their blood feud against us. He read in *The Times* of May 11 that an unquenchable fire of resentment against us burned in the hearts of the Hadendowas. A railway from Suakin to Berber would be a total failure as a commercial undertaking; all it could do would be to destroy the present carrying trade. That the inhabitants well knew, and they would never consent to their own ruin. The Marquess of Hartington's assurances were most satisfactory on every point but one—that of the proposed gift of Suakin to some Foreign Power. It was not ours to give away, though if it were he would regret such a transfer the more deeply, because last year one of the Marquess of Hartington's motives in sending the first of those ghastly Expeditions was to preserve Suakin from being taken by any other Power—an object which might, to some extent, explain and excuse its occupation by us, unless after going there to keep foreigners out we now came away to let them in. But he had a confident hope that with friendly pressure from their supporters in "another place"—those supporters on whom the noble Marquess on the Opposition Bench once conferred the title of "Mahdis below the Gangway"—the Government would reconsider the matter, and remove what looked like a grave inconsistency from an otherwise well-considered settlement. According to the telegram he had already quoted from *The Times* of May 11, there were

not 10 Natives of Suakin who, in their hearts, were not for Osman Digna, and who had not living or slaughtered friends and relatives in his Army; and whenever the English left they would rise and unite with their fellow-countrymen. In Frank Power's posthumous *Letters from Khartoum*, he described those Hadendowas about Suakin, who in consequence of the efforts to exterminate them were now our formidable enemies, as

> "Very handsome, beautifully built, and like reddish bronze statues. . . . I never saw one of them unarmed; but though they look most fierce they are gentle, civil, good-natured fellows."

He would venture to urge on the favourable consideration of the Government the enfranchisement of Suakin from all foreign, Egyptian, or Turkish misrule, and on that basis to conclude a real and durable peace in the Soudan. Having adverted to the only part of their intention which ought not to be ratified, he could the more warmly join in the thanks and congratulations Her Majesty's Government had received for the moral courage with which they had wiped out a bad debt. They had explained their altered views with a frankness and a dignity which deserved the entire respect of friends and foes. All must make mistakes sometimes; but it was a proof of superior statesmanship that they had not yielded to the moral cowardice of remaining in the vicious circle of a war waged for a railway which had first to be made to render warlike operations practicable. On former occasions he had, unfortunately, had to differ about the Soudan from the noble Earl who led the Government in that House; he hoped it would now not be thought impertinent in him to assure the noble Earl of the grateful sense he should ever entertain of the wisdom, patriotism, and humanity of the actual policy of his Colleagues and himself. Those who expected the Soudanese to take over in a lump all the results of European civilization—cast iron, cotton, capitalists, not to speak of public-houses, police, and prisons for the accommodation of all the adventurers who would not fail to rush into a newly opened out country, builders of railways, and founders of settled governments by paper resolutions—were too much dominated by the idea of a uniform plan for the human species which they would treat as if it all started from the same point, proceeded on one line, and must arrive at an identical goal. They forgot to reckon with the indelible characteristics of different races. The germ of a modern English statesman or Peer had been contained in the contemporaries of Alfred or William the Norman; but Arabs could by no possible process of natural selection and survival of the fittest become the ancestors of men resembling their Lordships. Every race was confined to its own type and ideal, which it might or might not realize, but from which it could not deviate. There was an equivocation of meaning in such words as "barbarism" and "civilization," which would mislead if they proceeded to convert philanthropic formulas and commonplaces into action upon mankind in distant parts of the world. It was a serious mistake to regard nomadic life as necessarily barbarous, because it was incompatible with that particular kind of refinement which we habitually and exclusively called "civilization." The ideas which he had endeavoured to express to their Lordships had been made clearer and stronger in his mind by reading a volume published in 1878 by the celebrated Orientalist, Ernest Renan. From an account he gave of the Soudanese Arabs, it would seem they had been settled where they now were before the Anglo-Saxons came to England. During all that time their political existence had been growing round the great fundamental institution of the family far more entirely than had ever been the case among ourselves. They had never known anything like monarchy, feudalism, aristocracy, or democracy, in our sense of those words. The Soudanese nomads had preserved their language in unchanged purity; while in the towns it had everywhere decayed. It was unfair to accuse the Bedouins of being the principal or the real authors of the Slave Trade, which had its source in the market demand of Turkish cities. If that was stopped the traffic would cease. He believed that negroes were invariably well treated among the Hadendowas. Certainly, on the whole, the Arabs had been benefactors to the Black races of the Soudan. The Islamic movement, which had spread so enormously among the negroes, and the Arabic language and literature were

better adapted to the Africans than any European influences, and had done much to help them to evolve a civilization of their own. Respect for the noble Earl's motives had led him on into those remarks on his abstract proposition. His excuse must be that it was impossible to treat any opinion of his with indifference. He would, however, ask him whether he would not be satisfied with having made his speech, without requiring the House to pronounce on the random responsibilities he would so liberally incur; but if the noble Earl pressed the question to a division, he hoped the House would in no way associate itself with theories which—if by any possibility they could be reduced to practice—would exhaust the vitality of England in order to complete the devastation of the Soudan. In conclusion, he begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after the first ("That"), and insert the following words ("this House accepts with satisfaction the promise of Her Majesty's Government to recall Her Forces from the Soudan, and considers the construction of a railway from Suakin by military force through a hostile population would be inconsistent with the pledge just given to Parliament and the country. Moreover this House declines to assume any responsibility for commercial, civilizing, or philanthropic enterprises outside the admitted obligations and interests of Great Britain.")—(*The Lord Wentworth.*)

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: A few days ago I addressed to your Lordships a few words, from which you might gather that my feeling is, in this matter, with my noble Friend. But it by no means follows that we are to be bound to vote for an adverse Resolution, even when two and two make four; and I have heard the suggestion somewhere, about how far it is expedient to commit one House of Parliament to an abstract expression of opinion on a course of policy which has already been determined on by the Executive Government, with at least the silent sanction of the other House. But my doubts as to my course have been relieved and solved by the adverse and counter Motion and speech of the noble Lord who has just sat down. I should, indeed, be ashamed of myself if I could vote for this Amendment—so weak, so inconsistent in its terms, so at variance with everything that is reasonable; and when I turn from the words of the Motion to the speech of the noble Lord, I am confirmed in my private opinion that it is my duty to vote with my noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss). The noble Lord who has just sat down has referred to how this matter may be dealt with at the elections; but we in this House at least are free from such influences, and can state our opinions freely on questions of public policy; and, being free to do so, it is our duty to do so. But, my Lords, the noble Lord on the Cross Benches is, I believe, thoroughly wrong in his impression of the state of public feeling. There is, no doubt, a general sense of relief in getting out of a great difficulty which is felt by those on both sides; but my belief is that, as regards the people, there is a great mass of opinion wholly unformed which is passive on this question, and which desires to be informed on the merits of it; and I do not think that these persons will be much enlightened by the speech of the noble Lord on the Cross Benches. The noble Lord spoke of the courage of the Government in wiping out a bad debt; but is that a debt due by the Government, or by others to the Government? The noble Lord must remember that it is a debt due by the Government—a bad debt—and yet the noble Lord says they were brave in wiping it out. I will pass, however, from this matter to lay before your Lordships seriously the grounds upon which I disagree with the course which the Government has pursued in this question; but it is impossible to state these grounds without going a little into the whole of the Egyptian Question. It is very easy to attack the Government on the whole of their Egyptian policy—I rather suspect there are one or two Members of the Government who could do it admirably. But that is not my object. It may be the duty of the Opposition to find fault with a course which has been full of difficulties and mistakes, and which the Government themselves would admit has been full of misadventures; but sitting on this side of the House, and not concerned immediately in the political contest, I feel that it is my duty to say wherein I think the Government has been right, as well as where it has been wrong, and where there were difficulties more or less insuperable. At the very beginning of their coming into Office the clouds were gathering on the horizon

over the Nile Valley, and it was impossible not to see that there were great difficulties in their way. In the first place, I think that the Government started with this great difficulty—that our English and British interests are identified with the strength of one of the great remaining Mahommedan Empires in the world. We may give what reason for it we like; but it is a fact that there is not at present a single Mahommedan Government in the world with which Europeans are in contact which is not in a state of hopeless decrepitude and decay. You have the Government of Persia, you have the Government of Turkey, you have the Government of Egypt, and those smaller Governments which have been already swallowed up by the ambition of France. That is a difficulty for which Her Majesty's Government are not responsible. They could not make the Egyptian Government a good Government; and they have had the additional difficulty of having to deal with the traditional jealousy of the French people, and their claim to exercise a superior influence in Egypt over that exercised by other nations. And I must, in passing, say that France has one great claim to influence in Egypt which we have not. It was through the genius of one of her sons, and against the influence and the power of this country, that the Suez Canal was conceived and cut. These were insuperable difficulties with which the Government had to deal. I do not admit that the evil of the Dual Control was entirely owing to the late Government. The Dual Government was a very great improvement—at least, we all used to think so and to say so—upon the previous condition of things; but it brought us into intimate contact with French officials in a degree and in a manner that might awaken jealousies and cause friction. These were among the difficulties of the problem with which Her Majesty's Government had to deal in the beginning, and for which we ought to give them due credit in regard to the course which they pursued. Then came Arabi's rebellion. Having had some private means of observing the growth of misgovernment in Egypt, the crowds of adventurers who settled upon her, and the hundreds and thousands of them who were enjoying salaries and doing nothing at all, and believing at first that Arabi's rebellion was a rebellion of the Native Egyptians against the monstrous misgovernment of their country, I had a great amount of sympathy with it. But further inquiry convinced me that there was no hope in Arabi; and it was impossible for any English Government to allow the Government of Egypt to fall into the hands of Janissaries, who I believe would have been a purely military Government. There would not have been an Army full of civilized officers, such as the Army of France or that of any other European country, but one simply of Janissaries. When that rebellion arose I recognized the duty of Her Majesty's Government to support the Khedive. Any other English Government in their place would, I think, have taken that course; I doubt whether any other Government would have found it possible to shrink from it. Then we get a step further. When our Fleet was sent to Alexandria the bombardment of that place if Arabi was obstinate was inevitable in consequence. Our ships would not stand by and see powerful fortifications raised against themselves. I do not think that the Government can be held responsible for the bombardment of the forts of Alexandria. It was a bombardment of the forts—not of the town—and that destruction of property which took place in the town arose, not from the bombardment by our ships, but from the excesses of the population and the troops of Arabi. Therefore, I cannot say I think the Government were to blame for that. But look at the consequences; look at the irritation in Egypt caused by the immense loss of property in connection with the military operations. The English Government offered the French Government co-operation in the military operations. The French Government refused that co-operation, and left us to act alone. I have asked myself again and again whether up to this step there is any point in the course of their policy at which we could reasonably say that the Government could have taken any other course than that which they pursued; and I have not been able to fix on any one which any other Government would not probably have taken. Then we come to the landing of the Army. The bombardment of Alexandria was found to be insufficient, and we had to land our Army and to fight

the Egyptian Army. That campaign ended in the destruction of the Egyptian Army—in the complete demoralization and destruction of the Egyptian Army. That, in itself, was a most deplorable consequence. It destroyed the only arm in Egypt for the maintenance of order and good government, and it threw upon us an immense responsibility. The only circumstance we can rejoice at in reference to the history of that Egyptian Campaign is the conduct of our troops on this and on all other occasions. I suppose there never has been a Military Expedition so nicely and accurately planned and crowned with such complete success. But that, I maintain, threw on us the full responsibility of our being the masters of Egypt. We had bombarded Alexandria; we had landed our troops; we had destroyed the Egyptian Army; we were the masters of Egypt. And now we come to the summit of the watershed from which the two different policies divide. This is the point at which I venture to think Her Majesty's Government began to err. They did not see, or would not acknowledge, that we were the complete masters of Egypt and responsible for its government. And here I cannot but allude to a sentiment expressed by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, and repeated more or less by several of his Colleagues, and that is the general doctrine that England is overweighted by her duties as they stand at present—a dangerous doctrine for any English Government to lay down. I had the honour to be a Member of the Government under Lord Aberdeen before the Crimean War, and I remember well the painful force with which accusations were made against us, not so much that we did this or did the other, but that we were a Government at whose head was a statesman who had spoken so loudly in favour of peace that all the Governments of Europe believed that he would never go to war. It is, I think, dangerous for any Government, and especially for any Prime Minister, to be credited all over the world with holding the doctrine that England is overweighted with her duty. There is a sense in which we may all possibly agree with this doctrine which the Government have preached over and over again. In Parliament there are many obstructions to legislative functions. We cannot, either of us on either side, carry all the measures that we should like to see pass; and in that sense I can understand that a great Parliamentary Leader like Mr. Gladstone should fret under the difficulty of his position, and should say that in respect of legislative work we are overweighted. But if you say that England is overweighted by her Empire in the world, that is a very different thing; and I am afraid that is the opinion which is attributed to him, and, what is more, it is the mistaken policy on which the Government have acted. The Government have been often taunted with having no policy. I do not agree with that. They have always had a policy, and it was founded on that doctrine to which I have referred—that we were to get out of Egypt as fast as we could. There have been circumstances in which I should entirely agree with that policy. There are very few of us—I doubt whether any party in the country has formed a deliberate desire to conquer and annex Egypt. We did not wish to go there in a military capacity, but the force of circumstances sent us; and if we could see in Egypt a good and firm Government established it would be our duty to go out and leave it to conduct the administration of that country. But what I cannot understand is that men in the position of my noble Friends should delude themselves into the belief that in course of a few weeks or months, or even in the course of a year, a year and a half, or two years, having destroyed the Egyptian Army and put the Egyptian Government completely under their feet, they could almost immediately set up a Government in Egypt which would be able to hold its ground against any other Power. To establish a settled and firm Government in Egypt after all that has occurred must be the work of a long time. I myself have no belief in a firm or settled Government in the hands of Turkish Pashas. There may be good men among them; but the great mass of the Turkish Pashas are incurably corrupt. But the Government of Egypt has hitherto been a Government of Turkish Pashas; and how my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government could have been led to suppose that under such a system of rule it would be possible to establish a firm and settled Government I am at a loss to understand. Then the next great step was

the announcement of the withdrawal from the Soudan. As to that I will only say this—that if it was determined to withdraw from the Soudan for political and financial reasons, it was our absolute duty, being the masters of Egypt, to see that the garrisons in the Soudan were safe. That I hold to have been an honourable obligation which should have been fully recognized. Our repeated declarations that we would not hold the Soudan were fatal to their safety. They could not get out; it struck terror into their hearts; it inspired their enemies with courage, and rendered their delivery almost impossible. We come, my Lords, to the next step, which was the sending out of General Gordon. Now, here, again, I have never been able to see the great debt which attached to my noble Friends below me for sending out General Gordon. He had governed the Soudan with universal acceptability, except to the slave traders. He was beloved by the people; he had a personal influence such as no other man ever had in that country; and I think it was not unnatural that the Government should say—"Here is the man to get us out of this difficulty." But then the policy was monstrous that you should send such a man as General Gordon—perhaps the noblest character of our modern times—and intimate that on no account would you help him. If you sent General Gordon you were bound by every obligation of honour as well as policy to hold yourselves in readiness to rescue him by arms. As things then stood, to many of us in this country it seemed possible that the personal influence of General Gordon—so pure, so powerful, so magnetic in its character—might have been able to withdraw the garrisons without fighting. We thought it was possible. I confess that I did; and, therefore, I was not sorry to see General Gordon sent. We come to the time when it was perfectly well known—in May, 1884—that General Gordon was besieged. I remember very well, somewhere about the 10th of May, when I first heard that the Government would not acknowledge that General Gordon was besieged or beset. I think there was some dispute as to the particular word that ought to be applied; but the Government knew from the end of April that they could not get a communication from General Gordon, and that they could not get a communication to General Gordon. They were giving large bribes to individual Arabs to get messages sent through; and that was the time, I think, when the moral obligation of the Government came into force, and when not a moment ought to have been lost in organizing an Expedition for his relief. But the time was lost; we did not know how to make up our minds; and from May to August no determination was taken by the Government. I cannot help saying that I believe that delay, leading to the fall of Khartoum, will remain a permanent blot on the memory of the Government of this country. When Lord Wolseley's wonderful Expedition—for, as regards the conduct of the soldiers and the energy of every man in that Expedition, it has been one of the most wonderful Expeditions—it has been the admiration of the world—was known to have failed in its main purpose, when it was known that the life of General Gordon had been sacrificed at the last moment, not only by delay, but by treachery in his own camp—when that was fully known the Prime Minister came down to the House of Commons, and announced that

> "After mature deliberation the Government had determined that it was still their duty to go on to Khartoum, to overthrow the power of the Mahdi, to open up the Berber route, to construct the Suakin Railway,"

and, in short, to go on with the Expedition. What was the secret of that determination? The noble Lord (Lord Wentworth) talks of the universal assent with which the miserable retreat from the Soudan is now received. Does he not know that there was the same silent assent to the announcement of the Government that they would carry on their victorious arms to Khartoum; does he not know that public opinion to a large extent in this country is, and on such subjects always must be, as clay in the hands of the potter? The Government are responsible for the policy, and especially when a man so distinguished, so eloquent, and with the illustrious career of Mr. Gladstone announces a policy of this kind they are willing and ready to agree with it. That announcement was made on the 19th of February. My noble Friend the Marquess near me (the Marquess of Ripon) the other night tried to make out in conversation with me that it was made at a time when it

was doubtful whether General Gordon was killed or not. My noble Friend is kind to the Government; but I cannot agree with him as to the fact that there was no doubt as to the death of General Gordon. The truth was that the spirit of the country up to that time was in a state of ferment and excitement. The Government has always shown itself sensitive of the ups and downs of public opinion; and against that policy which they themselves announced there was the firm everlasting operation of this doctrine of overweighting—that England is overweighted, and too weak to do this—and that the moment public excitement relaxed—as it was sure to do when there was no more fighting, and no more telegrams giving accounts of glorious actions and bloody fights—the doctrine of overweighting, that fatal doctrine of overweighting had then its place, and intimations, first taken up by and made through the Press and then in Parliament, were made that it was a matter for consideration whether we should go to or fall back from Khartoum. I think all these variations of policy have been the source of the greatest evil, and will be in future times, which are not far distant, a source of great danger to this country. Another reason has been found out now for going back from our resolution to go to Khartoum, and that is, that the Mahdi is not quite so strong as we supposed him to be. I never believed in the invasion of Lower Egypt by the Mahdi. My reason for wishing the Expedition to be sent to Khartoum was the reason which the whole country felt at the time, and to which the Government gave way — namely, that the honour and interests of England were concerned. But if this argument is to have any weight, if it turns out that the Mahdi is not so strong as he was before, what is the real lesson to be learnt from that? I, for one, should be glad if we are to go out of the Soudan to hear that the Mahdi had established a powerful Government there. The only chance for peace in that country is that one great man should establish an Empire. That has been the natural course of civilization in the Monarchies of the East. But I complain that we are not restoring the country to one man who would be able to found a settled Government for the benefit of the people; we are restoring the country to absolute anarchy, where every tribe is cutting the throats of the other, and where the Mahdi is one of a dozen struggling Chiefs, who leave the country, as centuries before, in misery and desolation. That is no excuse for the Government in the vacillation they have shown on this subject. It may be said that the policy of the Government may sometimes in such cases be guided by events. It is impossible to deny that. There was a great occasion in the civilized world not long ago when the course of events seemed wholly out of control, when, as in this case, everything happened that was unexpected. There was a memorable case in which a great magistrate, a great ruler, had to consider "what does this wonderful course of events indicate to me as my duty to my country?" That was the case of President Lincoln, called from the position of a lath splitter to the government of almost the mightiest people in the world. He came to the conclusion that the course of events and the will of a Higher Power dictated to him a policy full of danger and difficulty which he may have avoided by saying —"We are overweighted." He said—

> "Looking to the indication of the Supreme Governor of the world, looking to the events which it is clear to me are intended to be brought about, I will declare—although I have no right to do so, but as an act of war—that slavery is ended for ever in the United States."

He took that tremendous responsibility upon him. He did not consider himself or his people to be overweighted; and, through one of the mightiest and most terrible struggles we have ever known, he abolished for ever slavery in the States of America. Now, I do think that in all this course of events our duty has been indicated by a Higher Power; and to me it is plain what that duty is. Look to the great Continent of Africa, and consider for a moment what it involves. It is one of the four quarters of the globe round which the commerce of the world has circulated for nearly 400 years, and yet until the other day was almost unknown in its interior. Now, suddenly all the nations of the world have awakened to the value of that Continent as a field for colonization and commerce. In the South at the Cape and up in the East and West the Portuguese Government; on the West

Coast the beneficent enterprizes of the King of the Belgians; and Germany for the first time, too, has exhibited a desire to open that great Continent to the civilization of the world. It is clear how events are tending; and, in my opinion, we ought to take our part in this great and magnificent work. We have already done three parts of our work. We have shown the Arabs our power. They have felt our power both on the coast of the Red Sea and up the Nile, and they were beginning to waver in their resistance to us. Now, my Lords, I believe that the possession of Khartoum by a great civilized Power, or, if you like, by a great civilizing Company, such as that which the King of the Belgians has established on the Congo, would open for us a mart of commerce the extent of which is unknown. My noble Friend the late Viceroy of India stated the other night, in the course of the conversation that ensued, that he confessed he had great doubts as to how far civilization could be promoted by war, and I heard murmurs of applause on the Bench below. I must say that I never heard a sentiment expressed, especially by an ex-Viceroy of India, and assented to by a Government, which was absolutely of so small value. If my noble Friend asked me how I should define civilization, I should reply that my noble Friend himself is the very impersonation of civilization. I remember some years ago, at a dinner party, when the conversation turned upon the difficulty of defining civilization, Lord Macaulay replied—"Civilization; why there is no difficulty in the least in defining it; we are civilization; we gentlemen who sit round this table." And I should consider my noble Friend, especially in his capacity of Viceroy of India, when exercising his most beneficent rule there, as the very impersonation of civilization. He went to govern a country which is more or less governed by the sword; and he encouraged the conquered in obtaining larger authority over the conquerors, and increased the liberty of the Native Press. These are acts of the highest civilization. My Lords, it was the great conquerors of India—it was Clive, Warren Hastings, and Dalhousie, and all the long list of Governors General—it was they who enabled us to civilize India by securing it. And, my Lords, it has ever been so in the history of the world. I will almost lay it down as a general rule that no order and no civilization can be begun among any people until the sword has opened the way. Archbishop Whateley, indeed, maintained this thesis—that no savage or barbarian people have ever risen to civilization except by contact with a higher race, and that that contact has been almost invariably due to conquest. I apply that doctrine to the Arabs. The account which the noble Lord on the Cross Benches has given was most poetical. He said all the good in the Soudan had been due to the Arabs. I do not know where he obtains his information from. My information is very different. The Arabs for many hundred years have been the curse of that country. They are especially a conquering race; they are also an uncivilizing race. They brought no civilization with them. They are a race of warriors, of robbers, of murderers, who hate manual labour of all kinds, who hate argiculture, and who leave everything in the way of labour to their women and slaves. There are large parts of that country which have been wholly devastated by them, and others in which the whole population has been either reduced to slavery or altogether exterminated. Need I quote authorities against the statements of the noble Lord? I should like to quote one, to which I hope he will be disposed to give due weight. General Gordon says—

> "The Arab himself would consider it a disgrace to practise any manual labour. He is especially a hunter, a robber, and a warrior, and after caring for his cattle devotes all his energies to slave-hunting and war."

This is General Gordon's opinion of those Arabs of whom the noble Lord says that they have done so much good for the Soudan. There is one important point to which I now desire to allude, and that is the value of the Soudan as a field for commerce. I have seen no allusions to the statistical information on this point. General Gordon, while Governor of the Soudan, stated that the debt of the Soudan was £327,000, its revenue £579,000, and the expenses £651,000, leaving a deficit of only £72,000 a-year; and anyone who wishes to see how that small deficit could be converted into a surplus has only to read the journal of General

Gordon while Governor of the Soudan. He shows that the government of the country from Cairo was so bad that it had reduced some Provinces to beggary, and that there was the most gross jobbery on the part of the Khedive. There was, for instance, a contract for rails for £660,000, and the Khedive undertook that he should pay 10 to 20 per cent on the materials which were not used. Only £150,000 worth of material was taken, and the Khedive accordingly had to pay 10 to 20 per cent on £450,000, and this he wished to lay as an additional debt on the Soudan. Again, there were two steamers, which cost £10,000 each, which he wished to be taken off his hands; but while all the profits earned by them were to go to him the whole burden of their cost was to be thrown on the Revenue of the Soudan. That was the way in which the Soudan debt had been accumulated; and if a decent Government were established there would soon be a rising Revenue and a large surplus. General Gordon had estimated that 18 Black battalions, costing about £200,000 a-year, would be ample for the whole of the country. We have already broken the back of the resistance in the Soudan, and I believe that very little perseverance on the part of the British Government would have enabled it to establish a stable Government. Under these circumstances, I say we are turning our backs without having any information from the Government; we are turning away from undertaking our share in a great duty—the duty which the other Governments of Europe are undertaking with a light heart, but from which we are turning away, because, forsooth, we are "overweighted." I will only allude to one other matter, and that is the speech made by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons the other night. I know nothing of the Marquess of Hartington's opinions, and have not seen him for many months; but on reading that speech it seemed to me to be that of a Minister speaking against his own heart, and in obedience to the cry—"For Heaven's sake let us keep at least together." The Marquess of Hartington did his duty, and announced what the Government had decided to do; but he said not a word of defence. There was a passage which I could not read without a feeling of shame and humiliation, and it was that part of his speech in which he stated that the Soudan would be abandoned "unless some other civilized Power undertakes it." What is the power that is to take up the burden from which Great Britain shrinks? Is it Italy, which has shown considerable public spirit in this matter, and seems to desire to take part in the civilization of Africa? Is it France? Is it Belgium? Is it Russia? Or is it Bismarck? Well, my Lords, I can only say my belief is this—that if the British people should see now or a short time hence one or other of the Great Powers of Europe landing at Suakin and taking up the duty which we have laid down; if we should see them establishing a successful Government in Upper Egypt and opening up the millions and millions of people who lie between Khartoum and Suakin, and perhaps imposing differential duties against England and her commerce—we shall bitterly regret the day when we had a Government whose policy appeared to be animated by the consideration that England is overweighted with her responsibilities.

EARL GRANVILLE: I will not trespass long upon your Lordships' time, for I am placed in a somewhat difficult position. After my experience of Votes of Censure in your Lordships' House, I am hardly aware of the position in which this question stands—whether it is really a Motion made in which one or two individual Peers in your Lordships' House of great distinction take an interest, or whether it is a Motion supported by the whole Opposition in regard to the conduct of the Government in this respect. [The Earl of WEMYSS dissented.] The noble Earl shakes his head; therefore, I take it that I am not to speak except to answer what he himself and those who support him have said. With regard to the noble Earl himself, I cannot help remarking upon the great change the noble Earl has made in his Motion—a great change over which the noble Earl himself very lightly glided. In his Motion he laid down originally that it was absolutely essential to the honour of this country, and essential for a great many other things, that a certain railway should be made from Suakin to Berber. Absolutely essential to the honour of this country that a railway undertaken as a military railway to carry out certain military operations which are not to be

continued? That that is essential to the honour of the country? But the noble Earl found even his most ardent Friends could not support him in such a proposition as that, and he has judiciously omitted it from his Motion. There is one point on which I entirely agree with the noble Earl in his eloquent and in his perfectly true description, only equalled by the eloquence of the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Argyll), of what the British Army has done in Egypt. The noble Earl quoted an expression of the Duke of Wellington, to the effect that the British Army was fit to go anywhere and do anything; but I am not quite sure that that is perfectly consistent with the language the noble Earl has used for many years with regard to the state of the Army. But I accept it as a truism at the present time. I certainly could not agree, however, with the noble and gallant Field Marshal (Lord Napier of Magdala) when he said that irretrievable disgrace had been suffered by our military force. It appears to me utterly absurd to say that of soldiers who in every single engagement have distinguished themselves to such a degree, and whose efforts have always been crowned with victory. It may be perfectly true that the Government at home, who are not called upon to expose their persons to climate or enemies, have been unwilling to expose the British Army to future difficulties; but in saying that irretrievable disgrace has visited that force I do not understand what the gallant Field Marshal can have meant. I hold, on the contrary, that the military reputation of this country stands on as high a pinnacle at this moment as it has ever done.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA: The best thing for the Government to do would be to show themselves able to retrieve that reputation.

EARL GRANVILLE: That is entirely begging the question. We may have been perfectly wrong. General Gordon himself may have been perfectly wrong in thinking that, by perfectly peaceable means, he, by his great authority and his knowledge of the country and the people, would be successful, without military assistance, when he left this country. He expressed a strong opinion that he would be able to bring things to a satisfactory conclusion, and he may have been wrong; but that has absolutely nothing to do with the military reputation of the British Army. The noble and gallant Lord said the reason why our policy was wrong was that our officers were anxious to go on. I should like to know whether that desire to go on is confined to British officers? Take French officers, and especially Russian officers—you will find that men in the Military Profession are always anxious to go forward, whatever the opinion of those at home as to matters of policy may be. Then the noble Earl said it did not signify what the cause was that took us to the Soudan. I am bound to say it signifies very much. It was, if possible, to save General Gordon. I do not believe it was a question of time—that is purely a matter of opinion. I believe that treachery would have had effect at whatever time the Relief Expedition might have arrived. Then the noble Earl went on and gave from Mr. Power's letters—charming letters— a description of the happy state of the Soudan before these operations took place. The noble Duke contradicted that by saying that the Government was perfectly detestable. The noble Earl, however, omitted two or three matters entirely in dealing with those letters. I refer to some of the passages relating to the perfect abomination and cruelty practised by that Government.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: All I intended to convey was that the country was perfectly safe and quiet at the time that Mr. Power made the journey which he describes.

EARL GRANVILLE: I am glad the noble Earl gives up entirely the question of good government. I beg him to refer to the letters when he gets time, and he will find the descriptions of the cruelties and abominations of the Government there exceeds anything General Gordon himself has said. Then the noble Earl compared our position in Egypt to that of Turkey conquering this country and announcing her intention of cutting off Ireland from us. As to that I must say that if anybody should conquer this country, I believe they would find that, on the whole, our administration is somewhat better than that existing in Egypt. If the Government in Egypt was entirely destroyed and put an end to, I admit there might be some obligation to replace it. But I cannot see, because you go to a country which is badly

governed, and you are there for a certain time and for a certain object, that it is an obligation which surpasses every other consideration that you should be obliged to put a good Government in its stead. The arguments we have heard, except those from the noble Lord who moved the Amendment, have been entirely advanced with regard to the necessity of going to Khartoum. The noble Duke, in a very remarkable and most important speech, stated the same kind of principle, with which I entirely disagree; but his statement of the facts was very fair and straightforward. He began by thanking God that we, in this House, had no constituencies, and that we could therefore say exactly what we liked. That is an advantage of which the noble Duke has taken full avail. The noble Duke said the feeling of the people was quite different to that of the Government, and that the people would like us to take Khartoum——

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I said there was a great mass of unformed opinion, and that the people were waiting to be informed.

EARL GRANVILLE: That is a very different thing indeed. I certainly understood the noble Duke to say that, from his knowledge, the opinion of the country was that we should go on. Whether there is a certain amount of unformed opinion I do not know; but I feel perfectly convinced that the feeling of this country is not that we should expose our Army to all the evils of conquering Khartoum and remaining there. The noble Duke was not enamoured of the Government existing in the Soudan up till recently. Neither is he favourable to the Arabs; and the result he came to was that it is the duty of this Government to be not fearful of extending their responsibilities and of establishing a despotic Government at Khartoum with the object of civilizing the desert that surrounds that city. That was the only practical suggestion that the noble Duke made, and I think it goes very much beyond the range of practical policy. The noble Duke has referred to Mr. Gladstone; but I deny that Mr. Gladstone has ever shown—when there was a necessity for war—any desire to shrink from it. The noble Duke, Mr. Gladstone, and myself were associated together in the Crimean War; and during the Franco-German War we took measures which would have entailed war if certain matters had arisen with regard to Belgium. Mr. Gladstone laid down the other day, in language which electrified the House of Commons and the country, that he was prepared to go as far as possible to maintain the honour of the country; but to say that Mr. Gladstone is opposed to going to war when a real necessity arises is a very different thing. The noble Duke forgets one thing when he disputes the opinion of the House of Commons and of the constituencies. There is, I believe, no absolute Sovereign in the world who can command the energies of a nation to that degree that a Government in this country can, if it is backed up by the opinion of the nation. I believe that our latent power—I do not say our immediate power—of defence—in some cases even of aggression—is greater in a degree than we ourselves realize, or than is realized by other countries; but I am convinced that the power can only be usefully put into action when the opinion of the country is unanimously in favour of its exercise. Therefore, in moulding your policy you cannot exclude from sight the views which the people of England will take of the course proposed to be pursued. I believe that self-government will be better for the Soudanese people than the imposition of a foreign and Egyptian Government. To the establishment of a purely English Government in the heart of Africa, which is the only other alternative, this country will never consent. I will not enter into the question of civilization by war. No doubt civilization sometimes follows war. That, however, appears to me a very different thing from instituting war voluntarily, on the strength of vague opinion, which you cannot be sure of carrying out. The chief tendency of this debate has been to show that, in the opinion of some distinguished individuals in your Lordships' House, it is desirable that we should go on and conquer, and even for an indefinite time keep, Khartoum, with the view of creating a stable Government, which the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) himself has told us is a thing which could only be done in many years' time.

EARL COWPER said, that the people of this country were divided into two classes—those who wished to remain

in the Soudan, and those who were very sorry that they had ever gone there. He belonged himself to the latter class. He had never been able to understand the reason of the first Expedition to Suakin. It was ostensibly sent out to rescue a garrison which was annihilated before they began operations against the Arabs. He was equally at a loss to understand why the second Expedition was undertaken. Those murderous Expeditions had, in fact, always been incomprehensible to him. But whatever the conduct of the Government had been in the past, they were now pursuing what he held to be the right policy; and he should, therefore, have no hesitation in supporting them, as against the Resolution of the noble Earl. The successes of their troops would not be considered less great because they were now abandoning an undertaking which ought never to have been begun. It was said that they ought not to leave the Soudan, lest it should lapse into anarchy. But they should leave intact the system of tribal Government which prevailed in that region; and, consequently, there was no special reason to apprehend anarchy. The tribes would still remain subject to their own forms of Government. Glorious as the work of civilization in the Soudan might be, he did not think that it was their duty to undertake it. They had done their fair share of duty as a civilizing Power. Their object in keeping India, for example, was not to benefit themselves, but simply to benefit the inhabitants of that vast country. Were they obliged to establish a second India in Africa? He did not underrate the power of this country; but he thought they had quite enough on their hands without undertaking anything more.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD observed that the noble Earl (Earl Granville) had adroitly confused the good conduct of the soldiers in the field with the military reputation of the country. The soldiers had been placed in circumstances of difficulty, not by their own act, and had behaved nobly. The military reputation of the country included the capacity of the Government to organize, and direct to a successful issue, a military operation. In that the Government had ignominiously failed, and their military reputation had correspondingly suffered. When the Return of those who had died in Egypt should be furnished, the public would read that melancholy record with shame and sorrow, and would grieve that so many good lives had been lost to so little purpose.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he had listened with disappointment to the speech of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He had expected to hear some reasons given for the extraordinary change of policy which had taken place. The noble Earl had vindicated the character of their soldiers; but that vindication was quite unnecessary. The noble Earl had thought it to be necessary, owing to some misunderstanding of what was said by the noble and gallant Lord the Field Marshal (Lord Napier of Magdala) who sat on the Cross Benches. The noble Earl seemed to think that the noble and gallant Lord had said that indelible disgrace had fallen upon the British Army; but what he did say was, that owing to the death of General Gordon and the capture of Khartoum an indelible disgrace had fallen upon them—his noble and gallant Friend said nothing at all about the Army. Only a short time ago, the noble and gallant Lord passed a well-deserved eulogium upon the gallant way in which their soldiers had behaved. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was also mistaken in supposing that the noble and gallant Lord had said anything about the government of the Soudan; what the noble and gallant Lord commented upon was the fact that that country was so peaceful that it had been possible for three Englishmen to travel 30 miles from Suakin and be safe. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had made use of an argument which was generally brought forward in debates of that kind, and had asked whether the House wished the country to incur the great expense of going to Khartoum and establishing a settled Government there, and so on. But he would remind the noble Earl that what the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) and his noble and gallant Friend (Lord Napier of Magdala) recommended to be done was what Her Majesty's Government a few weeks ago said they intended to do. They did not want a justification of what the Government announced as their policy a short time ago; what they wanted was a justifica-

tion of the change that had since taken place. He would not go into the details of all "this sad, eventful history;" he would limit himself to what had taken place in the Soudan. He believed their misfortunes in that country originated in the fact that they allowed their Representative to tell Egypt that she must abandon the Soudan, without making any provision for the evacuation of the garrisons, and without making any provision for their safety ourselves. He did not think it was possible for him to use words too strong to express what he felt on that point. He thought no nation was ever guilty of a more cowardly or criminal act than this country was, in compelling Egypt to abandon her own soldiers—not allowing her to do anything for them, while not taking any step to secure their safety ourselves. The result of that was, that General Gordon was sent on his Mission to Khartoum. And that was the only point upon which he could not agree with the noble Duke. He could not understand how Her Majesty's Government were to be justified for thinking that General Gordon could possibly carry out such an undertaking; for their Lordships would remember that he was sent, not only to report on the best means of evacuating the garrisons, but that he was allowed by Her Majesty's Government to accept the post of Governor General of the Soudan, and that it was his duty, not only to report upon the garrisons, but to take means for evacuating them, and to check the Slave Trade. He could not understand how the Government could think that that great task could be successfully accomplished by one man, sent out unaided, as General Gordon was. He wanted to impress upon their Lordships that there was no doubt about what the duties of General Gordon were, and about the objects of Lord Wolseley's Expedition. The object of sending out that Expedition was primarily the rescue of General Gordon and those whom he wished to bring away, and also to provide a proper defence against an attack on Egypt. There were also other aims — namely, the evacuation of the garrisons, crushing the Mahdi, establishing some sort of orderly Government, and checking the Slave Trade. All those details were specified, and some of them were not possible to be carried out. General Gordon was killed and Khartoum was taken, and the garrisons could not be saved. But there remained other work for the Expedition to do. After the failure of the Expedition in its primary object of rescuing General Gordon, Her Majesty's Government formulated distinctly what their intentions were and what their policy was. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said, in a debate on the 18th of February, that orders might have been given to Lord Wolseley to retreat on the fall of Khartoum; but the noble Earl dismissed that idea, his own words being that there were overwhelming objections to that course, both military and political, because it would not only have exposed Egypt to great danger of invasion, but it might have exposed England to injury and insult in other parts of the world. The noble Earl said it was necessary to explain to General Wolseley what the policy of the Government was—namely, to check the advance of the Mahdi, and for that purpose to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum. At the same time, the Prime Minister made a very similar statement in "another place." He said the Mahdi had become powerful by the fall of Khartoum, and the Government were determined to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum; and in many words he said what the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had said in few words—that it was necessary to do so for the safety of Egypt, and that they were in honour bound to set up some form of Government in the Soudan, and to check the Slave Trade. The noble Earl spoke very clearly on that point. He said the Government must explain that what they desired to see was a settled Government in the Soudan, the best that could be established, and that some arrangement must be made with the Egyptian Government by way of subsidy; and that the establishment of a settled Government in the Soudan faithfully interpreted the desire of the Government. The noble Earl finished by saying that, as far as their interests were concerned, their policy was that they should hold their own in the country for the benefit and advantage of the people, and in the best manner that could be arranged. The Marquess of Hartington, in the other House,

spoke, if possible, more strongly, and in the same direction. He said that after the fall of Khartoum the lesson must be taught, not only to Central Africa, but to the whole Empire, that the policy of the Government would not be reversed; that it concerned the safety of their Indian Empire, and so on. The noble Earl the Secretary for the Colonies also spoke perfectly clearly and strongly. He said it was clear that, with a fanatical Army and Chief at Khartoum, Egypt would not be safe, and that they were bound to secure the Khedive from the danger of an irruption from that quarter; that the Government did not say that Khartoum and Berber were to be held by this or that Chief, but that they did say they must be held by some power that was not opposed to the maintenance of peace, and that was not a danger to the independence of Egypt. What he wished to impress upon their Lordships was, that Her Majesty's Government, only a very few weeks ago, announced as strongly and plainly as men could speak that their policy was to go on to Khartoum; that they considered it necessary to do so for the safety of Egypt; that their object was to set up some stable form of Government there, and to put a check on the Slave Trade. The way in which that was begun was by giving instructions to Lord Wolseley, and he therefore determined to concentrate his troops in summer quarters; a railway was to be constructed, and an autumn campaign was to be undertaken. Having those instructions from Her Majesty's Government, Lord Wolseley spoke in the same strain himself. Speaking to one of General Gordon's officers, who had escaped from Khartoum, he said—

"We mean to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum, no matter how long it will take;"

and he further said—

"You know Her Majesty's Government are incapable of drawing back from any enterprize they have begun."

That was an unfortunate statement for Her Majesty's Government. It was perfectly certain that they were not only capable of drawing back from an enterprize they had begun, but that they were actually incapable of continuing in any enterprize on which they had started. From those facts it was clear that the Government formulated a strong and distinct policy a short time ago; and what he desired to find out, if the Government would give them any information, was what had occurred to change the policy of the Government. It had been given as a reason by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and by the Prime Minister in the other House that, owing to present circumstances, it was necessary to hold the whole of the military resources of the country available for service, including the Forces in the Soudan. That was perfectly natural and understandable; but surely no one would dispute that the whole military resources of the country were available wherever they might be required for the purposes of the Empire. But the real reason came out shortly after. The Marquess of Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain in the other House explained, practically, that the Government had changed their policy because, as they said, though the Government policy had changed, circumstances had changed also, that the Mahdi was no longer in Khartoum, that he had not advanced as they had expected he would do, and that the same necessity for going to Khartoum no longer existed. But although the Mahdi was not personally at Khartoum, he had only withdrawn temporarily. It was very dangerous to trust to rumours as to the strength or weakness of the Mahdi. Before Abu Klea Lord Wolseley himself reported that he did not expect any resistance; and the Mudir of Dongola, of all authorities, said that the Mahdi's forces were decimated by sickness, that his men were dying of starvation, and that he was being deserted. Exactly the same thing was said now, and, for all they could tell, with no more truth than on former occasions. He entreated Her Majesty's Government not to place reliance, as they did, on rumours that the Mahdi's strength had fallen off, and that his men had dispersed. No doubt, for a time they had done so, in order to complete their agricultural operations; but no sooner would the backs of our soldiers be turned than infallibly they would re-assemble, and the Mahdi would be as strong as before. He would remind their Lordships that the Mahdi himself, in a Proclamation which he made not long ago, said he had no intention of following us any more, and that he was going to stop and let the

sun do its work upon our troops. Now, Her Majesty's Government said that because the Mahdi did not follow them up, and because his men appeared to have fallen off, there was no necessity to go to Khartoum. Her Majesty's Government, by the course they were pursuing, were really signing the commission of the Mahdi as a Mahdi. He required success to prove his title to be a Mahdi; and if they left the country, as the Government said they were going to do, he would be successful; he would have conquered, and they would be unsuccessful. They had not done a single thing that they went to the Soudan to do; they had not rescued General Gordon—they were too late; they had not taken Khartoum—they were too late; they had not evacuated a single garrison; they had not checked the Slave Trade. They had done none of those things which the Government two or three weeks ago said they were determined should be done; and if they did none of those things, not only would the Arabs think we were beaten, but they would have a right to say that we were beaten. He believed that Khartoum was so situated geographically that it must always be of great importance. They could not over-estimate its position. Khartoum was the most important point of North Africa for commerce. All the trade of the Soudan went by Khartoum. If they wished to get rid of the Slave Trade, to work the railway, and to introduce some other kind of industry, they must go to Khartoum. Unless they gave the people something else to do, the people must go into the only business they had, which was the Slave Trade. If they wanted to protect Egypt and make it safe—to set up some form of Government, even if they had to nurse it for awhile, and to stem the barbarism of the Mahdi—the only point at which they could do that was at Khartoum. Let them make their railway to Berber, bring out the produce of the vast Provinces of the Soudan—and let them remember what a vast produce General Gordon sent out before, when he was Governor General; let their goods go into the country, let them establish their influence, and they would not only do more to check the Slave Trade than by any other means, but they would erect a real barrier against the incursions of nomadic tribes and of religious fanaticism—the only real barrier that could keep back the tide of that fanaticism from Egypt. If they went down to Dongola or Wady Halfa, or any other line that might be chosen, nothing would keep back the fanaticism of the Mahdi from getting at the tribes behind them. There were things that could not be got over, and among them was the importance, geographically, ethnographically, and commercially, of Khartoum, and the necessity of communicating with it by railway. If that were carried out, as the Government intended a short time ago, then the blood that had been shed would have some justification. But if nothing was done to carry out the policy which they promulgated three or four weeks ago, there was no justification whatever for the blood that had been shed and for the money that had been spent. In that case Her Majesty's Government were guilty of, and ought to be indicted for, wilful murder, for they would have done nothing to carry out the aims and ends which they had said they had in view.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I should not have risen to join in this debate but that I understand it is the intention of my noble Friend who opened this debate to press his Motion to a division; and I wish to explain why I do not propose to vote with him. With respect to the past history of this question, very much has been said to-night which is very valuable, but which it is needless to repeat. It is impossible to exaggerate the failure of the Government in Egypt. They have failed in every object which they undertook. They have failed to make their railway; they have failed to check the Mahdi; they have failed to set up a Government in the Soudan; they have failed to rescue numbers of persons; they have failed to relieve the garrisons that have been slaughtered, and they have failed to rescue the heroic General Gordon. They have committed all these failures, and they have committed them at a terrible price—at the price of Arab blood, poured out like water upon the desert, for no cause or reason whatever—blood which has been as much thrown away, blood that is as much causelessly shed, as blood that is shed—I hardly like to use the word, but it has already been used by noble Friend—by any vulgar murderer at home. Of course,

I do not accuse the Government of anything but the most philanthropic and benevolent motives; but I am speaking not of motives, but of results; and, remembering that the only justification of the terrible sufferings of war is that there should be some definite cause which is really worth striving for, that no such cause has been attained by the Government, and that no adequate efforts have been made by them to secure their object, I say that it has been sacrificed by sheer mismanagement, blundering, and indecision and delay. It is not adverse fortune abroad that has condemned all their efforts to failure, but adverse imbecility at home. I repeat that all this noble Arab blood has been causelessly shed. What must be said of that blood, though happily less in quantity, still most precious, of our own countrymen—men drawn in many cases from families with which your Lordships are familiar—and also of men drawn from all classes in the country, for whom your sympathy is not the less keen—men who freely gave up their lives for their country's good, and never grudged the sacrifice, but who, we feel, have not given up their lives at the bidding of their country, but only to keep in power an incompetent Government at home. It is impossible, I say, to exaggerate the terrible failures of the Government; but, at the same time, it is impossible to reflect without sorrow upon the state of things which we leave behind us. My noble Friend who introduced this Motion very pointedly showed, by reference to the letters of Mr. Power, the difference between the state of the Soudan and the attitude of its people towards us before those operations commenced, and what its state and the feelings of its people are now. He showed that we have turned the greatest friendliness into the greatest hostility; and it is an hostility which will not only strike ourselves. We have sown blood feuds in the desert from one end to the other; we have pointed out to Osman Digna and to the Mahdi, who are their enemies, whom they are and whom they are not to trust; and having marked upon them the stigma of that hostility, so that there can be no mistake in the minds of those Chiefs as to who are their enemies, we have left these men, who in friendliness to us have sacrificed their safe position, unprotected, undefended, to the savage vengeance of their foes. A further question is, in what state do we leave—not only the tribes of the desert—in what state do we leave the power of England? The power of England depends in no small degree in a belief of the reality of her professions and the strength and honesty of her purposes. We have induced our gallant General, Lord Wolseley, openly in the sight of all Egypt and of all the world, to commit himself to promises that have not been kept, to threats that have not been fulfilled, and to a profession of power which has been reduced to impotent bravado. He is honest, resolute, and brave enough. He has no doubt of the truth and reality of the words he has been speaking; but he has found to his cost that he is an agent on behalf of principals who have not the capacity or the courage to act up to the words which they have authorized him to speak. The great disgrace does not fall upon him alone, but it falls upon England, and upon England's cause throughout the world; and it affixes the stigma of insincerity to any declaration which in any part of the world for many years to come we may make. It will be remembered everywhere against us that we have asked for the friendship and alliance of men whom we have afterwards abandoned to their fate; and that through the most trusted General of our Army we have made promises and have announced intentions which within a few weeks we found that we had not the resolution to maintain. My Lords, all these things are very painful to think of; and, if any good could be done by casting censure upon Her Majesty's Government, I should feel no hesitation in doing it. But this is not a mere Vote of Censure. It looks to the future as well as to the past; and when it looks to the future I must ask what there is in the present state of affairs which justifies us in departing from that rule which, I admit, is not absolutely inexorable, but which is generally observed—that the devising of policy should be left to the Government, and that the judgment of policy when it has been devised should be left to Parliament. I have not got the exact form of my noble Friend's words; but we are asked to say that a settled Government should be established in the Eastern Soudan. I think that was a reasonable demand two months ago;

but what has taken place since then? Our strength in these countries is not the mere strength of the sword—it is the strength of the power which we can exercise over the feelings, over the allegiance, and over the belief of their inhabitants. We can do nothing if we are look upon from one end of the country to another as enemies, or if we are looked upon with distrust. And what my noble Friend asks us to do is not merely to carry out the policy to which we assented six weeks ago; but he asks us to do it in the face of circumstances which have been fundamentally altered by the action of Her Majesty's Government. Another retreat has taken place; another abandonment has taken place; another disavowal of our former promises; another indication of the instability of our purpose, and the worthlessness of our resolutions. It will be weighted with all the disgrace of the last fortnight that we shall undertake this duty which my noble Friend asks us to declare it to be necessary to undertake before we leave the Soudan. I am not prepared to say that my noble Friend is wrong, and that these things ought not to be done; but I ask whether circumstances exist which would justify us in stepping outside the well-known path of a Legislative Assembly, in laying down a policy for the future? I say that the circumstances are no longer the same as they were; because by the action of Her Majesty's Government we have lost much of our physical, and all of our moral, force. Whether we ought still to undertake this duty I cannot tell until I have more information. No information has been given to us. We have so little information that, actually, after promising again and again that he would explain to us the policy of the Government in Egypt, the noble Earl (Earl Granville) has left it to his Colleagues in the other House, and he has never to this day told us what the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt is. I hope that is a sign of grace; I hope it shows that he was acting with great reluctance in regard to the policy into which he was forced by his Colleagues. But, be that as it may, it is an indication of the paucity of the information we have received. What resolution we may come to when we know all the circumstances of the case, when all the correspondence is laid before us, when we are really able to ascertain what the opinion of the Generals on the spot is, when we know more of the steps that have led up to this disastrous abandonment, I do not attempt to forecast. I do not wish to pledge myself at all; but I do not feel that, as we stand now, we are in a position to make this declaration of policy which my noble Friend asks from us. And I have one more cause for hesitation which prevents me voting for the Resolution. This may mean a large war — a long succession of military operations. In whose hands will those military operations be placed? In the hands of the present Government? Is there the slightest ground for believing that they will be conducted with vigour or success? On the contrary, everything in the past points to the probability that they will be planned with as little foresight, will be conducted with as much procrastination, and will end in as much disaster, as those which they have already carried on. I decline to do anything to set on foot a series of operations of which that would be the issue; and believing that no advantage will result to the House from adopting this Resolution—though I believe heartily in many of the sentiments which have fallen from my noble Friend in the course of his eloquent speech—I feel that I should not be justified in voting with him.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I do not rise to protract this debate, but to answer one question that has been repeatedly put by speakers in the course of this discussion. We have been asked—"What is the meaning of the change, or the apparent change, in your purpose—why do you not go to Khartoum, as you said you would do some months ago—why have you abandoned that intention now?" Well, if there has been any modification of opinion on that subject, it is not confined to one side of the House; because, if I recollect aright, earlier in the Session the noble Marquess opposite laid it down in very positive terms that we should not go to Khartoum.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I never said anything about going to Khartoum, or leaving the Soudan.

THE EARL OF DERBY: The noble Marquess told us he believes that the circumstances are altered. That is true; but if that is a plea for him, it is equally a plea for us. If I am asked why we

do not propose to go to Khartoum now, my answer is, what are we to go there for? Do you mean to go merely in order to come away again? What would be the use of that? We spoke, no doubt, of breaking the power of the Mahdi; but for what purpose did we desire that his power should be broken? We do not object to any person who may be the Ruler of Khartoum. We have all along disclaimed any intention of establishing a permanent influence there. From first to last our object has been one and the same—namely, to take such steps as seemed to us necessary and likely to be effectual for the protection of Egypt. That is the only interest we have in the matter; and we believe that the necessary lesson has been taught to the Arabs, and that after the experience they have had of the English arms they will not attack us again, nor attempt to molest our Egyptian garrisons. We also believe that the Mahdi is no longer a dangerous enemy; and, therefore, why should we throw away any more lives merely for the purpose of advancing to Khartoum? If we were intending to abandon Egypt, and to leave to the mercy of any invading Power those Egyptian Natives whom we had undertaken to protect, then I quite admit that the charge which has been made against us would be true. But we have not avowed any intention of that kind; we have not formed any such intention; and so long as we hold ourselves responsible for the defence of Egypt, which so long as we occupy it we do, then, whether Egypt will be defended most effectually on the Frontier or by aggressive operations in the Soudan may be an important military question, but it is not a question of policy. It has been said by some noble Lords that there has been no justification for the Arab blood shed; but the justification is very clear and perfectly conclusive to my mind. Who are these Arab tribes? They were engaged in an aggressive movement for the propagation by force of arms of their religious views. We have checked them; we may feel tolerably sure that after the defeats they have sustained they will not repeat their attempt; and, therefore, the operations in which we have been engaged have had the desired result. I cannot pass entirely without notice the remarks of the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Argyll), who ranged over various topics which were, no doubt, very important, but most of which have been discussed by your Lordships on several previous occasions. I must protest, however, against a doctrine which the noble Duke avowed plainly and frankly, and which I think is accepted by a good many of your Lordships. The noble Duke said that we should fail in our duties to civilization, and should not be realizing the designs of Providence, if we did not undertake to subjugate that country of the Soudan in the interests of civilization. The noble Duke was very indignant with us that we had declined to undertake that task; and he was still more indignant that we had declined to do it on the ground that we are overweighted already. I maintain that it is not our business to take possession of every part of the world which is inhabited by savages, and which it might be in our power to civilize. I want to know where obligations of this kind are to end. Have we no duties nearer home? Is it assured that our civilization is so perfect that we have nothing to do within a few miles of the place where we are now sitting? Can we say that we are so absolutely free from poverty and distress that we can afford to spend millions upon millions on the improvement of races with whom we have no connection? And, further, if it be the duty, which I do not admit, on the part of any Power which is civilized to conquer savage races for the purpose of improving their condition, then I contend we have done our full share of that work, and are doing it now. I do not go into the question how far our object has been to benefit them, or how far our presence has been an unmixed benefit; but when we consider the millions of people whom we have to look after at home, and the claims upon us of our Empire with its immense population, I think it is rather extraordinary on the part of anyone, whether he be an Englishman or a foreigner, to say to us—"You have not done your share in the civilizing work." The noble Duke said that other nations were going into Africa and undertaking the duty which we had refused to undertake; but the other nations referred to here only tried to colonize Africa because they had no Colonies elsewhere. We have established our hold on all those parts of the world which

are best suited to European Settlements; they have only taken those parts which we have left. The noble Duke then proceeded to draw a graphic picture of the benefits which would arise from our occupation of the Soudan. I do not pretend to be an authority on the subject, but I have read the writings of recent travellers in that country; and I believe those countries hold out very different prospects from those which are claimed for it. Trade, no doubt, exists; but the only trade is that in slaves and in ivory, the former of which we are putting down, the latter of which will soon come to an end when the few elephants which remain are destroyed. But even if I am wrong—if we are to derive great benefits from the trade of the Soudan, is it necessary for that purpose to conquer the country? You can hardly imagine a more savage race of people than the great majority of those who inhabit the West Coast of Africa; but it is a matter of old observation that our best trade is done with races there with whom we have no connection as rulers, or in any way except as traders. There is one other remark I would make. We are told that by holding the Soudan we should induce the Arabs to accept our civilization, and make ourselves popular with them. I can name a country a good deal nearer home where we have effectually established our political and administrative power, and where we have not succeeded, nevertheless, in gaining the affections of the people. I very much doubt whether at any time we could bring, unless at quite disproportionate expense, that vast and desert country within the reach of civilization, even if we could reckon upon peace and the absolute non-interference of other European Powers, which, as we know, is not a condition likely to be realized.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH said, that this subject involved, not only the policy of the Government in the Soudan, but their whole policy. This question, indeed, was a pivot on which the judgment of the country would be asked on the whole Government policy at the next Election. In listening to the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, he had hoped to hear a policy enunciated which would serve as a kind of rock to which they might cling in the midst of the political devastation which surrounded them. He had been disappointed, however. He maintained that the function of the Opposition was not one merely of criticism; they ought to place an alternative policy before the country. He did not think it would have been difficult for the noble Marquess to have given some indication in that respect; but in the absence of such an indication they could only assume that the fatal error which clung to the character of the Liberal Party was also characteristic of the Conservative Party—namely, a persistent trimming. He regretted that neither from the Government nor from the Leader of the Opposition had their Lordships received the indication of a definite policy with regard to the Soudan. The statement of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) as to spending millions in the Soudan came with a very bad grace from a Government which had already wasted some £10,000,000 in Egypt, and that for no apparent object whatever.

LORD DENMAN said, that the supposition of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) that the Mahdi was overawed by our Forces was quite unfounded, and the anxiety of the Government to withdraw from the Soudan would greatly embolden him. If he were quiet now, it was *reculer pour mieux sauter*—he was a fanatic who would convert all whom he captured to his form of Mahommedanism on pain of death. But as to the Government—in the words of the Poet Cowper, late a Clerk of their Lordships' House, wrote what was applicable to the Ministry—

> "They trust in armies, but their courage dies;"

—not the courage of the troops, who want support at home. The Ministry also trust—

> "In wisdom, wealth, in fortune, and in lies"

—not lies by themselves, but in their believing reports of the enemy being daunted; and, in the words of the poet which follow:—

> "And all they trust in fails them, as it must,
> If he command in whom they place no trust."

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in reply, said, that he had listened with some astonishment to the speech of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby), and the reasons

which had been given for the occupation of the Soudan. He did not believe in blank cartridge Motions, and was anxious to divide. Without having had any communication with the Leaders of the Conservative Party, he had expected they would have supported this Motion, especially having regard to the fact that the House carried a somewhat similar Resolution by a large majority on the 25th of February; but he was disappointed in this reasonable expectation, and having regard to the empty state of the House at that moment he would ask leave to withdraw his Motion. He was quite satisfied with the debate that it had aroused.

Amendment and Original Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Nine o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 18th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—£3,360,500, on Account, CIVIL SERVICE AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Princess Beatrice's Annuity.

Ordered—First Reading—Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) [184].

Committee—Metropolis Management Acts Amendment [138] [House counted out].

Committee—Report—Honorary Freedom of Boroughs [153].

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4)* [116], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Redistribution of Seats* [16].

QUESTIONS.

ROADS AND BRIDGES (IRELAND)—NEWTOWNBARRY BRIDGE.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (for Mr. SMALL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that a presentment in the barony of Scarawalsh, and county of Wexford, for making a footpath over Newtownbarry Bridge at an expense of £85 was brought forward at the November Presentment Sessions and afterwards passed finally at March Assizes, although, as the amount exceeded £50, it ought to have been sent back to the next Presentment Sessions following March Assizes, to be approved or disapproved before being finally passed, according to the provisions of the 6th and 7th William IV. c. 116, s. 27; and, what steps will be taken to rectify this illegal action?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The statements of fact of this Question are, I am informed, correct. A question was raised before the Grand Jury whether the work in question was a new bridge, in which case it should have been referred back under the 27th section of the Act, or an addition to or improvement of an existing bridge, in which case the 27th section would not apply, and the Grand Jury appear to have adopted the latter view. I am advised that it is not necessary that any steps should be taken in respect of the action of the Grand Jury.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION COURTS—FAIR RENTS—CASE OF —— SHORTAL.

MR. MARUM asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been directed to the case of one Shortal, a tenant, who applied to the Land Commission Court, on circuit in Kilkenny, upon the 28th ultimo, to have a fair rent fixed, in ordinary course; whether the landlord resisted the application, on the ground that the tenant succeeded his father, in 1877, in occupation, but that no letters of administration had been taken out by the applicant; that, after the father's death, receipts were given to the representatives (in the plural) of Shortal, deceased; that the tenant now applied to the legal Assistant Commissioner to be appointed special limited administrator, under sections fourteen and three of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881;" whether the legal Assistant Commissioner refused the application upon the ground, amongst others, that the Treasury has issued a Minute requesting the Land Commission Bench not to grant such limited administrations; whether such is the fact; and, if so, will the Government lay a Copy of such alleged Minute upon the Table of the House; whether the difference of assessment of Stamp Duty is the main or only reason of the issue of the alleged Minute; and, whether the Treasury will be prepared to modify the

the terms of the Minute, if issued, so as not to impair the beneficial operation of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, especially in regard to small tenancies and poor class of tenants?

MR. HIBBERT: I have made inquiry into this case, and it appears that Shortal's complaint rests on a misapprehension. No such rule has been made by the Treasury. The sections of the Land Act quoted do not apply to this case; and the application was not dismissed by the Sub-Commissioner, but only adjourned. This is not a small holding, but one for which administration clearly ought to be taken out. I must not be supposed to express any opinion on the merits of the case as between landlord and tenant.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE NEW CODE — THE INSTRUCTIONS TO INSPECTORS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he can now lay upon the Table of the House the "Instructions" to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools with reference to the interpretation which they are required to place on the New Code, and to the manner in which they are required to carry out its provisions?

MR. MUNDELLA: The reports of the various conferences of Her Majesty's Inspectors are at present under consideration; and I expect that the instructions which are based thereon as to the New Code will be ready in a few days.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND, DEAF, AND DUMB — INQUIRY BY ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. ACKERS asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Government will grant an inquiry into the education and condition of the deaf in the United Kingdom and Dependencies by means of a Royal Commission, or otherwise?

MR. MUNDELLA: The question of an inquiry into the education of the blind, deaf, and dumb is now under the consideration of the Government; and I expect that a decision will shortly be arrived at.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—THE ANGLO-GERMAN COMMISSION.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will inform the House if the Anglo-German Commission which lately sat in London for the purpose of considering certain questions connected with the administration of affairs in the Western Pacific has terminated its labours; whether he can state what recommendations the Commissioners have made, especially with regard to trade and navigation, to the labour traffic, and to the question of supplying arms, ammunition, and spirituous liquors to the natives; and, what prospect there is of the Governments of Great Britain and Germany arriving at a common understanding on these subjects?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Anglo-German Commissioners, who have been lately considering this subject, have reported their recommendations to their respective Governments. They have recommended, besides a delimitation of the special spheres of influence of the two Governments, that they shall mutually grant perfect freedom and equality of trade, navigation, and domicile. With regard to the labour traffic, they recommend that Germany should pass laws for the regulation of recruitment similar to those already passed by the British Legislature, both Imperial and Colonial, and which they pronounce sufficient to provide all necessary securities, if they are only properly enforced—in short, they consider that the labour trade should be regulated by an uniform rather than by a common control by the two Governments. As to the sale of arms and intoxicating liquors, they agree that in all places under the control of their respective Governments the gift or sale to Natives of these things should be strictly prohibited. They further recommend, with reference to islands not yet under the control of any European Power, that German and British subjects should be prohibited from carrying thither arms or alcoholic liquors, and they suggest that the other Naval Powers should be invited to adopt a similar course of action with respect to their subjects. With regard to the last Question, I think I may say that, as far as the Governments of Great Britain

and Germany are concerned, there is every prospect of a common understanding being arrived at on the matters discussed between them.

MR. GORST asked, whether Papers were being prepared and would be laid upon the Table?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, Papers were being prepared; but he could not say when they would be laid on the Table.

MR. GORST said, if they were not produced before it was proposed to take the Vote on this subject, he should oppose it.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he should press on the Papers as well as he could.

SPAIN—FAILURE OF THE COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. SLAGG asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will, in the course of the present commercial arrangements with Spain, provide that relief shall be afforded to British exporters in regard to the intricate regulations of the Spanish Customs, which require certificates of origin on all invoices from this country?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am well aware of the importance of the subject to which the hon. Member has adverted, and can assure the House that at the proper time it shall receive due attention. I regret, however, to have to state that the commercial negotiations with Spain have come to an unsatisfactory termination. The Spanish Government delayed the presentation to the Cortes of the Declaration of December 21, 1884, which delay prevented the subsequent negotiations intended to remedy the treatment of Yorkshire woollen goods in the Spanish tariff, which is of an especially unfavourable character. They have now further declined to be bound by the engagements recorded in the Declaration in regard to three important matters—(1) to the inclusion of the Colonies of the two Powers; (2) the duration of the intended arrangement, which they seek to terminate in two years' time; and (3) the subsequent negotiations for the conclusion of a definitive Treaty. The ground alleged in support of this contention is that only the portions of the Declaration recorded in the law which has recently passed the Cortes are binding between the two Governments. This law only includes the clause relating to most favoured nation treatment in the Peninsula and the United Kingdom, and is subject to the general provision of the Spanish tariff that a Declaration similar to that signed last December will not confer the benefits of the further reductions which are to be made in 1887. Parliament would, therefore, not be asked to make the alteration in the Wine Duties in the United Kingdom proposed in the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill in return for an engagement of an incomplete nature and of short duration, which will leave British trade, after a brief interval, again subject to differential treatment. Her Majesty's Government could only look upon this refusal to fulfil fundamental conditions of the Declaration of December 21, 1884, as the breaking off by the Spanish Government of the present negotiations; and Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid has accordingly been instructed to inform the Spanish Government that the negotiations are at an end. Papers are in preparation, and will be distributed during the Whitsuntide Recess.

MR. BOURKE: Could the noble Lord state what is the position at the present moment with respect to the Most Favoured Nation Clause as regards British goods going to Spain and Spanish goods coming here?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The object of the Declaration which is in the hands of hon. Members is to obtain the admission into Spain of British goods upon an equal footing with those of other Powers. Spanish goods are now admitted into this country on the same terms as those of other Powers, in keeping with the general commercial policy of this country.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should like to ask whether this breakdown of the negotiations will make any difference in the financial proposals of the Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is a Question which ought to be addressed to my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I will put it to-morrow.

IRELAND—SALE OF OYSTERS.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is contrary to Law to sell oysters in Ireland

during the close fishing season, provided the oysters are imported into Ireland from England or abroad; and, whether the close fishing season is different in England and Ireland?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): There is a difference in the close season for oysters in England and Ireland. It would, I think, be very inconvenient to give a legal opinion on an abstract question which may hereafter affect before a legal tribunal some particular case in which it may be sought to enforce a penalty.

LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS COMMITTEE—SIR JAMES DOUGLASS.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Sir James Douglass only received £500 in cash and no shares from the Company who acquired his patent rights in lighthouse burners; whether the Memorandum and Articles of Association of that Company distinctly provide for payment to him of £5,000 in cash and £25,000 in paid-up shares; whether the fact that Sir James Douglass being connected with this Company, while at the same time he held the position of engineer-in-chief to the Trinity House, was the main cause of Dr. Tyndall's withdrawal from the Illuminants Committee; whether, with regard to the Right honourable gentleman's statement that there is no restriction on lighthouse authorities in the purchase of these burners, the House is to understand that the Irish lighthouse authorities are at liberty to procure tenders from any other manufacturers besides the three English firms referred to; and, with respect to the three firms licensed to make these burners, what experience beyond that of other first-class lamp manufacturers have they had, and how many of these particular burners have each of them supplied to the lighthouse authorities?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he had again communicated with the Trinity House on this subject, and received a reply to the following effect:—

"Sir James Douglass received only £500 in cash and shares in the Company. Under the agreement of the original Company the payments mentioned were specified, but as the Company had been wound up that arrangement was dropped. Under the articles of the new Company, the benefits and interests of the patentee had been considerably modified."

The agreement was open to the inspection of the hon. and gallant Member if he pleased. On the 6th of November last, in reply to the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), he stated that the Papers on this subject contained all the information in his possession regarding the withdrawal of Dr. Tyndall. No restriction had been placed on the Lighthouse Authorities beyond a power of veto. No objection had been raised to the employment of any respectable firm competent to execute the work; but the Elder Brethren knew of no respectable lamp manufacturers besides the three firms, who had any experience whatever in the manufacture of these burners.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that Wigham and Co., of Dublin, are not competent to manufacture them?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have told the hon. and gallant Member already that I know nothing of this matter personally; but I have made inquiries of the Elder Brethren. If the hon. and gallant Member wishes to ask another Question he must put it on the Paper.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—CAPPAWHITE PRESENTMENT SESSIONS.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the presentment sessions advertised to be held on the 30th April at Cappawhite for the barony of Upper Kilnemanagh, county Tipperary, fell through in consequence of the non-attendance of magistrates, although the required number of associated cesspayers were present; whether, if no sessions be held in the barony before the next assizes, no presentment for that barony can be fiated, although there are upwards of 200 road contractors and others who, having completed their contracts, await payment at next assizes, but who will not receive their moneys on account of the non-compliance with the provisions of 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 116; and, whether it is intended to apply any remedy to this state of things by enabling the cesspayers to proceed with the business without magistrates if the latter do not choose to attend, especially in view of the fact that

some of the magistrates are frequently not payers of cess?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that the facts are correctly stated in the first paragraph of the Question. There is no power in the Government to direct the holding of a special Sessions. I shall ask to be advised as to what steps, if any, can be taken to remedy any public inconveinence that may occur.

ARTIZANS AND LABOURERS DWELLINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT—THE LEITH IMPROVEMENT SCHEME.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, How many years the Leith Improvement Scheme, in respect of which that burgh obtained from the Treasury a loan of £100,000, under the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings (Scotland) Act, has been in operation, and how many artizans' and labourers' dwellings have been erected or commenced under it; and, whether he has sanctioned any alteration of the plans or curtailment of the space originally proposed to be laid out as sites for working class dwellings; and, if not, whether it is true that a portion of that space has been sold for the erection of a distillery, and another portion offered as a site for a theatre?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) (who replied) said: The Leith Improvement Scheme was sanctioned by Parliament in 1880. I am informed that the Local Authority obtained possession of the ground—about eight acres in extent—in May, 1883, and that three tenements of four storeys each capable of being formed into dwelling-houses suitable for artizans and labourers are in course of erection, and that one of them is ready for occupation. The Provisional Order contains the following declaration:—

"The buildings on the lands constituting the improvement areas, when the same shall have been acquired, shall be taken down and removed gradually, new houses for the accommodation of the population of the working class now occuping these areas being built simultaneously with the taking down and removing of the existing buildings;"

and no alteration of the scheme has been sanctioned by the Home Secretary. A small portion of the ground, stated to be unsuitable for dwelling-houses has been sold for the extension of a distillery. No portion has been offered as a site for a theatre; but an offer to take part for that purpose has been refused. In the evidence taken by the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in Scotland, which will be published this week, will be found a detailed account of the proceedings at Leith in this matter given by the conjunct Town Clerk of the burgh.

MR. A. GRANT: In connection with this question, may I ask if it is not the case that the £100,000 borrowed by the Local Authority of Leith was borrowed for the acquisition of the old property only, and whether all this old property has been acquired?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): My hon. Friend refers to details, which will be found in the Report of the evidence to be published in a few days.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE CAMEL CORPS.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can now inform the House when the Cavalry portions of the Camel Corps in the Upper Nile force can be permitted to rejoin their regiments, or go as Cavalry elsewhere?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The order in which the troops will be moved down the Nile and the time when they can be sent home must depend upon local considerations, the decision as to which must rest with the General Officer commanding on the spot. I have no doubt, however, that the Camel Corps will be among the troops sent home earliest.

NATIONAL DEBT BILL—SUSPENSION OF THE SINKING FUND.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If the National Debt Bill accurately states his proposals to meet the excess of expenditure over income of the financial year 1885-6, by applying towards its discharge the Sinking Fund of the National Debt for the forthcoming year 1886-7; and, whether there is any modern precedent of a Chancellor of the Exchequer proposing in his Budget Statement to meet a deficiency on the current year by the appropriation through an Act of Parliament of the funds of the proximate financial year?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: The proposals of the National Debt Bill as introduced by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer are accurately stated in the Question of the noble Lord. In reply to the second part of the Question, if the noble Lord will refer to the Budget of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, proposed to Parliament in the first Session of 1880, he will find a very notable instance of a large deficiency being met by the appropriation through an Act of Parliament of funds belonging not only to one but to several future years. This, I believe, is the most modern precedent.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The hon. Gentleman has not answered my Question. My Question is, Whether there is any precedent for a Chancellor of the Exchequer proposing in his Budget Statement to meet a deficiency on the current year by the appropriation through an Act of Parliament of the funds of the proximate financial year? If the hon. Gentleman will look at the Financial Statement of 1880-1 he will find that there was no deficiency in the current year, and that it was not proposed to appropriate any funds of a proximate year. It was merely in reference to deficiencies in the past year that these alterations were made.

MR. HIBBERT: I am informed, and I believe it is the case, that the precedent to which I have referred is one of a similar character to the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Is not my hon. Friend aware of the fact that on that occasion legislation provided also Ways and Means to meet the accruing deficiency?

MR. HIBBERT: On that matter I have made no inquiries.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Then I will repeat the Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

GREENWICH HOSPITAL—THE STAFF—APPOINTMENT OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the appointment of Director of Greenwich Hospital, announced in the newspapers, is a new office; if so, will he state the emoluments thereof, and whether the same will be chargeable to Greenwich Hospital Funds; whether there will be any increased charge on those funds consequent on such appointment and the retirement of any officer at present holding the same or an equivalent appointment; and, whether the arrangements connected with these funds are under the control of the Treasury, and the accounts subjected to the supervision of the Exchequer and Audit Office?

MR. CAINE (who replied) said: Yes; the appointment of Director of Greenwich Hospital is a new office, the emoluments thereof consisting of a salary of £1,000 a-year, chargeable to Greenwich Hospital Funds. The office and the salary are fixed under the recommendations of a recent Departmental Committee. There will be no permanent increase in the cost of management; but, on the contrary, considerable reduction will be effected. Mr. Loveless, who has hitherto held the office of Superintendent of the Greenwich Hospital branch in the Admiralty, has been retired. He has been granted the ordinary pension to which he is entitled in respect of the length of his service, with the same gratuity as was sanctioned by Parliament and the Treasury for clerks of his class who were retired in 1878 and 1879. We have thought it right to recognize by a grant of £300 the special claim which Mr. Loveless has as an officer on the old establishment of Greenwich Hospital, of which he is the last. Mr. Loveless has rendered 40 years of excellent service to Greenwich Hospital, and has been identified with all the important reforms in the management of the charity during this period. The management of Greenwich Hospital Funds is by Act of Parliament vested in the Admiralty, and is not under the control of the Treasury. The accounts are audited by the Exchequer and Audit Department in the same manner as all other Admiralty accounts. I may add that the whole cost of the management of this important Charity is only 2½ per cent of its revenues.

SPAIN—THE BARQUE "MARY MARK."

MR. HENDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any progress has been made in obtaining a settlement with the Spanish Government of the claim of the owners of the barque *Mary Mark*, which was run into whilst at anchor by the

Spanish ram *Don Gorge Juan* near Belize in July 1883?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: This case has repeatedly been brought to the notice of the Spanish Government, but as yet no answer has been received, and on the 7th instant Her Majesty's Minister was instructed to address to them a strong representation, pointing out the necessity for definite action and requesting that if necessary the authorities in Cuba should be communicated with by telegraph.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROSECUTION OF MR. DANIEL RYAN, OF DOON, CO. LIMERICK, FOR RE-ENTRY AFTER EVICTION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the circumstances under which Mr. Daniel Ryan, of Doon, county Limerick, and his wife have been prosecuted under the Crimes Act; is it the fact that Mr. Ryan's mother, Mrs. Mary Ryan, an old woman of ninety years of age, was on 16th April evicted from her farm at Carrigbeg, on the property of Major Hare; was she carried out on a pallet, in a dying condition, by emergency bailiffs, after she had just received the last sacrament from the Rev. Patrick O'Donnell, and cast on the roadside, in a bitter wind, despite the entreaties and protest of the clergyman; did the dispensary medical officer of the district, who visited her shortly after the evition, certify that she was unfit to be removed to hospital, and order a nurse to be provided for her; did the relieving officer, finding her in danger of death, order her removal to the adjoining house, and, acting on the recommendation of the doctor, appoint her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Daniel Ryan, to act as nurse; was the nurse so appointed, with her husband, prosecuted under the Crimes Act on a charge of forcible entry, for remaining in attendance upon the dying woman; at whose instance was the prosecution instituted, and what has been the result; and, will any steps be taken to prevent the Crimes Act from being put to such uses?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Daniel Ryan, with his wife and mother, was evicted from his holding on the 16th of April for non-payment of five years' rent. The old woman was in a delicate, but not a dying, state. She is, I believe, still alive. On the next day they were found to be again in possession of the house in circumstances which led to the conclusion that re-entry had been forcibly effected. It is not the case that they were there in consequence of the orders of the relieving officer, who, as well as the doctor, did not appear on the scene until after they had re-entered the house. On the fact of the re-entry being reported to the Divisional Magistrate, he, without being aware of all the circumstances of the eviction, came to the conclusion that an offence was disclosed, and directed that Ryan, who had already been informed of the illegality of his action, should again be warned of the consequences of his remaining in the house. This was done, but Ryan still refused to quit. He and his wife were then prosecuted, with the result that the magistrates appeared to have considered that there was no proof to show by whom the forcible re-entry had been committed, and dismissed the case. I am advised, however, that there was *primâ facie* evidence of the Ryans having forced open the house; but, at the same time, with the full circumstances of the eviction before them, I am inclined to think that the magistrates could not have come to any other decision than the one they arrived at, and that if the Divisional Magistrate had been fully aware of these circumstances he would not have ordered the prosecution. At the same time any hardship which may have attended the case is due not to the administration of the Crimes Act, but to the exercise by the landlord of his right to evict. So far as the Crimes Act is concerned, the prosecution resulted in the acquittal of the accused for an offence which, under the ordinary law, would have rendered them liable to have been indicted for a misdemeanour.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE AMEER.

MR. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is intended to confirm by Treaty the arrangements recently concluded with the Ameer of Afghanistan; and, if so, whether he will in due time lay a Copy of the Treaty upon the Table of the House; and, if not, whether he can state in what manner the arrangenents will be made clear, permanent, and binding?

MR. J. K. CROSS: In reply to the hon. Member I have to say that there has been no proposal to enter into a Treaty with the Ameer.

EXCISE—RESTRICTIONS ON THE SCOTCH AND IRISH SPIRIT TRADE.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government will take early steps to remove the serious 'restraint on trade, affecting Irish and Scotch spirit merchants, which precludes them from selling spirits in quantities less than two gallons, not to be consumed on the premises, whilst no such trading disability is laid upon English spirit merchants?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: I admit that the anomalies in our system of licences are considerable, but they must be treated as a whole, and I fear it would be impossible to undertake their readjustment in the present Session.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE AND REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) ACTS—DUTIES OF THE COLLECTOR GENERAL OF RATES, DUBLIN.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether any deputies or assistants appointed by the collector general of rates in Dublin or by any other official in Ireland charged with duties under the Franchise and Registration Acts to aid in the discharge of those duties will be liable to the penalties provided by law for disregard or neglect of duty, or will this liability in regard to acts omitted or done by any such deputy or assistant devolve upon the person for whom he acts and by whom he is appointed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I think the collectors of the Collector General in Dublin, who have a *status* under the Act of 1849, are officials who would be liable for a neglect of duty under the Franchise Act, so, in my opinion, will all rate collectors. As regards other deputies and assistants, I should not like to give an opinion without knowing the circumstances of each case.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE CANADIAN VOYAGEURS.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he is aware that much annoyance has been caused in Canada by a statement which appeared in the newspaper *Truth* of April 10th, page 608, in reference to the Canadian voyageurs who were sent with the River Nile expedition, in which they are spoken of as a "disreputable gang" of whom only 25 per cent. were efficient the rest being "a nondescript rabble of the loafer class;" and, whether he is in possession of any official reports which confirm or disprove the above allegations?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think the best reply I can make to this Question is to lay upon the Table—as I will do this evening—the copy of a letter from Lord Wolseley which, by that Officer's request, I have forwarded to the Colonial Office for transmission to the Governor General of Canada. In that letter it will be seen that Lord Wolseley expresses in the highest terms his appreciation of the valuable aid which the Nile Expedition has received from the Canadian voyageurs.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can state the exact terms in which the agreement of the 17th of March was communicated by Her Majesty's Government to Sir Peter Lumsden?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The information which the hon. Member asks for will be found in the Papers which were distributed on Saturday (Central Asia, Part 2, No. 236, page 174).

SOUTH AFRICA—ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there will be any opportunity of discussing the recent annexation to the British dominions of a great territory in the far interior of South Africa, extending up to the 22nd degree of south latitude, and as large as the present Cape Colony or as the United Kingdom, and of eliciting the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to South African affairs? He also wished to know whether there was any truth in the statement in *The Times* of that morning to the following effect:—

"Sechele's reception of Sir Charles Warren's announcement of an Imperial Protectorate was somewhat equivocal. He said,—'When we see what benefits Mankoroane and Montsioa get, we will consider the question; till then go and do what you came to do.' He distinguished the Queen's Government from Mr. Upington's. Sir Charles Warren intended to return, but hearing that Metabele was on the warpath against Khama he decided to proceed against that Chief?"

MR. GLADSTONE: I will not attempt to make any answer to the addition to the Question. We have heard nothing on the subject. But with regard to the Question on the Paper, there is an error in describing what took place as a "recent annexation to the British dominions." There has been no such annexation to the British Dominions; but I believe that protection has been given to a large distressed district. As regards the ultimate condition of that district, it is not possible at present to give any precise information, because it is necessary, in the first place, that Sir Charles Warren should definitely give his opinion upon the subject, and, in the second place, that those views should be considered by the High Commissioner. When we are in possession of all the information, it will be our duty to consider the question.

In reply to a further Question from Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL,

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the Protectorate referred to was a conditional one.

GENERAL GORDON—FINANCIAL ENGAGEMENTS.

MR. BRODRICK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following statements in Despatches of the late General Gordon:—

April 26th. "Issued bank notes to amount of £2,500, redeemable in six months;"

July 30th. "Not one pound of the money you sent me got here. We want £200,000 sent to Kassala. The expenses of the garrisons must be met. Khartoum costs £500 per diem. . . . We have issued paper notes to amount of £26,000 and borrowed £50,000 from merchants, which you will have to meet. I have sent, in addition, £8,000 paper notes for Sennaar. . . . You are running up a good bill here;"

August 23rd. "The expenses and pay of the soldiers in the Soudan amount to £1,500 a day. You have now become responsible to these troops for the sum of £300,000;"

November 4th. "We are building two new steamers. The soldiers are only half a month's pay in arrear. We issued paper money, and also all the cloth in the magazines;"

whether the fact that General Gordon's notes passed as legal tender in Khartoum was corroborated by the members of his force examined by Lord Wolseley; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take to secure that the honour of General Gordon and the Country shall not suffer by the repudiation of the notes issued and the loans effected by him?

MR. GLADSTONE: What appears is that these extracts are correct; but they form part of communications from General Gordon to the Egyptian Government, and they appear to imply that he was acting on behalf of the Egyptian Government in any measures of this kind that he took. However, I only make that remark as probable. We have had no communication on the subject, and we are not aware that the Egyptian Government has had any; but, no doubt, if there are any persons in possession of promises of this character from General Gordon, they will find means of causing them to arrive at some destination or other, with a view to obtaining what they are entitled to.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE PAPERS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked, Whether the House might expect to have another series of Papers relating to Central Asia?

MR. GLADSTONE: We hope so; but there is some difficulty in separating the communications with respect to the engagement at Ak Tepe from the communications with respect to the frontier. As the negotiations with respect to the frontier are not yet concluded, it would be difficult to lay the Papers on the Table; but we hope to effect the separation, and, if so, the Papers will be laid very soon.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that in the Votes distributed on Saturday three sets of Papers were mentioned, Parts 2, 3 and 4. No. 2 only had been given to the House, and he therefore asked when the other Papers might be expected?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, every effort would be made to produce the Papers as soon as possible. They had been laid on the Table formally in order that they might be distributed during the Whitsuntide Recess.

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—THE PAPERS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, When they were likely to have any Papers concerning the evacuation of the Soudan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON stated that the Papers were in course of preparation, and he hoped that they would be laid upon the Table before the Holidays.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE BOUNDARY LINE AT AK TEPE.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, What the main lines of the Frontier, referred to by the Prime Minister last Tuesday, were, and whether they included the acceptance of such a condition as was mentioned in the Russian Memorandum of January 16, where it was stated that this line was to be conditional on the Ameer not building any fortifications on his own Frontier?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no further communication to make to the House at present on the subject of the Frontier line. What I did on Tuesday last was to give to the House the terms in which the Russian Ambassador wished to describe the arrangement, as he had taken part in it; and it is quite true that he described it, if I remember aright, as an arrangement of the Frontier line which he had recommended for the approval of the Russian Government. Since then there have been some communications respecting a part of that line which have not yet been brought to a conclusion, and, consequently, I cannot go beyond the statement I then made.

In reply to Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF,

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that he had already stated that no Treaty had been concluded between the Ameer of Afghanistan and the Indian Government. He had also stated that the Agreement with the Ameer was sent out in Blue Book No. 1 of 1881, and, secondly, in Blue Book No. 1 of 1884, under date of 16th July, 1883.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Then any arrangements made at the Rawul Pindi Conference have not been consigned to a document?

MR. J. K. CROSS: We have no written document. We have telegrams, and a despatch is expected, and when it arrives it will be laid on the Table.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE stated that the Government proposed to take on Thursday as the first Business the Lords' Amendments to the Registration Bill, and after that, if there were time, the introduction of the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill. They would break off Government Business between 9 and 10 o'clock on Thursday for the purpose of moving that the House on its rising on Friday should adjourn until the following Thursday week. In the event of the Welsh Education Bill not being brought in on Thursday, it would be taken at 2 o'clock on Friday, and the next order would be the second reading of the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill.

MR. FIRTH: I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether the House is to understand that the Government has now finally determined to abandon, during the present Parliament, all efforts to reform what was called the serious anarchy of London government?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am extremely sorry to confess the inability of the Government to deal with what we think a very strong and urgent case; but there is no doubt about the fact that we do not entertain the smallest and faintest hope of dealing with the subject during the present Session.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINGENT.

MR. FINCH-HATTON asked, Whether the Government had been able in any way to modify the decision not to invite the Australian contingent to visit this country?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Lord Wolseley's suggestion was communicated by the Agent General of New South Wales to the Colonial Government. The reply of that Government was to the effect that they entirely acknowledged the feeling which induced Lord Wolseley to suggest that a portion of the Contingent should visit this country before returning home; but their desire was that the whole Force should return at once.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

In reply to Sir HERBERT MAXWELL,

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he did not like to fix definitely any hour after which he would not make his statement in introducing the Crofters' Bill, because it was very essential that the Bill should go on.

MR. MACFARLANE said, the Prime Minister stated the other night that the Government would break off Supply about 11 o'clock for the purpose of enabling the Lord Advocate to introduce this Bill and make a statement. Did the Prime Minister adhere to that statement?

MR. GLADSTONE said, it was necessary to get the Vote on Account. It was a Vote for six weeks, and three weeks out of the six would have lapsed before the House met again. It was a matter of absolute necessity to get that Vote, and, subject only to that contingency, they proposed to break off Supply as he had previously stated.

DR. CAMERON asked whether, having regard to the fact that the Bill was on the Orders of the House and liable to be blocked, the Lord Advocate would not introduce it and have it printed without a statement?

[No reply.]

CENTRAL ASIA—"THE PENJDEH INCIDENT"—GENERAL KOMAROFF AND SIR PETER LUMSDEN.

MR. RICHARD POWER: I beg to give Notice that, having regard to the distinction which appears to have been conferred on General Komaroff, I shall to-morrow ask the Prime Minister whether it is the intention of the Government to confer any mark of honour or distinction upon Sir Peter Lumsden?

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to the hon. Member, I have to state that it will not be in my power to be in the House to-morrow.

MR. RICHARD POWER: Then I will put the Question down for Thursday.

MOTION.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, RULE 12 (NOTICES ON GOING INTO COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY).

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he desired to draw the attention of the House to the effect of the Motion now made by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. The question was whether the Motion was made as a matter of privilege or of strict right. There had been only one instance of the course now proposed having been taken under the new Rules, and on that occasion he had considered it his duty to take exception to it. There was something far more involved than the fact of enabling the Government to arrange the order of Business. In former times, on such a Motion, a Member could move an Amendment. Then came the new Rule as to Supply on Monday and Thursday. But the effect of the new Procedure was only a limitation and not a derogation of the rights of private Members. As the Government had allowed Supply to lapse on Friday last, it was a matter of doubtful propriety for the Government to take advantage of their own wrong, and attempt to go into Supply on Monday without Question put. He did not know whether any hon. Member was prepared with any Amendment; but he should be glad to know from the Speaker whether it would be competent to move any such Amendment?

MR. GORST said, he thought the House was indebted to the right hon. Gentleman, and hoped that the matter would not be allowed to drop without an authoritative decision from the Speaker as to what the practice ought to be under the new Rules. He submitted to the Chair that it was a question of Order whether the Government by the "Count-out" on Friday had not allowed the Order of Supply to lapse, so that it was necessary there should be made from the Chair the Motion which had just been put to the House. He wished to know whether Amendments, in these circumstances, might be moved, and a discussion take place on any grievance which any hon. Member might bring forward either with or without Notice? He would call attention to the specific words of the 21st Rule of the 21st November, 1882, which was the Standing Order under which the House

immediately resolved itself into Committee of Supply. That Order was couched in these words—

"Whenever the Committee of Supply stands as the first Order of the Day on Monday or Thursday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any Question."

That implied that if Mr. Speaker had put the Question, an Amendment could be moved and grievances might be brought forward. He submitted that Mr. Speaker, on the present occasion, by putting the Question, had himself admitted and proved most conclusively that the case did not come within the 21st Rule, because, if that Rule applied, the Speaker ought not to have put any Question at all, but should have left the Chair without Question put. As the Speaker had found it necessary to put the Question, it followed that the 21st Procedure Rule did not apply, and as the Question had now been put, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply," Amendments might be moved and a division taken. It was a matter of the utmost importance that the right practice should be settled by the ruling of the Chair.

MR. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. and learned Member, and to the right hon. Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth), I have to say that this question was raised, if I remember rightly, towards the middle of July last year. I was quite clearly of opinion, and I then ruled, and I am quite clearly of opinion now, that no debate of a general character, or with reference to grievances, can arise upon the Motion, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply." I think the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down is not making a distinction which should be made between the Motion, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply," and the Motion, "That I do now leave the Chair." The Motion, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply," is not at all analogous to the Motion which was made on Friday, "That I do now leave the Chair," to which Motion, by the Rule of the House, any Amendment can be moved, as was done on Friday last. I do not see that any penalty can be placed upon the Government of the day by the fact that a "Count-out" took place on Friday. I have looked into the matter, and I regard the Motion, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply" as a merely formal Motion to set up Supply—as formal a Motion as a Motion to postpone an Order of the Day, or to take any Order of the Day in any sequence on any future day. It is merely a formal Motion, and quite different from the Motion, "That I do now leave the Chair." I may also remind the House, with reference to what has been said by the right hon. Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) as to the Rules, that before the new Rule of 1882 the debate on the Motion, "That I do now leave the Chair," on going into Committee of Supply on Monday, was limited and restricted by a Standing Order of the House, passed, if I remember rightly, in the year 1872, and practically enforced, with very few exceptions, from that date up to 1882, when the new Standing Order was passed which imposed still further limitations. This is, in fact, a Standing Order to restrict debates on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply on Monday. There is, therefore, no force in the objection that the new Standing Order has altered the condition of affairs in this respect. I may say that I regard the Motion, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply," as merely formal, and that when it is passed I shall leave the Chair without Question put, in accordance with the Standing Order, which enacts that when Committee of Supply stands first, as it will then stand first, on Monday, I shall leave the Chair without putting any Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish to say one word in regard to the remarks which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth). I feel bound to notice the accusation contained in the statement that it is unfair that the Government should take advantage of its own wrong, and I wish to appeal to the House to judge what sort of a wrong it is. There is no doubt that the Government are responsible, as a general rule, for keeping a House on Friday, and that is well understood; but I must also point out that this has reference to

an ordinary state of things. In an ordinary state of things, it is the imperative duty of my noble Friend near me (Lord Richard Grosvenor), as it has been that of those who preceded him in his office, to do all he could to keep a House on three days a-week. But the noble Lord has had the duty cast upon him, this year, of keeping a House for 50 or 60 days in succession, and on every day of the week without intermission except two or three days at Easter. This has been an extreme aggravation of the very difficult duties of the office held by my noble Friend. In these circumstances, no one will, I think, be disposed to pass very strict judgment upon the noble Lord or upon hon. Members for what occurred on Friday last, after they have had cast upon them the duty of keeping a House for such a length of time. Indeed, a House has been kept without the occasional relief of a "Count-out" for a longer period than in any previous Session.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am quite sure that no one could wish to reflect upon the manner in which the noble Lord (Lord Richard Grosvenor) discharges his duties—a manner which commands the respect of the whole of the House; but, while we all recognize the additional severity of the duties he has had to perform in the present Session, we must also bear in mind that there is this to be said on the part of the House—that private Members have been deprived of a larger portion of the time of the House usually allotted to private Members than in any previous Session, and, therefore, they consider that they have an exceptional claim to have a House kept on Fridays.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further sum, not exceeding £3,360,500, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, viz :—

Mr. Gladstone

CIVIL SERVICES.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

	£
Great Britain :—	
Houses of Parliament	6,000
Ireland :—	
Public Buildings	30,000

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

England :—	
Home Office and Subordinate Departments	10,000
Foreign Office	10,000
Colonial Office	7,000
Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments	4,000
Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments	10,000
Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department)	6,000
Civil Service Commission	5,000
Exchequer and Audit Department ..	10,000
Friendly Societies, Registry	1,000
Land Commission for England ..	3,000
Local Government Board	40,000
Lunacy Commission	2,300
Mint (including Coinage)	5,000
National Debt Office	3,000
Patent Office	7,000
Paymaster General's Office	4,000
Public Works Loan Commission ..	1,500
Record Office	3,000
Registrar General's Office	6,000
Stationery Office and Printing ..	50,000
Woods, Forests, &c. Office of ..	3,000
Works and Public Buildings, Office of	5,000
Secret Service	15,000
Scotland :—	
Exchequer and other Offices	1,000
Fishery Board	2,500
Lunacy Commission	500
Board of Supervision	1,000
Ireland :—	
Lord Lieutenant's Household ..	1,000
Chief Secretary's Office	4,500
Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	300
Local Government Board	10,000
Public Works Office	10,000
Record Office	1,000
Registrar General's Office	2,000
Valuation and Boundary Survey ..	2,000

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

England :—	
Law Charges	13,000
Criminal Prosecutions	25,000
Supreme Court of Judicature ..	60,000
Wreck Commission	1,500
County Courts	50,000
Land Registry	1,000
Police Courts (London and Sheerness)	3,000
Metropolitan Police	150,000
Special Police	4,000
County and Borough Police, Great Britain	1,000
Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies	30,000

	£
Prisons, England	60,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	70,000
Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum ..	4,000
Scotland :—	
Lord Advocate, and Criminal Proceedings	15,000
Courts of Law and Justice	10,000
Register House Departments ..	4,000
Prisons, Scotland	15,000
Ireland :—	
Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	25,000
Supreme Court of Judicature ..	10,000
Court of Bankruptcy	1,000
Admiralty Court Registry	300
Registry of Deeds	2,000
Registry of Judgments	300
Land Commission	10,000
County Court Officers, &c.	15,000
Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts)	25,000
Constabulary	250,000
Prisons, Ireland	20,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools ..	20,000
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum ..	1,000

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

England :—	
Public Education	600,000
Science and Art Department ..	30,000
British Museum	25,000
National Gallery	1,500
National Portrait Gallery	400
Learned Societies, &c.	4,000
London University	2,000
Scotland :—	
Public Education	100,000
Universities, &c.	3,000
Ireland :—	
Public Education	170,000
Teachers' Pension Office	300
National Gallery	500
Queen's Colleges	1,000
Royal Irish Academy	900

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

Diplomatic Services	20,000
Consular Services	20,000
Slave Trade Services	3,000
Colonies, Grants in Aid	3,000
South Africa and St. Helena ..	5,000
Subsidies to Telegraph Companies ..	9,000

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

Superannuation and Retired Allowances	110,000
Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.	10,000
Pauper Lunatics, Scotland	15,000
Pauper Lunatics, Ireland	35,000
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain ..	500

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Temporary Commissions	3,000
Total for Civil Services ..	£2,350,500

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.	£
Customs	20,000
Inland Revenue	80,000
Post Office	500,000
Post Office Packet Service ..	180,000
Post Office Telegraphs ..	230,000
Total for Revenue Departments	£1,010,000
Grand Total ..	£3,360,500

MR. HIBBERT wished to give a short explanation of the reason why the Vote on Account was asked for. For several years a Vote on Account had been taken in the latter part of the month of May. Last year it was taken on the 22nd of May. The present Vote would not have been taken until the end of the month had it not been for the intervention of the Whitsuntide Holidays, which compelled the Government to ask the Committee to allow them a Vote on Account earlier than would otherwise have been necessary. The period it was intended to cover was not from the present time, but six weeks from the 1st of June. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had threatened to move to reduce the amount of the Vote by the sum of £2,000,000. Of course, a reduction of £2,000,000 would be a very serious matter, and would compel the Government to come again to the House for another Vote on a very early day. It was only upon certain Votes that the money would be taken for six weeks; in other cases they were asking for money for less than six weeks—such as the Vote for Education. A portion of the Vote on Account would be applied to the Revenue Department Estimates, in reference to which considerable payments would have to be made in the course of a few weeks. With respect to the Secret Service money, it had generally been the custom to vote half of the amount before the end of June, as it was required in the early part of the year. He would only add that, looking at the wants and demands of the various Departments, which had been carefully and thoroughly considered, if the Amendment which the noble Lord intimated his intention to propose were carried, it would involve the inconvenience of an application for another Vote on an earlier day than would be necessary if the Vote were not

reduced, because the money would be actually required.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down does not quite understand the position I am anxious to take up in this matter. Of course, he is very anxious for the convenience of the Government; so am I to a certain extent; but there are other things which I value a great deal more. It should be in the power of the House, on an early day after Whitsuntide, if necessary, to compel an immediate discussion of the Central Asian Question; but if the hon. Member takes a Vote on Account for as long a period of time as six weeks, no Member of the House will be able to call attention to the question until six weeks after the re-assembling of the House. That is the position we have to face. It is not one that the Government are likely to sympathize with, but it is one which should be appreciated by independent Members below the Gangway on either side of the House. We do not know what situation might arise in which, however unwilling the Government might be, hon. Members would desire to raise a discussion in a formal manner. Therefore, my object in endeavouring to reduce the Vote would be to compel the Government to come to Parliament at an earlier period. I do not know why that ought to be considered exacting or unreasonable. The object might, perhaps, be gained if the hon. Gentleman, with the acquiescence of the Prime Minister, would consent to the reduction of the Vote by £1,000,000; and in that case I will make that proposal, instead of moving the reduction by £2,000,000. I do not expect that the Government will be at all surprised if a conversation should arise upon the Blue Book issued on Saturday. Certainly, I do not know what was the case with other hon. Members; but it caused me to pass a very melancholy Sunday morning in endeavouring to master its contents. It is a most sorry record of official diplomacy. Of course, one cannot help one's thoughts being influenced by the fact that news had come to this country that morning of the great, distinguished, and, as it appears, quite unusual rewards conferred by the Russian Government on General Komaroff. One cannot help feeling that the Russian Government had every reason to confer unusually high rewards on their officers, and that the House of Commons, at any rate, had no reason to confer any rewards on Her Majesty's Government, in the shape of showing confidence in them, or of abstaining from proceedings which may be disagreeable to them. I do not generally pay much attention to the Press of this country; but, if I do pay attention to it, I am inclined to follow a precept laid down by the Prime Minister some years ago, when he said that the most important portion of the Press was the Provincial Press, and that it reflected the mind of the country more accurately than did the Metropolitan Press. I was very much struck to-day by a quotation in an evening paper from one of the most important papers in the North of England —*The Leeds Mercury*—owned and directed, I believe, by one of the leading and most prominent Nonconformists in this country. It has been always a most devoted and faithful supporter of the Liberal Government, and particularly of the Prime Minister, who in certain circumstances would have occupied the position of Member for Leeds. The passage is rather remarkable; it may cause the Government to pause and reflect. It will show them that the sentiments we put forward on the Central Asian Question are not confined to the Tory Party, and are not put forward in order to bring about a war or to embarrass the Government. It may indicate to the Government the great national sentiments which are held by the majority of the English people. This is what *The Leeds Mercury* says about the Blue Book—

> "The insolence and bad faith of Russia have been even greater than the most bitter of Russophobists had imagined. It is impossible to read the Correspondence without feeling that all through the pretended negotiations of M. de Giers with Earl Granville on the question of the delimitation of the frontier, the Russian Government were deliberately bent upon tricking and defrauding this country. Mr. Gladstone will have to take the responsibility for the existence of the opinion abroad that Sir Peter Lumsden is coming back in something like disgrace, if he fails to make some striking counter-demonstration to that which the Czar, in the fulness of his power, and of his contempt for the public opinion of England, has just been pleased to offer to the world."

Now, I wonder what would have been the exclamations of the Liberal Party and the Liberal Press if such language

had come from any Member on this side of the House. Yet here we find language far stronger than any I have used. ["Oh!"] Yes, far stronger than any I have used, in what I may call the most representative paper of Liberal feeling throughout the country. ["No!"] I believe that to be the character acquired by *The Leeds Mercury*. I now propose to make a few remarks upon the contents of this Blue Book, with such references as will justify the inquiries I propose to address to Her Majesty's Government. There is much in the Blue Book which is extremely obscure, and much which is only too clear. I say that there is much in it that is obscure. I doubt very much whether any Blue Book submitted to Parliament was ever more edited than the present Blue Book. There are extraordinary gaps in it which are really without parallel. I have done much to study the Foreign Office Blue Books, and have worked hard at them; but I never knew one which had such extraordinary gaps in it, or in which the Papers were more mixed up in a way that can only have been intended to embarrass and confuse the public. The first point to which I would direct attention is the statement made in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister on the 13th of March—the most important of all the statements which the Prime Minister has made on this subject. On page 171 of the Blue Book will be found a despatch from Earl Granville to Sir Edward Thornton, dated March 14, which is as follows:—

"Mr. Gladstone made a statement in the House of Commons last night to the effect that it has been agreed between this country and Russia that no further advance should be made by the Russian or Afghan Forces respectively to points within the debatable or debated ground. This statement was founded on the assurances recorded in my despatches of the 19th ultimo and 3rd instant, and on those given in M. de Giers's Memorandum of the 24th February, and in your telegram of the 5th instant. I have to instruct your Excellency to inquire of M. de Giers whether he agrees that the assurances referred to constitute an agreement to the effect stated by Mr. Gladstone. Her Majesty's Government would be glad to receive an immediate answer on the point, as a Question will be asked on the subject in Parliament on Monday."—[Central Asia, No. 2 (1885), p. 171.]

Well, Sir, the first thing that strikes one in reading this despatch is that the Prime Minister stated that an agreement had been come to upon a subject of the utmost importance between two great Powers, and that the next morning the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs telegraphed to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to know whether the Prime Minister was correct in making that statement. I referred at once to the assurances contained in Earl Granville's despatch, and I maintain that there is nothing whatever in those assurances to warrant the Prime Minister in making the statement he did—a statement which totally misled the House of Commons. These were the words of the Prime Minister on the 13th of March—

"As regards the advance of the Forces, it has been agreed between Russia and England that no further advance should be made on either side."—(3 *Hansard*, [295] 1085.)

And, in reply to the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), the right hon. Gentleman said—

"I cannot state the precise date of the agreement; but perhaps it is not very material."—(*Ibid.* 1086.)

On Tuesday, the 17th of March, the Prime Minister said the word "agreement" was a little fallacious. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] That is the way in which the right hon. Gentleman is reported. If two parties agree upon any particular subject, I want to know if the result of the action of the two parties does not make the agreement, and how it is possible to call an agreement fallacious after it has been agreed upon? On pages 152 and 154 of the Blue Book will be found the assurances upon which the Prime Minister relied; and the House will see that there is nothing whatever in the statement of M. de Giers which the Prime Minister made to the House. Here is the telegram—No. 196, on page 152 of the Blue Book. It is from Sir Edward Thornton to Earl Granville, in reply to a request from Her Majesty's Government that the Russian troops would withdraw from the positions which they occupied, to which request the Russian Government peremptorily declined to accede. The telegram says—

"I have just received a Memorandum from M. de Giers, in which I am informed that the Russian Government cannot accede to the request that the advanced Russian posts at Sari-Yazi and Zulfikar Pass should be withdrawn; but assurances are at the same time given that orders have been issued to the Commanders of these posts carefully to avoid conflicts with the Afghans, and that such complications need

only be feared in the event of the Afghans attacking the Russian posts."—[Central Asia, No. 2 (1885), p. 152.]

There is nothing in that telegram to warrant the statement made by the Prime Minister that it had been agreed between England and Russia that no further advance should be made. There is still another despatch on which the Prime Minister based his statement. It is No. 215, on page 164. Sir Edward Thornton writes to Earl Granville on March 5th in the following words:—

"M. de Giers admits that Russian troops may be making movements within the line which M. de Staal, under instructions from his Government, had recently proposed to your Lordship, but declares that they will on no account go beyond it, and that they will not attack any Afghan troops which they may meet. M. de Giers expresses the greatest confidence that a collision will be avoided unless the Afghans should attack the Russian troops."—[*Ibid.* 164.]

I want to point out that the line alluded to in that despatch was far in advance of the actual position occupied by the Russian troops, so that there was nothing whatever in the telegram to justify the Prime Minister's statement that it had been agreed between the two Governments of England and Russia that no further advance should be made on either side. But the most striking confirmation of that will be found on page 177—No. 244, where there is a most interesting despatch from Sir Edward Thornton as to his interview on this subject with M. de Giers. Earl Granville having written to Sir Edward Thornton to ask whether the Prime Minister was justified in making the statement, our Ambassador goes to M. de Giers; and there is a picture in this despatch, to which I wish to draw the attention of the House, which shows the position our Ambassador occupies at St. Petersburg. Sir Edward Thornton writes on the 17th of March—

"My Lord,—On the 15th instant (Sunday), when I had the honour to receive your Lordship's telegram of the 14th instant, I called upon M. de Giers; but as he had several people with him on business, I could not obtain admittance. I therefore wrote to him, and begged that his Excellency would receive me on the following morning. He acceded to my request."—[Central Asia, No. 2 (1885), p. 177.]

That, as I have said, shows the position of our Ambassador in St. Petersburg. A most urgent message was sent to him on a matter involving at any moment a war between the two countries; and upon going to M. de Giers, he is told that he cannot obtain admittance because M. de Giers had several people with him on business, and that he might call the next morning if he liked. I do not know how that strikes other hon. Members, but it strikes me as altogether inconsistent with the dignity that should belong to the position of Ambassador to the Queen. Passing from that episode, I will come back to my original assertion that the Prime Minister was not justified in making the statement of which I have referred. Sir Edward Thornton visited M. de Giers the next morning. He says in the despatch to which I have alluded—

"I began by informing him of the statement which had been made by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on the night of the 13th instant, and I inquired whether he had any objection to make to that statement."—[*Ibid.*]

The Prime Minister's statement was that Russia and England had agreed to a certain course, and our Ambassador commences by asking M. de Giers if he had any objection to make to the Prime Minister's statement. Sir Edward Thornton continues—

"His Excellency replied that, as far as he was personally concerned, he could say that he had already informed me that no advance would be made to any point beyond the line which had recently been proposed by M. de Staal as a boundary."—[*Ibid.*]

Yes; but that line was far in advance of the position held by the Russian troops; and therefore the agreement not to advance from the actual position held, and not to advance beyond the line of M. de Staal, are two totally different things. Sir Edward Thornton goes on to say—

"I replied that I understood that Russian troops now occupied posts at Pul-i-Khatun, Zulfikar, Ak-Robat, Ak Tépé, and Pul-i-Khisti, and that his Excellency had more than once assured me that no attack would be made on Penjdeh, nor upon any Afghan force, unless the Russians were attacked by the Afghans. Would he authorize me to announce to your Lordship that Russian troops would not advance from the positions they now occupy, unless the Afghans should on their side advance from their positions."—[*Ibid.*]

The Prime Minister, therefore, stated that an agreement had been come to, and the day afterwards our Ambassador at St. Petersburg was found endeavouring to negotiate that agreement. Now,

what does M. de Giers say? Sir Edward Thornton says in the same despatch—

"M. de Giers replied that he would wish on this point to consult the War Department, and perhaps to take the orders of the Emperor, before giving me a final answer."—[*Ibid.*]

This is the agreement, or the sacred covenant, which has opened so large a book, and which Her Majesty's Government have found it so difficult to close. The agreement which the Prime Minister announced on the 13th of March turns out to be an absolute fiction and phantom, and there is not the slightest possible justification for it in the smallest possible way. Our Ambassador asked if there was any agreement, and M. de Giers said that as far as he was personally concerned he should not object to restrict the advance to a line far in advance of the positions which the Russians then occupied; but he added that it would be necessary first to consult the War Department, and perhaps to take the orders of the Emperor, before giving a final answer. [An hon. MEMBER: Read on!] I am going to read on. Sir Edward Thornton, still in the same despatch, says—

"I then informed his Excellency that your Lordship had expressed a desire to have an immediate answer, because a Question would be asked on the subject in the House of Commons the same evening. M. de Giers then said that he had no objection to state that the Russian Forces would not advance from the position they now occupy."

[*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] Wait a minute. The sentence concludes—

"Provided the Afghans should not advance or attack them, or unless some extraordinary circumstance should happen, such as a disturbance in Penjdeh."—[*Ibid.*]

Yes; but mark how the matter stands. The Prime Minister made the bold statement to the House of Commons, without qualification, that it had been agreed between the two Governments that no further advance should be made on either side. Having made that statement without any justification whatever—at any rate, as far as the public records go—he then proceeds, as far as possible, to get an agreement from Russia which shall bear him out; and what does he get? He gets a perfectly worthless document, because the reservation of M. de Giers—

"Unless some extraordinary circumstance should happen, such as a disturbance in Penjdeh,"

covers the whole circumstances of the advance of General Komaroff. It is a very serious matter that the Prime Minister should give the House of Commons information at a critical moment that a solemn covenant had been arrived at between two great Powers, when, as a matter of fact, there had been nothing of the kind, and that he should then instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador, if possible, to extract some kind of agreement, which might be twisted into something or other which would justify the premature statement he had made. That premature statement was not founded upon facts, and it has cost the country £11,000,000. If this premature statement had not been made, the worthless agreement extorted by Sir Edward Thornton from M. de Giers would not have been necessary. Unfortunately, it was necessary that Her Majesty's Government should put a construction of the utmost value upon such a worthless agreement as that which has been broken by General Komaroff, and the breaking of which induced the Prime Minister to come forward with the violent speech which the House so well recollects, in which he declared that the book had been opened, and could not be closed. I do not know which is the more to be deprecated in the diplomacy of this country at the present moment, the fervid imagination of the Prime Minister, or the weak ineptitude of the Foreign Secretary. I do not know whether the Prime Minister will consider it consistent with his dignity to offer an explanation. I now come to another point—that is, that I hold Her Majesty's Government primarily responsible for the attack of General Komaroff upon the Afghan position of Penjdeh. It was in their power to prevent that attack on several occasions long before it took place; but they deliberately and wilfully threw away their opportunities of preventing it. I will ask the House to look at certain of the despatches. On page 152 of the Blue Book will be found a despatch from Sir Peter Lumsden to Earl Granville, received on February 24, about a month before the attack. In this despatch Sir Peter Lumsden tells Earl Granville—

"Matters have come to a crisis by the simultaneous movements of Russia on Sunday last on the Murghab and the Heri-Rud. No southern

limit to zone having been fixed, Russians may consider themselves at liberty to advance to limit indicated by them and remain there. I cannot advise Afghans to allow post after post to be forced, and trust Her Majesty's Government will lose no time in sending me instructions."—[Central Asia, No. 2 (1885), p. 152.]

Again, Sir Peter Lumsden telegraphs to Earl Granville, No. 194, page 152—

"On perusal of your Lordship's despatch to Sir Edward Thornton of the 10th November, and in view of the threatening attitude of Russians on the Murghab, as reported in my telegram of 9th, I have deferred my departure to Guslan *viâ* Penjdeh, and I shall wait till supplies can be removed to upper route by Morachuk and Chemeni Beed; other routes not practicable owing to dearth of supplies. I have written to officer commanding at Merv, pointing out necessity of both sides avoiding friction, and have proposed that, as I have urged Afghans to limit their patrolling to Orush Dushan, he should limit Russian patrolling to Sari Yazi. Reports as to outposts incident conflicting; Russians, however, retired, but may be induced by fact of passive action of Afghans to return and push further. It is reported that 1,000 Khivan Cavalry have arrived at Merv."—[*Ibid.*]

Again he asks for instructions. On February 25th Earl Granville gives him instructions—

"You should strongly urge the Afghan authorities not to advance."—[*Ibid.* p. 153.]

Those instructions are in No. 199 of the despatches. "Strongly urge the Afghan authorities not to advance." That is all the instructions Earl Granville gives. We shall find, if we turn to No. 201, page 154, that Sir Peter Lumsden again telegraphs to Earl Granville on the 19th February, saying—

"Your Lordship will, I feel sure, see the necessity of sending me early instructions as to course Her Majesty's Government wish me to take under present circumstances."—[*Ibid.* p. 154.]

He goes on to describe the critical situation, and in No. 203 he telegraphs—

"Russian troops to-day occupied Zulfikar Pass, Ak Robat, Pul-i-Khisti."

In No. 209, in a telegram dated March 2nd, Earl Granville merely tells Sir Peter Lumsden, with reference to all the information as to the advance of the Russian troops, the threatening positions which they occupied, and the imminent danger of a collision—

"I have received your telegrams of the 17th, 19th, 22nd, and 23rd ultimo relative to the affairs of the Afghan Frontier, and I have to state that your proceedings as therein reported are entirely approved by Her Majesty's Government. As regards your future action, continue to be guided by my telegrams of the 20th and 25th Feb."—[*Ibid.* p. 162.]

These telegrams told him only to urge the Afghans not to advance. For the telegram of February 20th I must look back to No. 191, on pages 150 and 151. It approves the action of Sir Peter Lumsden, and says that instructions had been sent to Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Earl Granville, in a despatch to Sir Edward Thornton on the previous day, February 19, says—

"On the 20th Nov. last I instructed your Excellency to represent to the Russian Government the embarrassment likely to arise from the presence of Russian troops at Pul-i-Khatun, and to press strongly for their withdrawal to Sarakhs, in which case steps would be taken to obtain the retirement to Penjdeh of the Afghan detachment said to have advanced to Sari Yazi. I added that unless the Russian frontier authorities abstained from forward movements pending the commencement of the work of the Commission, it would be difficult to restrain the Ameer and his officials from taking such steps as would appear to them necessary in order to safeguard Afghan rights. I have to request your Excellency to remind the Russian Government of this communication, and to point out that in spite of this remonstrance the Russian troops not only continue to hold Pul-i-Khatun, but have now advanced to Sari Yazi, and that unless these proceedings are immediately arrested collisions will ensue which may lead to the most serious consequences. Her Majesty's Government could not advise the Afghans to withdraw from territory which they claim as their own; but if the Russian Government will give orders to their Military Commanders, pending the decision of the Joint Commission, to withdraw from Sari Yazi, and to make no further movement in advance, Her Majesty's Government will call upon the authorities of the Ameer not to allow any advance of Afghan troops actually in their occupation."—[*Ibid.* p. 150.]

This was a month before the outbreak took place. The Russian Government declined altogether to give any guarantee not to advance, and they also declined to withdraw their troops from Sari-Yazi. In a despatch which I have quoted to the House before—No. 212, page 163 of the Blue Book—Earl Granville tells Sir Peter Lumsden that all his action with regard to the Afghan authorities and the Russian commanders are approved by Her Majesty's Government, and asks him to "continue to hold similar language." He adds—

"Her Majesty's Government cannot advise the Afghans to attack the Russian troops in

order to dislodge them from the positions they now occupy; but Her Majesty's Government consider that the further advance of the Russians should, subject to military considerations, be resisted by the Afghans."—[*Ibid.*, p. 163.]

That is, on the 3rd of March. Therefore, on the 3rd of March, knowing the critical situation, knowing the imminence of a collision, knowing that the Russians refused to withdraw their advanced troops, or to give any pledge not to make any further advance, Earl Granville positively directs the Afghan Commander, through Sir Peter Lumsden, to resist the further advance of the Russian troops. Then there is this curious paragraph in the same despatch—

"Her Majesty's Government attach great importance to your remaining in Afghanistan, where your presence may be the means of stopping further advances of the Russian troops, and preventing the outbreak of hostilities."—[*Ibid.*]

Look at the position which was taken by Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Government address a demand to St. Petersburg, telling the Russian Government that they fear a collision, and that their troops must be withdrawn. The Russian Government refuse to accede to the request, and then the English Government telegraph to Sir Peter Lumsden, instructing him to urge the Afghans to resist; but all the while they accept the refusal of the Russian Government, in the communication from St. Petersburg to London, to withdraw their troops. They thus forced on the Afghans a conflict in which they must have known the Afghans would get worsted, by reason of the inferiority of their arms and the superiority of those of their adversaries. Her Majesty's Government never attempted, at that time—I will not say by strong diplomatic negotiations at St. Petersburg, but by the despatch which was absolutely necessary at the time of an Ultimatum to the Russians, delivered at St. Petersburg—to support their unfortunate Allies on the Frontier at Penjdeh. What right had the Government to direct the Afghans to resist the Russians, and then themselves to adopt the exceedingly pusillanimous line which they took in their negotiations with the Russian Government at St. Petersburg? There is one telegram from Earl Granville to Sir Peter Lumsden which is a perfect picture of that nobleman's peculiar style and state of mind. I think it is No. 222. On the 4th of March Sir Peter Lumsden had sent this telegram to Earl Granville—

"Matters remain as reported by me on 1st March. General Komaroff is at Yulatan, and the guns and Infantry are said to be coming on with him. I have impressed on the Afghans the necessity of refraining from action."—[*Ibid.*, p. 165.]

On the same day he sent another telegram to say—

"The Sarikhs are again greatly excited, and are holding meetings to decide what course to adopt. It appears impossible to maintain any longer the passive attitude enforced on Afghans and adopted by Her Majesty's Government. It is reported that 1,000 Infantry and 4 breech-loading guns have arrived at Merv, and that strong reinforcements are expected."—[*Ibid.*]

Then he asks for instructions, and this is what Earl Granville, after receiving this news, replies on the 10th of March, No. 222, page 166—

"We are anxious to give you full support in present very difficult circumstances."

What an extraordinary wailing kind of message for a Minister to send to a Representative asking for instructions at a most critical time—

"We are anxious to give you full support in present very difficult circumstances."

What did it mean? Sir Peter Lumsden has been recalled since; but what did it mean at that time? Did it mean that Sir Peter Lumsden was to take the responsibility of directing the Afghans to advance and attack the Russians, or of joining the Afghan Forces to resist the Russians? What on earth did that telegram mean at that critical moment—

"We are anxious to give you full support in present very difficult circumstances."

As a matter of fact, Sir Peter Lumsden had no support at all from them. The only support which the English Government could give to Sir Peter Lumsden was by taking up very strong ground at St. Petersburg. That was the only way that Her Majesty's Government could give support. It would have put a stop to the advance on Penjdeh; and it was an important matter to stop the Russian advance on Penjdeh, because Her Majesty's Government could not send troops to Penjdeh, nor could they make the Afghan troops superior to what they are. But they could have supported the

action of Sir Peter Lumsden by energetic action at St. Petersburg, and that was exactly the support which it was in their power to give him which they did not give. The only answer the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give to the Envoy who sought instructions in the very difficult circumstances in which he was placed was this wretched, wailing, lamenting kind of telegram, which signified nothing at all, and probably only deluded Sir Peter Lumsden, because he would naturally think that if he took stronger action than he felt himself justified in taking on his own account, he would be backed up by the negotiations going on between London and St. Petersburg. Under all these circumstances, I say that Her Majesty's Government are greatly responsible for the collision which occurred between the Afghans and the Russians, and for the slaughter of the Afghan Forces. They had ample warning of what was going on, for on the 13th of March Sir Edward Thornton telegraphed to Earl Granville another warning. It will be seen in No. 224, page 166, that Sir Edward Thornton telegraphed to Earl Granville on the 13th of March as follows:—

"A rumour has just reached me, in a manner which gives me ground for believing it to be true, that a telegram has been received by the Russian Minister of War from General Komaroff, Commander-in-Chief in the Trans-Caspian region, to the effect that for the safety of the Russian troops on the Afghan Border it is absolutely necessary that Penjdeh should be taken, and that the General had asked leave to order that place to be attacked. It was added that the Russian Government are now considering what answer should be sent to the above-mentioned telegram."

Earl Granville said, in reply—

"Her Majesty's Government desire that Your Excellency should urge in the strongest manner upon the Russian Government that if this report be true, orders may be immediately given to prevent the proposed attack."—[*Ibid.*, pp. 166-7.]

That was on the 13th of March, and on the 10th of March Earl Granville had informed Sir Peter Lumsden that the Government would give him full support. I do not call that full support. The only thing which would have been giving really full support would have been for Earl Granville to have directed Sir Edward Thornton to tell the Russian Government that any attack on Penjdeh, or any attack upon our Allies, the Afghans, would be a *casus belli* between England and Russia. If you had given your Ally that full support, the attack on Penjdeh, in all human probability, would never have taken place. I find, also, in No. 243, at page 176, a curious instance of Earl Granville's singular weakness. The Ambassador to St. Petersburg had taken a very strong line on the 16th of March, and this is what Sir Edward Thornton says—

"I called upon M. de Giers, on the afternoon of the 14th instant, and mentioned to His Excellency the rumour which I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my telegram of the 13th instant. He expressed great surprise at this rumour, said that, of course, no such telegram could have reached St. Petersburg without his having heard of it, and assured me there could be no foundation for it. I expressed my satisfaction at this assurance, and pointed out to him that, in my opinion, any such incident as an attack upon Penjdeh would put an end to any possibility of negotiations between the two countries, and might lead to the most disastrous consequences."—[*Ibid.*, p. 176.]

Here you have Her Majesty's Ambassador acting absolutely on his own responsibility. He did this without orders from Earl Granville. He had no instruction whatever; and is it not curious that, although with regard to the action of our Ambassador, wherever it is described in these despatches, there is shortly afterwards another despatch saying that the action of our Representative is approved—it will scarcely be believed that this is the only instance where there is no despatch in this Blue Book from Earl Granville to Sir Edward Thornton expressing an approval of what the Ambassador had done? It is the only time there was an approach towards anything like an Ultimatum to Russia, and it is made on the authority of the Ambassador himself without instructions from his Government, and it is the only one act of the Ambassador at St. Petersburg which is not approved by Earl Granville. So much for that matter. My contention is that the Government is mainly responsible for the conflict in Penjdeh, which was attended with the rout and slaughter of their Allies. It was in their power, long before that conflict took place, to have prevented it. I pass to another point; it helps in laying the foundation for a debate which probably will come off sooner or later. I wish to come to the suggestions of the Prime Minister with regard to the discoveries which we should make when we

got certain Papers in our hands. There has been no precedent, so far as I can find, and I doubt whether the Prime Minister can instance one, for a Minister of the Crown making use of Papers not produced, as the Prime Minister did, on Monday last. He said—"When you get the Papers, suppose you find so and so." In all my experience I know of no such precedent. He said—"Suppose you find the Ameer does not care about Penjdeh, about which you are so anxious." But after the Prime Minister has made that statement, seeing that the Papers do not bear it out, I should certainly like to press for further information bearing on that point. I am inclined to doubt the possibility of the Ameer being in the frame of mind in which the Prime Minister suggested that he was. What are the facts of the matter? We find the Ameer's troops advanced to Penjdeh in June last. He reinforced his troops when the Russians came nearer, and he thought they were going to be attacked. The Russians still advanced, and eventually the Afghan troops, acting under the Ameer's orders, risked a battle with the Russians in which they were defeated with great loss. Is that the action of a man who does not care about Penjdeh? The action of the Ameer from June, 1884, to March, 1885, has been constantly to protect and guard Penjdeh, and yet the Prime Minister suggests that the Ameer did not care about Penjdeh. But there is something in this Blue Book which casts the greatest doubt on the suggestion of the Prime Minister. The Committee will find, in the early part of the Blue Book, a despatch from Sir Peter Lumsden to Earl Granville, stating that the Ameer had written to him protesting strongly against the continued occupation of Pul-i-Khatun by Russian troops. On page 122 there is a remarkable despatch from Sir Peter Lumsden, inclosing a letter from the Ameer, to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee. I will not read the whole of the letter, but merely part of it. The Ameer, wrote to Sir Peter Lumsden in the most friendly manner, in answer to another letter sent by Sir Peter Lumsden to himself. He says—

"I hope that you will with great courage and valour negotiate with the Russian Agents regarding the disputed frontier line, and that you may rest assured that they have not in hand a dot in writing from me at any time which may be a pretext to enable them to enter and take possession of the Afghan land. I am so firm in resisting for my rights, that if the Russian Agents should wish to take a piece or fragment from the ruins of the Afghanistan frontier, it will be impossible for them to do so as long as the Afghans have strength and power to resist."—[*Ibid.*, 122.]

That was the Ameer's frame of mind with regard to all the positions held by the Afghan troops on the 31st of October last; and bearing in mind the action taken by his troops long after that, and the battle they fought in defence of Penjdeh, unless the deliberate statement of the Prime Minister is supported by Papers laid on the Table, I do not think the country will readily give its consent to the theory that the Ameer did not particularly care about Penjdeh. But with regard to Penjdeh itself, even if the Ameer were inclined to give it up to Russia, the Committee must be aware that the Government are flying in the face of the deliberate opinions of Sir Peter Lumsden, Colonel Stewart, and Colonel Ridgeway, and every single officer of experience who is able to give reliable information, and the Committee will find most important documents in this Book bearing on the value of Penjdeh. A high authority, yesterday, whom I asked whether in his opinion Penjdeh was vital to Afghanistan or not, replied—"All I can tell you is that if the Russians have got Penjdeh they have got the key of Afghanistan." I mention this because I desire to have further information from the Prime Minister as to the state of Penjdeh. I want to press the Prime Minister to give some assurance whether, in the negotiations, Her Majesty's Government have or have not ceded Penjdeh to Russia? I think it is a fair question to put to the Government. There are several other questions I should like to address to the Government; but I fear I have detained the Committee too long. There are other Members who will also have questions to ask, and I will therefore content myself with these. In order to put some pressure on the Government to answer this inquiry I will move to reduce the Vote by the sum not of £2,000,000, which I gave Notice of, but of £1,000,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further sum, not exceeding £1,260,500, be granted to Her Majesty, on

account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the Vote before the Committee, I must tell the noble Lord that we cannot possibly accede to his Motion. In framing this Vote, we have adopted what I believe is the usual course fixed for the second Vote of Credit which it may be requisite to ask for—namely, six weeks on account. We have endeavoured, in what has passed in the course of the Session, to do all we could for the purpose of getting on with Supply, and that is all that is usually expected, or that can be equitably expected from the Government in connection with the arrangement of Parliamentary Business. I believe that the effect will be that the sum asked for six weeks would really last four or five weeks. The state of things in which we stand is really this. The House of Commons will meet afresh, I believe, on the 4th of June, and it will then meet with the finances of the year settled, with legislative Business of urgency and importance to carry forward, especially that which relates to the Crofters' Bill, and with the possibility that reasonable claims may be made to proceed on some day or days with a discussion of our policy. Under these circumstances, it is impossible for us to agree to a reduction such as that proposed by the noble Lord, whether he proposes to reduce the Vote by £2,000,000 or £1,000,000. The noble Lord has taken a course to-day which I believe to be entirely unusual, and, without any Notice of his intention to raise a debate upon the contents of a Blue Book of great importance, he has made his own comments upon that Blue Book. I do not complain in the least of the noble Lord so doing. There is no limit to the right of Gentlemen to introduce subjects with Notice or without Notice; but the noble Lord's position and mine are rather different. My mind is occupied from day to day with a succession of questions of public interest, of difficulty and moment. It is impossible for me to enter into the details of a Blue Book, so as to be able to pretend to give the Committee any satisfactory information with regard to it, unless I had the opportunity of carefully examining that Blue Book beforehand. I shall, therefore, be very limited in my replies to the noble Lord. I observe the noble Lord proceeds in this form. He states that all he has said is in the nature of inquiry. I do not know whether it is in the nature of inquiry, but it was in the nature also of the broadest measure of condemnation, when the noble Lord took it upon him to state that Her Majesty's Government were responsible for the action at Penjdeh, which, he said, they might have prevented. He did not point out in what way they might have prevented that action. [LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Yes.] I entirely failed to hear of that in the speech of the noble Lord. I was obliged to spend my time in turning over page after page of the Blue Book, as the noble Lord proceeded with his quotations, in order to ascertain what the points were which the noble Lord urged in support of his accusation. Of accusations I have heard plenty, but of suggestions as to what Her Majesty's Government were to do, I did not hear anything from the noble Lord. The position of Her Majesty's Government was one of very great difficulty and delicacy. The one object to which it was their duty almost entirely to confine themselves was, while they were preparing for the ultimate nogotiations as to the Frontier, to take the best measures they could both with Sir Peter Lumsden on the spot, and likewise at St. Petersburg, to prevent a collision. They did take those measures with incessant care from day to day, and I do not believe that the noble Lord will be able to show that anything has been done or anything omitted which could possibly have that result. The noble Lord, in another part of his speech, said it was impossible to suppose that the Ameer of Afghanistan can have been indifferent about the retention of Penjdeh, because his troops fought for it. The noble Lord spoke as if the Ameer had been on the spot, and had the power of considering from day to day what the troops were doing at a great distance, and with difficult means of communication.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg the Prime Minister's pardon. Does not the right hon. Gentleman direct the troops in the Soudan? What is the difference?

MR. GLADSTONE: The difference is this. In the first place, it is not true

without qualification that we do direct the troops in the Soudan. It is not true without qualification that we direct the details of the military movements. ["Oh!"] I must say I am astonished at the ignorance which is shown by Gentlemen opposite as to the details of military affairs. It is also true that Her Majesty's Government have the greatest confidence in their military officers in the Soudan, and that they can trust and rely on the character and proceedings of the British Generals and British troops; but, at the same time, they do exercise a control over them, and they do exercise a control over them which it is impossible for them to exercise over the troops of the Ameer. Does the noble Lord perceive that difference?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.

MR. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord does not perceive that at all. He thinks we have just the same power of controlling the troops of the Ameer as our own.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No. What I said was that the Ameer had the same control over his own troops as Her Majesty's Government have over the British troops in the Soudan.

MR. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord is flying from the point. [*Opposition cries of* "No!"] Well, Sir, the clamour which has become usual on that side of the House is, unhappily, establishing new Rules for the conduct of Business, which will have the effect, I am afraid, of establishing not only new Rules, but forming new impediments to the progress of Business at a time when I am no longer here either to profit or to suffer from these altered methods of procedure. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) does not seem to understand that there was a different point raised by the noble Lord. The noble Lord raised two points—one with regard to the Ameer, and the other with regard to our control over the troops in the Soudan. He chose to establish that comparison, and it was my duty to point out the difference between those points. I was pointing out the difference—[*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Order!"] I must say that some of the Gentlemen who interrupt me should either alter their modes of proceeding, or suggest a method by which hereafter the debates of this House are to be carried on. It is hardly possible, I am afraid, under present circumstances, to do justice or to pay proper respect to the House, and preserve the proper and necessary continuity of my remarks, if conduct so extraordinary, so unparalleled—[SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No.] Yes; I must tell the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire that it is unparalleled. I am sorry that he should give it encouragement.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: If the right hon. Gentleman will allow me, I should like to say that I was extremely sorry at the interruptions; but what I endeavoured to express a negative view upon was the statement that they had been unparalleled. I have heard interruptions of the same kind ever since I have been in the House.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not heard such interruptions; but I accept thankfully the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that he regretted the interruptions on the present occasion, and I withdraw my criticism upon what I thought to be the sentiment that he entertained. Coming back to the point under consideration, I said that there was a great deal of difference between the control which Her Majesty's Government exercised over their own troops and their own forces and the control which they could exercise over the forces of the Ameer. I say does the noble Lord admit that difference? I understood him to say that he does not admit it.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.

MR. GLADSTONE: The noble Lord does not admit that difference?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have no desire to interrupt the Prime Minister; but the right hon. Gentleman has really mis-stated my case altogether. I said that if the Ameer did not care about Penjdeh he would not have allowed his troops to fight for it; and then I said that the control of the Ameer over his troops was as great as that of Her Majesty's Government over the forces in the Soudan.

MR. GLADSTONE: That was not my point. The point which I was discussing at that moment was not the control of the Ameer over his troops, but the control of the British Government over the Ameer's troops. I was pressing upon the Committee that the position of the British Government was

most peculiar, inasmuch as they had responsibility for a Frontier defended by troops over which they had not the usual, or any complete military control. Have I made that point clear as far as the noble Lord and the Committee are concerned? Then the noble Lord says that the Ameer had as complete control over his troops as the British Government had over the forces in the Soudan. I entirely differ from that proposition. I entirely deny it. In the first place, the control of this Government is not required to the same extent, and it can be conveyed by telegraph in the shortest possible time. The Ameer, on the contrary, is at a distance, and was at this period at a distance of I know not how many days, with no telegraph, with no rapid means of communication, and with the greatest difficulties in regard to the nature of the country to contend with. Therefore, my position, in answer to the noble Lord, is that you cannot infer that because the Ameer's troops, in the exercise of their duty, as they supposed, defended a particular point, the Ameer was a party to their defending that point at that time. Still less can you infer that the Ameer attached, or did not attach, any importance to the permanent retention of that point. The noble Lord says that his speech is one in the nature of an inquiry. As to the painful subject upon which I just touched, I assure hon. Gentlemen that if I take notice of these interruptions it is not really on my own account. They matter very little to a person whose future intervention in political conflicts is much more likely to be measured by weeks than by months, and certainly by months than by years. It is because of the deep conviction I have that a great blow has been struck at the liberties and the dignity of this House by the modes of proceeding which have within the last few years—the last very few years, speaking with great respect for the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach)—been introduced into its debates. The noble Lord says that his speech is in the nature of an inquiry; but his inquiry did not prevent him from declaring his conviction that Her Majesty's Government are responsible for the conflict at Penjdeh. When we come to a deliberate debate, it will be found that Her Majesty's Government have given every support that they could to their Agents on the spot, to Sir Peter Lumsden, and at St. Petersburg; and the question how the agreement of the 16th of March failed to be fulfilled and how bloodshed resulted will be submitted to a high and impartial authority. The noble Lord referred to what he calls "my unusual course" in speaking of the possible contents of the Papers on the views of the Ameer regarding Penjdeh. A variety of matters connected with the Central Asian Question had been stated; and all I said was, "What defence will you have if, when the Papers are published, you find that you were wrong in this or that particular?" The noble Lord says that was an unusual proceeding; but it was a proceeding drawn forth by a proceeding still more unusual, for the general practice of this House is that when great questions of policy are depending to wait for the production of the Papers, and when the Papers have been produced, then to have a discussion upon them. It was my duty to warn hon. Gentlemen opposite of the dangerous ground upon which they were entering, and I believe the warning I then gave has been proved to have been needed. The noble Lord now says that he finds reason to doubt whether my warning was justified. I say that it was justified. I am not entitled to quote Papers which are not before the House, and I am not entitled, therefore, to state what specific expressions formed the grounds on which I proceeded; but it would have been extremely wrong on my part to say as much as I did if I had not been in possession of information which warranted my statement. The noble Lord will find that the inferences he has drawn are perfectly baseless. The Ameer says, in the passage which the noble Lord quoted last, that the Afghan troops would fight for every part of Afghanistan. Undoubtedly; the Afghans are a brave people, and they would fight, and have fought, for everything they believed to belong to the territory of their master, or any territory held in the name of their Sovereign. In the letter of the Ameer there is no reference whatever to Penjdeh. There is no reference to any territory in particular; but there is a statement which speaks of Afghan land, and of a determination to hold it. The noble Lord has entered upon another question in

regard to which I perfectly admit he is entitled to an explanation from me, though it is impossible for me to give that explanation at the present time. The noble Lord thinks that I made on the 13th of March a statement which is not justified by the facts, and the questions which are raised are these. First of all, whether what I stated was accurate with respect to the substance of the communications that had passed between the two Governments? Now, Sir, that question I must reserve, for it is totally impossible, I am afraid, for me to recollect what I said on that occasion or on subsequent occasions. But the noble Lord has quoted the description of what I said given in a despatch from the Foreign Office, which he was perfectly justified in quoting. I quite admit the legitimacy of that proceeding; but I must take the liberty to ascertain, as exactly as I can, what was said, in order that I may be able to state to the Committee whether I recited with perfect accuracy the state of the communications between the two Governments. But there is one point which the noble Lord does not seem to understand. He appears to think that because I stated that there was a concurrence of view between the two Governments on certain matters, therefore it was wrong for the Foreign Office to refer to St. Petersburg, and to endeavour to obtain an authentic declaration upon that matter from the Russian Government itself. There the noble Lord will, perhaps, allow me to say he is mistaken; for the basis upon which I proceeded was this. Certain negotiations were going on, and communications had been received from Sir Edward Thornton. I had no right to hold the Russian Government bound by these communications; but I had a right to believe that a concurrence of opinion had been arrived at, and I had a right to recite the fact, because I believed it to be true, that a concurrence of opinion had been arrived at. I had no right to assume that the Report of a British Ambassador to his Government was a document binding upon the Russian Government. Consequently it was perfectly regular, and, as I think, very prudent, to make a reference to St. Petersburg at once, for the purpose of removing any doubt upon the subject, and of obtaining that which could be relied upon as the actual utterance of the Russian Government. And, Sir, I am happy to observe that there does not seem to be any great discrepancy in this matter. The Committee is aware of all the recent information we have received. The Committee knows that from day to day we endeavoured to tell exactly what had happened, after the alarming news which came from the Frontier. Long before that we endeavoured to give to the House all the information which reached us. We were engaged in endeavouring to obviate the risk of a conflict on the Frontier. We had no reason to believe that the question we were negotiating was one of hopeless difficulty; but we had reason to believe that an armed collision would tend very greatly to complicate the question, and we were therefore anxious, in the first place, to obtain from the Russian Government an assurance that there would be no advance of her troops. That would have obviated all risk. Secondly, in order to allay excitement in this and in other countries we desired to make known what the position of the question was. On the 13th of March I made the statement which the noble Lord impugns. And whether that statement was or was not accurate at that time, in regard to it at present I make no assumption. But, having been reported at St. Petersburg, it was accepted there with an addition, which was immediately stated to the House. The main object, that there was to be no advance, was attained; and if there was a question of advancing beyond the positions occupied, or of advancing beyond a certain line, at any rate it could not have acted upon the minds of hon. Members for more than a very few days. The noble Lord understood that which I think is clear to the Committee, that when our Ambassador at St. Petersburg had recited to us his conversation with the Foreign Minister, it was our duty to endeavour to obtain the substance of that interview in an absolutely authentic form. The noble Lord has alluded to a sacred covenant, and he appears to think that what I referred to on the 13th of March was the "sacred covenant." It was nothing of the kind. It was to this matter, and not to my statement of the 13th of March, that I applied the term "sacred covenant," and in my opinion that was a just and proper description of a covenant, a failure to keep which

involved the loss of hundreds of lives, and shook the whole civilized world with the apprehensions of war. A covenant of such a description well deserved to be described by me as a sacred covenant. But that is not what I spoke of on the 13th of March. That was a preliminary statement subject to verification. The verification was obtained from the Russian Government, with an addition which we thought it wise at the time to accept, but which has since been described, and truly described, as a material addition. The Russian Government, with that addition, accepted the terms we had used. That I say was the sacred covenant, but it was not the language I had used on the 13th of March. On the present occasion I can go no further. I will endeavour to examine and see how far I am responsible for the accusation which the noble Lord has brought against me, and whether I have been guilty of some slight inaccuracy in my communications to the House. At present I am not in a position to affirm or deny; but as soon as I can I will take care to ascertain the exact position of the facts, and to put them in the possession of the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir Arthur Otway, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has not only challenged the proceedings of my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) for raising these questions now, but he has also blamed us for raising a discussion on this subject before we were in possession of Papers. Last week, when on the occasion of the Report of the Vote for £11,000,000 we had a most legitimate opportunity for calling attention to the subject, and were proceeding to inquire into the facts that had led to that Vote, we were told to wait until we had the Papers in our hands, which it was said would throw light upon the negotiations, and we were further told that if we went on without those Papers we should be liable to go entirely wrong. We were likewise informed that when we examined the Papers we might find that we were altogether in error in regard to Penjdeh, because it might be found that the Ameer did not attach any importance to the possession of that place. What is our position now? When we come to look into the Papers we find that they contain very inadequate information on many important points. We find that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister challenges even statements made on the strength of those Papers, because there are other Papers which have not been presented; and he not obscurely intimates on one particular point on which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock questioned him that there was something very important still to come forward with regard to it in Papers that would be laid upon the Table of the House. The noble Lord asked—"What is your authority for saying, or intimating, or giving the House to suppose that when we see these Papers we might find that the Ameer does not attach any importance to the possession of Penjdeh?" The noble Lord, at the same time, referred to the letter of the Ameer, written at the time of the appointment of Sir Peter Lumsden, in which the Ameer said—

"I hope that you [Sir Peter Lumsden] will with great courage and valour negotiate with the Russian Agents regarding the disputed frontier line, and that you may rest assured that they [the Russians] have not in hand a dot in writing from me at any time which may be a pretext to enable them to enter and take possession of the Afghan land. I am so firm in resisting for my rights, that if the Russian Agents should wish to take a piece or fragment from the ruins of the Afghanistan frontier, it will be impossible for them to do so as long as the Afghans have strength and power to resist."—[Central Asia, No. 2 (1885), p. 122.]

Those were the views of the Ameer, and, Sir, Her Majesty's Government seem to have understood the matter in the same light. If we turn to page 163 of the Blue Book, we find that Earl Granville, writing to Sir Peter Lumsden on the 3rd of March, 1885, said that Her Majesty's Government could not advise the Afghans to attack the Russian troops in order to dislodge them from the positions they then occupied; but that Her Majesty's Government considered that the further advance of the Russians should, subject to military considerations, be resisted by the Afghans. Thus you had before you the impression formed and expressed by the Ameer with regard to the Frontier of Afghanistan, and you have endorsed a gloss upon it by the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government. But you cast imputations upon the Ameer and say—"Suppose when you have the Papers you find that the Ameer does

not care for Penjdeh?" The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister intimates still that there is matter in the other Papers not yet presented which may change the whole situation. Then, Sir, I ask when are we to discuss this question? All that we can obtain from Her Majesty's Government is that we are to wait for Papers; that they are not ready yet; that they are coming in a week or so, and that when we do get them we shall, perhaps, find that they alter the whole state of affairs. Then, with regard to another observation of the noble Lord, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister says—"What do you mean by this? You charge us with being responsible for the slaughter which has taken place and the destruction which has fallen upon the Afghans. How do you show that? The noble Lord makes no attempt to prove so grave an assertion." But it seems to me that the noble Lord did make the attempt. I do not pretend to say what the right hon. Gentleman's exact words were; but, in point of fact, he did take exception to the noble Lord's not having, as he said, proved the statement which he made that Her Majesty's Government were responsible for what had taken place. The right hon. Gentleman asked how the Government were to have prevented it? The noble Lord expressly dwelt upon the point, and said that it was to have been done not by sending troops to Penjdeh, not by encouraging Sir Peter Lumsden to expect support from Her Majesty's Government, or by sending him absolutely useless telegrams, but by putting pressure on the Russian Government at headquarters—at St. Petersburg. That was a reasonable view which might very well be put forward and urged, and I think the noble Lord pressed that view in a very powerful manner, and that he had shown it was in that way that assistance should have been given. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has also dwelt upon that passage in the speech of the noble Lord, in which he referred to the assurance given to the House on the 13th of March last that an agreement had been come to of a certain character, which agreement, when we came to see the Papers, we ascertained had not been made. The right hon. Gentleman said that was a matter of explanation, and he gave us the best explanation that we have been able to obtain—namely, that there was a qualification in the words; and it will be recollected that we mentioned at the time to the House that there was such qualification, and that it created a certain sensation when it became known. But what we want to point out is, that in these important matters, when we are relying on the statements of Ministers, we are anxious to know how far we can rely upon the statements they make, and that if we find that those statements, made in an authoritative manner, are not after all supported by the despatches, it leads to this result—that our confidence is shaken in all that has been said by Ministers with regard to this matter. It is entirely within the right and province of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, or any Member of this House, to put interrogatories to Her Majesty's Government for the purpose of ascertaining precisely the position in which do stand, and to obtain some explanation of things which on the face of the Papers are of great importance to the nation. The matter is one of such importance that I do not think the Committee is at all to blame for exercising thereon a considerable amount of curiosity, and I cannot think that a short discussion upon it now does in any way prejudice the question between this country and Russia.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that the plea put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister with regard to the agreement with the Russian Government might justly be described as factitious, because he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) believed that that plea had been invented or revised by the right hon. Gentleman under the influence of those subterranean diplomatic agencies which had been so long rife in the country. At all events, they knew that the agreement had altogether failed. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that he was justified in describing the arrangement as a binding and sacred covenant; but he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) held that anyone who studied the Papers would see that if the Prime Minister was not justified in doing so on the 13th of March, much less was he justified in describing it as a binding agreement on the 27th of April. So far from that being the case, the Russian Government had added a reservation as to the disturbance at Penjdeh which made it utterly valueless. No-

thing, then, could justify the Prime Minister in speaking of the arrangement as a binding agreement. He now wished to call the attention of the Committee to what had taken place last week. On Monday or Tuesday last, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister came down to the House with another important statement with regard to the Russian Government. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the Earl of Kimberley and M. de Staal had agreed upon a new Frontier line, and he led the House to hope that they had arrived at a settlement of the boundary between Afghanistan and the Russian Dominions. But said the right hon. Gentleman—"it is sent to St. Petersburg to be ratified." What had occurred since? Why, it was the old thing over again—the right hon. Gentleman came down three days afterwards and said he was mistaken in reference to that agreement. Now, he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) asserted that they had a right to know, and without delay, what was that new Frontier which the Russian Ambassador had accepted. They had a right to know, because by the withholding of information the country had undoubtedly drifted into a position in which a surrender of all that we had hitherto claimed was almost inevitable, and further surrenders might take place while the country and the Opposition were endeavouring to obtain information from Her Majesty's Government with regard to the actual position of the Afghan Frontier question. What was the Frontier line that had been agreed upon? Was it arranged that Penjdeh or Akrobat should be given up to Russia? He could tell Her Majesty's Government that if they would be frank and state to the country the line of Frontier that had been agreed upon, they would receive far more strength than weakness thereby. If the contents of the Blue Book which he held in his hand had been published before Easter, he believed that the Russian Government would not have dared to make the attempts to advance which they had made since that time. Her Majesty's Government assumed that they were making peace certain by an abject surrender; but he ventured to tell them that they were making war certain, and that probably within a short space of time. They were destroying the belief of the Afghans in the power and determination of Great Britain, and they were encouraging the Russian Government to continue to seek successes, by the very policy to which might be traced the breach of all covenants and previous agreements in respect of Afghanistan. The House were told that the Ameer did not care for Penjdeh. There could be no doubt whatever that that place constituted a most important position. He did not know whether or not the Ameer was a great strategist; he did not know that the Ameer had ever been to Penjdeh; but he did know that the leading strategists in India and in this country regarded Penjdeh as a point of vital importance to the defence of Afghanistan. And how did Her Majesty's Government regard it? They had urged the Afghans to keep Penjdeh; they approved of their occupying that position and strengthening themselves there; they had advised the Afghans not to yield Penjdeh to Komaroff's threats. He would like to know how Her Majesty's Government could come down to the House of Commons and confess, under those circumstances, that they had surrendered Penjdeh to Russia? He did not suppose that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was not very well acquainted with the contents of the Blue Book; but he wanted to point out that as long ago as March last Her Majesty's Government were clearly informed in one of the despatches that Penjdeh had formed part of Afghanistan ever since Afghanistan became a Kingdom, and that, as one of the Dependencies under the rule of Shere Ali, the tribes there paid tribute to the Ruler of Afghanistan. That was not his opinion, nor the opinion of the Ameer; but it was the solemn and deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Ministers in March last. Hon. Gentlemen on those Benches wanted to know what were the reasons of Her Majesty's Government for abandoning Penjdeh to Russia? What had happened since the Prime Minister, on Monday or Tuesday last, stated with regard to the disputed Frontier that a line had been agreed upon? Why, one of the most striking events, at any rate, which had happened had shown the people of England how little the Russian Government cared for the Government of Great Britain, and how little it was desirous of preserving a good feeling between themselves and the British

Government. The Czar had conferred the highest honours in his power upon the unprovoked aggressor of Penjdeh; he had written him an autograph letter, thanking him for his conduct in Afghanistan, which was conveyed to him at Pul-i-Khisti, and he was also presented with a jewelled sword. And, further, all the time that had been going on fresh attempts were being made on the Frontier, which the House were led to believe had been settled last Monday. Sir Peter Lumsden had been recalled from the position to which Her Majesty's Government had sent him; our *prestige* in the East was being rapidly destroyed, and the recall of that distinguished officer, as contrasted with the honours which had been conferred on General Komaroff, would, of course, be taken as a sign of weakness alike in Europe and in Asia. He would ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to the way in which the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in this matter was regarded in Foreign States and in India amongst our subjects there. Notwithstanding the ease with which the Prime Minister was accustomed to dispose of the opinions of the Foreign Press and the leading organs of Europe, he could tell him that those opinions were far more nearly akin to the real sentiments of the people of this country and the view which would be taken of this matter in future history than the opinions of those organs in England that supported the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The number of these was, he felt bound to say, sufficiently scarce at the present time. One of the leading Russian organs said that the British Government had solemnly renounced its unreasonable pretensions, and bowed to the strong will of Russia, in consenting to accept the Russian programme for the arrangement of affairs in Central Asia, and that it was enough to make the shadow of concession to England in order to give her the means of escaping from the dangerous dilemma in which she was placed. That was describing, in language which could not be exceeded, the surrender of the Government of Great Britain. But he would also refer to the opinion of one of the leading journals of India, which more nearly concerned them than the opinions of the Russian Press. *The Hindoo Patriot* said that the Russian Government was carrying things entirely in their own way; that the people of India were witnesses of England's humiliation; that their regret knew no bounds, and that, as people loyal and faithful to the Crown, they felt covered with shame and degradation. That was the language of a very influential organ which circulated largely amongst our fellow-subjects in India. He repeated that they had a right to demand from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister a statement which would give the House a clear idea of this new Frontier line. They wished to know to what extent Her Majesty's Government had thus far consented to surrender to Russia in order that they might strengthen their hands, enable them to show a little determination, and, if possible, to obviate further surrender in the future. The House at that time knew pretty well what form the demands of Russia were likely to assume—they knew that the discovery had been made by Russia that the Sarikh Turkomans wanted pasture land further South than Penjdeh; they knew, also, that further insidious advances were being made Eastward; and he said that they had a right, in view of the surrenders which the Blue Book foreshadowed, and which would no doubt increase, to demand from Her Majesty's Government a clear definition of the boundary line on which Earl Granville, the Earl of Kimberley, and M. de Staal had agreed upon between themselves. The Blue Book published a few mornings ago made some very extraordinary disclosures; it showed, in the first place, that Her Majesty's Government had no excuse whatever for self-deception in this matter. The Russian demand was set forth with the greatest clearness in the despatch of M. de Giers of the 3rd of October, in which the Russian Foreign Minister demanded a Frontier extending as far down as the Paropamisus Hills. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) ventured to say that if the people of this country had at the time found that the Russian Government demanded that the Frontier should be extended as far South as that range, the Government would have had considerably more strength in their negotiations with Russia than had been the case. It was shown that there had never been any intention on the part of the Rus-

sian Government to send a Boundary Commissioner to the Frontiers of Afghanistan earlier than the month of February or the month of March. The Memorandum relating to the Frontier contained an extraordinary clause, which he had ventured to read to the House on the occasion of his having put a Question to the First Lord of the Treasury, to the effect that the Russians would only accept that extreme Southern boundary as far as the Paropamisus Hills, on condition that the Afghans would not fortify that Frontier in such a way as should be a menace to the neighbouring population. The Committee would know very well what that meant—it meant that the Ameer should not fortify his Frontier at all; the Russian Government would say that any fortification of the Hills was a menace to the Sarikhs or the Turkomans, of whom the Russian Government had made so much use. If any hon. Gentleman had any belief in the honour and in the pacific intentions of the Russian Government, he recommended them to read this Blue Book very carefully, because he did not think that the contents of any Blue Book ever laid on the Table of House made greater revelations to Parliament than this; and he had no doubt whatever that it had been very considerably expurgated. He did not altogether join with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) in his critical, and, he was bound to say, very effective, denunciation of the conduct of Earl Granville in this matter. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) was not a great admirer of that noble Earl in his foreign policy, and he had little doubt that there were some Ministers on the Treasury Bench who would not be altogether sorry to see Earl Granville overthrown; but, with regard to the despatches from which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had quoted, he did not think that there was much fault to be found with Earl Granville in that case, because the weakness had, in his opinion, been far more in the Cabinet than with Earl Granville. He believed the weakness rested far more with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who always advocated a policy of scuttling, than with the noble Earl; and he thought it was juster to lay the blame where it ought properly to be placed than upon a Minister whose probable failure was his misfortune rather than his fault. There were traces in the Papers that Earl Granville, although he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) was at that moment in a position to lay his finger upon them, did appreciate the seriousness of the crisis, and did write a despatch which, if followed up, would have had a salutary effect. But the noble Earl had always been pulled up by that mysterious agency behind him, and the divided councils of the Cabinet, arising from the influence of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, no doubt, but particularly from that of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who, as he had said, was always the advocate in that House of the policy of "scuttle." There were facts stated in those Papers which proved that Earl Granville was early in the day alive to the real meaning of the Russian advance. Lord Granville wrote for an explanation to M. de Giers, and in rather an ingenious way, for he did not say that Her Majesty's Government took the view; but he said that if the Russian Government did not withdraw their Force, and did not prohibit General Komaroff to advance, Her Majesty's Government would find it very difficult to make the Indian Government refrain from taking proceedings. He could not give the exact words of the despatch to which he was referring; but he believed that he had fairly paraphrased it; and it showed that the Indian Government, at all events, were alive to the danger which the progress of Russia on the Frontier of Afghanistan involved. He regretted the more that he could not at the moment give the number of the despatch, because it went to the noble Earl's credit. Well, then, he believed that the weakness displayed by the Government had arisen mainly from the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, and not so much from the action of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. As he had said, there were evidences in the Blue Book that the noble Earl had seen the danger of the situation, although there was no doubt he had been pulled back by the action of the Cabinet. He did not wish to detain the Committee on this subject further

than to say that the Blue Books were full of important and suggestive matter, which illustrated the truth of the remarkable prophecy or statement of Viscount Palmerston with regard to the action of Russia, and to which he would particularly call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. Viscount Palmerston said that the policy of Russia was to push her encroachments as fast and as far as the want of firmness on the part of other nations would allow her to go. That was exactly what had been done by Russia on the Afghan Frontier. While the Russian Government had been putting off Her Majesty's Government and allaying apprehension by smooth language at home, the Russian officers had instructions to push on and seize everything they could; and there could be no doubt that they were so instructed from St. Petersburg; because the answer of General Komaroff to the British officer was that he was acting under Royal orders; that his orders were to advance to Pul-i-Khisti; and the General appealed to our officer and said—"You also are officers of a Sovereign, and you know that orders must be obeyed;" and if further proof were needed that the instructions of the Russian General were sent from St. Petersburg it would be found in the fact that the Czar himself had conferred the highest decoration on General Komaroff and upon his aide-de-camp, and written the former an autograph letter endorsing all that had been done. On the 24th of October last Earl Granville, writing to Sir Edward Thornton, said—

"I mentioned, however, the delays which were at present occurring, and the difficulties which were made in regard to the date and place of meeting of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and which I thought were very unfortunate. These difficulties were almost certain to be considered by the Government of India as being purposely created by the Russian Government, with the object of postponing the operations of the Commission until the Russian authorities on the spot had had time to arrange matters in the manner they thought most favourable to their views."—[Central Asia No. 2 (1885), p. 95.]

That was a pretty plain hint that even Earl Granville saw what the real meaning of the Russian action was, and yet the Government kept back all information from the House. He suspected that when they came to examine some of the statements which had been made by Ministers in the House in answer to Questions, and in debate with regard to the different advances of the Russians, they would find very grave discrepancies between them and the statements made in the Blue Book. What were the facts with regard to the Afghan Frontier? Last July the Boundary Commission was agreed to. The Commissioners were to meet in October, and our Commissioner was ready on the spot early in November. The Russian Commissioner had not yet appeared upon the scene, but the Russian Forces had advanced. The next point of interest was the demand of Her Majesty's Government for the withdrawal of the Russian Forces. That was the only piece of real firmness the Government had displayed; but that was allowed to lapse. What was the reply of the Russian Government to the demand for the withdrawal of its Forces? Why, it was another leap forward of from 40 to 60 miles all along the Frontier, coming close to Zulfikar and Akrobat and up to the bridge at Pul-i-Khisti. Then came the famous agreement of the 13th of March, an agreement which seemed to have been entirely devised—he would not say invented—by the Prime Minister out of his inner conscience. The right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues were so astonished to hear of the agreement that they insisted upon a telegram being sent to St. Petersburg to ascertain whether it was correct. Then came back the halting ratification or approval from M. de Giers, that the Russians would not advance unless some extraordinary circumstance occurred. That was the modification which enabled the Prime Minister to inform Parliament that the agreement was no longer a fallacious agreement or arrangement, but a solemn and binding covenant. That was the burden of the Prime Minister's argument that night. The right hon. Gentleman had said that night that on the 13th of March there was an agreement, that he telegraphed to know whether the Russian Government sanctioned the agreement, and on the 17th of March he received the answer that Russia did sanction it plus this extraordinary reservation. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) maintained that, so far from turning the agreement or arrangement of the 13th of March into a "binding and solemn

covenant," the reply of M. de Giers made the agreement absolutely worthless, and that was the view which the St. Petersburg Press and Government took of the reply of M. de Giers. But when the Prime Minister made his bellicose speech of the 22nd of April in order to carry the Vote of £11,000,000, he, with all the flowers of oratory, developed the fallacious agreement or arrangement of the 13th of March into one of the most solemn and binding covenants ever made between two nations. In this case, unfortunately for Her Majesty's Government, the Russians were less open to the charge of perfidy than usual. They hinted pretty clearly all through that they meant to get up a disturbance at Penjdeh, and therefore everyone was prepared for that disturbance. What was the object of that disturbance? It was to obtain a strategical position of great value, to terrify the Afghans and destroy our repute amongst those people, and to establish amongst our Allies throughout Central Asia a belief in the Czar's irresistible might. That object the Russians fully attained. Now, the statement of the Prime Minister with regard to the Frontier line bade fair to be as fallacious as that with regard to the agreement. The Frontier line said to have been agreed upon last Monday had not yet been agreed upon, and Parliament did not know that it ever would be agreed upon. A case for fuller information had been made out. The House had the right to demand, not only that the new Blue Book should be published at once, but that Her Majesty's Government should inform the country just how much they were now prepared to surrender, and whether their surrender included Zulfikar, Penjdeh, and the other places which it was known that the Russian Government were trying to obtain.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that when he referred to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), he stated that the noble Lord did not suggest what the Government ought to have done in the event of any armed collision. He now was given to understand that the noble Lord did point out what the Government ought to have done, and that was to declare that any advance of the Russian Forces would be a *casus belli*. If the noble Lord said that, undoubtedly his (Mr. Gladstone's) remarks were not warranted.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he did not point out what the Government ought to have done, but he ventured to indicate the course that might have been adopted under certain circumstances. He wished now, as there was to be no division, and as the Government were not inclined to give way, to ask leave to withdraw the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Motion be, by leave, withdrawn."

MR. ONSLOW said, he should like to take that opportunity, the first he had had since the Blue Book was published, of bearing his testimony to the admirable way in which Sir Peter Lumsden had done his work. He should have thought that after the rewards which had been given to General Komaroff the Prime Minister would have felt it incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of acknowledging to the House and the country the admirable manner in which Sir Peter Lumsden had performed his work, and of giving expression to the confidence which the Government had all along had in that gallant officer. It was only due to that officer, who had had to perform a task, perhaps, as difficult as that which any Envoy ever sent from this country had had to discharge, that he should receive some public recognition from Her Majesty's Government, and yet the Prime Minister had not said a word on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well that when Sir Peter Lumsden left this country he left on the clear and distinct understanding that all arrangements had been made for the Russian Envoy to meet him at a certain time, he believed at Sarakhs. What were they to say when a General of Sir Peter Lumden's position, one who was intimate with Afghan affairs, one who was on the best of terms with the Ameer, received no recognition from the First Minister of the Crown? He (Mr. Onslow) should like to know if Sir Peter Lumsden had been recalled at the instigation of Her Majesty's Government, or if he in any way hinted before he was recalled that he was of no use and could not agree with the policy of Her Majesty's Government? Did the intimation come originally from the Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs that Sir Peter Lumsden was no longer required on the Frontier of Afghanistan? There was no doubt whatever that there were many despatches of great importance, which had not found a place in the Blue Book; and, putting two and two together, his own impression was that Sir Peter Lumsden had more than once hinted he could do no more on the borders of Afghanistan. It was not often that officers trained in India had to deal officially with officers representing European Powers; but he (Mr. Onslow) contended that no man could have acted in this matter with greater tact than Sir Peter Lumsden had displayed; he had in every way endeavoured to prevent a conflict between the Afghans and the Russians, and it was no fault of his that he had not succeeded. He (Mr. Onslow) desired to say one or two words about the agreement which the Prime Minister had referred to that night. He was in the House on the 13th of March when the Prime Minister said that an arrangement had been arrived at with the Government of St. Petersburg; and he, in common with everyone else, thought the words of the right hon. Gentleman were most portentous. Just before the House rose on the 13th of March the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was not in the House; but the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) were present, and the Government were asked to explain more fully what the agreement was. His (Mr. Onslow's) impression was that there was not a single Member of the Cabinet who believed there was any agreement arrived at, and that impression was justified by the remarks of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. The noble Marquess, on being pressed to give his opinion, said—

"I was not in the House when the Prime Minister gave his answer to the Question of the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) this evening; but it is now asked of me somewhat to extend the declaration which the right hon. Gentleman made. I feel that I should be taking a great responsibility, affecting not only the Government, but interests far transcending those affecting any Government, if I were to attempt now to extend any answer given by the Prime Minister, the purport of which I am not sufficiently acquainted with."—(3 *Hansard*, [295] 1195-6.)

It struck many hon. Members at the time that the noble Marquess had at least been told what the Prime Minister said earlier in the evening; certainly there were several Members of the Government present who could have told the noble Marquess exactly what the Prime Minister said. Reading between the lines, it appeared to him (Mr. Onslow) that the Prime Minister, when he made use of the word "agreement" and afterwards "arrangement," went too far even for the Members of his Cabinet. He hoped that the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) or some other Member of the Government would now rise in his place and state the opinion of the Government of the way in which Sir Peter Lumsden had done his work, and in that manner somewhat counteract the influence that had been spread abroad by the announcement of the rewards showered upon General Komaroff.

MR. BIGGAR said, the Prime Minister had expressed annoyance at some interruptions which took place, during the course of his speech, in the quarter of the House in which the Irish Members sat. The right hon. Gentleman had said he was very sorry that a blow was being struck at the character of the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman felt stung because he was treated as plenty of other Members had been treated, and were treated nightly. He might say, judging from his experience in the House, extending now over many years, that no Minister who had ever sat on the Treasury Bench had struck greater blows at the character of the House of Commons than the Prime Minister himself. The right hon. Gentleman had been a party to the suspension of certain Members of the House——

THE CHAIRMAN: The remarks of the hon. Gentleman have no relevancy whatever to the Question before the Committee, which is that the Amendment be withdrawn.

MR. BIGGAR said, he objected to the Amendment being withdrawn, and he might be permitted to say that upon the Amendment which was moved by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) the Prime Minister made a remarkably weak speech. On one day the Prime Minister said that an agreement had been entered

into with the Russian Government; but on the very next day a telegram was sent to the Government of St. Petersburg to ascertain whether they would confirm what the Prime Minister had said. In his (Mr. Biggar's) opinion, the right hon. Gentleman ought to have obtained the assent of the Government of St. Petersburg to the agreement before he stated that the agreement existed. The position of the Prime Minister on that point was perfectly untenable, and not only so, but the position of the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly untenable with regard to the allegation or insinuation that the Ameer of Afghanistan did not care for that part of his Dominions in which Penjdeh was situated. That statement or insinuation was entirely upset by what the Ameer wrote—namely, that he would defend every part of his Dominions. In point of fact, what the Government had done was to mislead the Ameer, for they had led him to believe that they would support him and protect him from the attacks of the Russians; but when it came to the point they were not prepared to do so. The Government had simply acted the part of traitors to the interests of the Ameer. It was one thing for the Earl of Dufferin to make a parade of troops, but quite another thing to meet the Russians. At the same time, he (Mr. Biggar) did not believe with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the English Government could, by any pressure they might have brought to bear on the Government of St. Petersburg, have stopped the advance of the Russians. The Russians knew their power, and they knew England's weakness. The great mistake the English had made in dealing with the Ameer was to make him believe they were prepared to do what they had not the power to do. The Ameer had found out the weakness of the British and the cowardice of the English Government; he had come to know the power of the Russians, and the result would be that we should soon find that the Ameer and the Czar were fighting on the same side as the common enemies of England. The Prime Minister said that night that the Government were always willing to give the House information. He wondered the right hon. Gentleman was not ashamed to make such a statement. It was a notorious fact that, night after night, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) and other hon. Members, including the Leader of the Opposition himself (Sir Stafford Northcote), had put Questions to the Prime Minister and the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), with the result that the Questions had been evaded, and no information whatever given. The Prime Minister seemed to think that anything at all was good enough for the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman made the most outrageous statements, and thought that no dissatisfaction should be expressed from any quarter of the House. He (Mr. Biggar) never heard a weaker speech than that which the Prime Minister had delivered that night. He certainly thought that if the Government of this country was to be carried on, the Leadership should be in stronger hands than those in which it was at present.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 11; Noes 74: Majority 63.—(Div. List, No. 195.)

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, there was one question he wished to ask his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert). Some time ago it was arranged that the work of the City Parochial Charities Commission should be transferred to the offices of the Charity Commission; but, unfortunately, for some reason or other, the arrangements had been delayed, or had not been carried out as completely and as fully as they ought to have been. He wished to obtain an assurance from his hon. Friend that the alterations or additions to the offices of the Charity Commission should be completed forthwith, so that the valuable labours of the City Parochial Charities Commission should be facilitated as much as possible.

Mr. HIBBERT said, there had been some delay in carrying out the alterations in the offices of the Charity Commission; but he was hopeful that the alterations would shortly be completed.

Mr. BRYCE said, it was a matter of very considerable importance that the

City Parochial Charities Commission should, as had been promised so far back as the end of last year, be housed in the same building as the Charity Commission. He would remind the Secretary to the Treasury that the duties of the City Parochial Charities Commission were confined by the Act of 1883 to a fixed period of years, and that, therefore, it was desirable that the most rapid progress should be made with the work. Larger London—London outside the ancient city for whose benefit the funds were to be applied—was looking with some anxiety for the Schedules of the Commissioners, and for the schemes which were to follow, and while the bringing together of the two offices was delayed, progress was necessarily retarded.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was afraid the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) could scarcely have read the last Report of the Charity Commissioners, because, if he had done so, he would have found that in the month of November last sanction was given to the proposal to enlarge the building, and that the necessary works were now far advanced towards completion. [MR. BRYCE: I am aware of it.] If the hon. and learned Member was aware of it, he (Mr. A. O'Connor) did not quite see what the hon. and learned Member's purpose was in rising to address the Committee, because he did not inform the Committee that that was the state of the case. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) had a much more interesting question connected with the Charity Commission to raise than one in regard to the building. The Commissioners represented that they would require a very considerable increase of staff. It seemed to him there was every indication of a larger demand being made upon the Votes for the Charity Commission, and therefore he thought it behoved the Treasury to put a little check upon that demand. He supposed the increased accommodation was necessary; but with regard to the prospective increase on account of staff, he thought it would be well if the Treasury led the Commissioners to understand that they were not at liberty to make what drafts they liked on the public money. Before the Vote was passed, he wished to ask one or two questions upon the different matters included in it. There was the matter of the Secret Service. Inasmuch as £10,000 a-year came out of the Consolidated Fund in respect of Secret Service, and as the question of Secret Service was one attracting very careful investigation at the present time, he did not see why the Treasury should not consent to eliminate from this Vote the item of £15,000 for the Service. It was perfectly clear that it was not necessary to vote this money; £10,000 had already been voted, and the further sum now asked for would exhaust the whole Vote. They were told that this Vote was wanted to enable the Government to go on for six weeks; but the Government really wished to take money for the 12 months. As the Consolidated Fund was never audited, the Committee ought to pause before they handed over to the Government the whole of this Vote. Then there was another matter on which he desired to address a question to the Government, and that was the grant in aid of Cyprus. He did not see that anything was taken on that account, and he ventured to inquire whether the Government had abandoned their intention of asking for any grant in aid of Cyprus? Having resorted to all the sources of information open to him, his own opinion was that there was no real necessity for any grant in aid of Cyprus; that the administration of Cyprus was so dishonest and scandalous that the enormous amount of money taken from the taxpayers of this country on that account had not found its way into the local Exchequer; that the peculations, notorious and recognized by judicial tribunals, had been so great—["Order!" MR. GLADSTONE: This is irrelevant.] He thought he was perfectly in Order in showing why it was that an omission from the Vote appeared in so strange a connection as the Cyprus Vote; and the Prime Minister's suggestion to the Chairman that his remarks were irrelevant might have been made in a lower tone of voice. He wanted to know why in this Vote the whole of the Secret Service money was taken, while nothing was taken for the Cyprus grant in aid? It was an indication, or it was not, of a change of policy on the part of the Government with regard to Cyprus. He wanted to know whether the Government had so changed their policy that they had

abandoned their intention of asking for any more money on account of Cyprus? There was another question to which he should like to obtain an answer if he could. It was with regard to the Vice Consul of the Levant. The Vice Consul of the British Government in the town of Caifa, on the bay of St. Jean D'Arc, was a German. Running down to that bay was a range of mountains called Mount Carmel, and on the spur of those mountains was a very famous monastery. He believed that the inmates of that monastery claimed that their Order was established as far back as the days of the Prophet Elias. He could not answer for the correctness of their traditions; but in a country where there were so many Freemasons who dated from the Creation, the antiquity claimed by the inmates of this monastery was not surprising. The monks of Mount Carmel were now claiming the protection of the Consuls and diplomatic officers of the different nationalities in that neighbourhood against the aggressions of a number of Germans. There were along that coast many Germans who called themselves Templars or Millearians, and they were under the leadership of a man named Hoffman, who had established himself at Jerusalem, and who was at the head of what he was pleased to call the theological school of Wurtenburg, having branches at Jaffa and Jerusalem.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he failed to see how the remarks of the hon. Gentleman were relevant to the present Vote.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that in the Vote was included £20,000 for Consular Services, and he was interested in pointing out the position of a certain Consular officer in the town of Caifa in the Levant. He presumed the salary of the officer was included in the Vote, and therefore he should not feel himself justified in assenting to the Vote being taken until he had obtained something like a satisfactory explanation as to the officer's position. The British Vice Consul at Caifa was a German, and a number of Germans under the leadership of a man named Hoffman had made a sudden raid upon the possessions of the ancient monastery of Mount Carmel. They had broken down the boundary walls; they had by force dispossessed the monks of their property; they had made a road across what used to be the ground of the monastery; and generally they had imperilled the legal position of the monastery, and done a great deal of damage to the property of the establishment. The French Consular officer at Beyrout had so far been able to do something to protect the monks; but at Caifa, which was the Consular station immediately adjoining Mount Carmel, the British Consular officer was not an Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, but a German—a Mr. Johan Schmitz. This officer was placed in a very embarrassing and invidious position. If he was called upon to vindicate the claims of those who were British subjects and members of the community at Mount Carmel, he had also, on the other hand, to consider that the aggressors were his own countrymen; and what made the position of Mr. Schmitz still more difficult was that the man who led the aggressors was Mr. Phillip Keller, brother of Mr. Fritz Keller, the German Vice Consul. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) thought it obvious the Government should take steps to secure the absolute independence of the British Vice Consul at Caifa.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he had listened to the hon. Gentleman's remarks, and he did not hear him say that the inmates of the monastery were British subjects.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I did not say they were.

MR. GLADSTONE: If they are not British subjects, what title has the British Vice Consul in the neighbourhood to interfere on their behalf?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not say the inmates of the monastery were British subjects, neither did he say they were not—that was after the Prime Minister's own style of argument. There were a number of Englishmen and Irishmen in the neighbourhood; but how far they represented in their own individual personalities the property of the community he was not able to say, because he was not conversant with the rules. He believed the Order of Mount Carmel was one of those Orders in which it was customary to take the vows of poverty; and, therefore, he supposed no individual could claim to have a legal right to any portion of the property of the monastery. The Prime Minister must know that there were persons of all nationalities in the

community, as there had been for centuries. The papers which he (Mr. A. O'Connor) held in his hand showed that there were in the monastery, at any rate, two or three different nationalities. There were, for instance, Bavarians; but the Bavarian members of the community appeared to think they had little chance of redress at the hands of their own Government or Vice Consul, because they had addressed their remonstrances, not to the Germans at all, but to the French Consular General at Beyrout. What he (Mr. A. O'Connor) was concerned in was not so much the property of the monastery, not the individual interests of any monks, none of whom he knew personally; but what he wished to point out was that a number of Germans had made a raid upon the monastery, and by the use of considerable violence — they used firearms in their attack—had broken down a portion of the inclosure of this beautiful monastery, and caused the inmates to submit to all sorts of encroachments. The British Vice Consul at Caifa was a German, a countryman of the aggressors. So far, the Vice Consul had acted very fairly; but the community felt they had not the same protection from the gentleman, whose countrymen were the aggressors, as they would have if the Vice Consul was not of the same nationality, but of an independent nationality, like the British. All he was anxious to secure was that the Government would extend to the Vice Consul at Caifa that amount of support as would place him in a position of absolute independence with regard to this matter.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he thought the Committee would not be surprised if he stated that some of the facts which had been stated by the hon. Member (Mr. A. O'Connor) were facts in regard to which he should like to make some inquiry before giving a reply. The Vice Consul at Caifa had generally been a German, and for this reason—that at Caifa there was a large German Colony, and it was more easy to find in that Colony a German gentleman able to take the Vice Consular office than it would be to send a gentleman from England. The hon. Gentleman had said the Vice Consul was Mr. Johan Schmitz. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Schmitz, and he was much struck by that gentleman's ability. He formed the impression that he was speaking to a man, not only of very high character, but one who possessed an intimate acquaintance with that part of the world, and one in whom the people would have great confidence. He was glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman made no specific complaint against Mr. Schmitz in regard to this particular matter. It seemed that because Mr. Schmitz was a German, it was supposed he was not an altogether impartial man. Well, he (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was bound to say that in his belief any such fear was quite groundless. He did not understand there was any allegation that the inmates of the monastery were British subjects; but, nevertheless, he would undertake to make inquiries, and, if he found it necessary, proper steps would be taken. He was very anxious, however, that no impression should be left on the minds of hon. Gentlemen that the Foreign Office had any reason to doubt the ability or impartiality of Mr. Schmitz.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was obliged to the noble Lord for the terms in which he had answered his inquiry, and he should be perfectly content to leave the matter in the noble Lord's hands. He wished only to say that he had received a letter from Jerusalem in reference to this matter, and in the letter this passage occurred—

"The English Vice Consul at Beyrout has acted well so far, but he is a German."

There was not the least imputation upon the character of the officer.

MR. PARNELL wished to address a few words to the Committee with regard to this Vote of Credit, and to make a suggestion which he hoped might be regarded by the Government as a practical one. A Vote on Account—and this was the second which had been asked for by the Government that Session—practically withdrew from Parliament all control over the Estimates. A Vote on Account had always been held to be a Vote of a somewhat unconstitutional character. That was repeatedly said in past Parliaments. He recollected it was said by the hon. and learned Gentleman the late Member for Limerick (Mr. Isaac Butt), who formerly led the Irish Party in the House of Commons — he recollected that hon. and learned Gentleman, who was admittedly

one of the greatest Irish authorities on British Constitutional Law, pointing out how, practically speaking, enormous Votes on Account deprived Parliament of all control over the Estimates. This Vote on Account was to extend over six weeks. In all probability Parliament would then be very near its close, and if the Government used the sum of money which they proposed to get by this Vote on Account, they would practically be relieved from the necessity of bringing forward Supply in the usual manner on Mondays and Thursdays during the interval. Consequently, Supply would very possibly be thrown into the last week of the Session. It would be admitted by any candid person that such a result as that would absolutely deprive Parliament of control over the Estimates. Now, the Government were very backward with Supply — ["No, no!"] He thought they were very backward, having regard to the very large number of important Irish questions which would arise this Session on the Estimates, and having regard to the fact that Parliament would in all probability rise much sooner than the middle of the month of August, which was usually the time of Prorogation. From the point of view of absolute time, the Government might be as forward with Supply as they had been in previous Sessions; but having regard to the circumstances of the Session, they were certainly backward in this respect. The objections to relegating Supply to the last days of the Session had been repeatedly urged upon the Government from time to time; and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in the Rules of Procedure which he submitted to Parliament and devoted an entire Session to passing, arranged that there should be given two days a-week, clear of Motions against the Speaker leaving the Chair, on which the Committee of the House should discuss items in Supply. The object of that was that every facility should be afforded for Supply being properly considered. Monday and Thursday were now at the disposal of the Government for the purposes of Supply, and what he wished to ask of them was this. He presumed the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury was the proper person to address his inquiry to. He wished to know whether in future the Government proposed to devote Monday and Thursday for the purpose of obtaining Supply until Supply was obtained? Every Session hon. Members found themselves placed in this position—that they were compelled to pass Supply without due discussion, or were threatened with physical force. They were constantly told that the House would be required to sit up all night, and in the end the Votes were passed with little or no discussion. The result of that state of things was the Irish Estimates were usually thrown over until the last fortnight or 10 days of the Session, and really received no discussion at all. That was a most inconvenient practice, and it was absolutely destructive of the interests of Ireland. He believed that enormous good would result from the full and efficient discussion of the Irish Estimates, and that such light would be thrown upon the system of government by permanent officials in Ireland as would surprise the House of Commons and open its eyes upon a great many matters in regard to which it was now ignorant. Therefore, what he asked was whether the Government proposed to take advantage of the Standing Order of the House, which enabled them to bring on Supply on Mondays and Thursdays without preliminary discussion, in such a way as to secure Mondays and Thursdays for Supply during the very short period of the Session which still remained until that Supply should have been obtained? His hon. Friends and himself had many questions which they desired to raise in Committee of Supply, and he was afraid that they would be compelled to raise some of them on the present Vote on Account, if it were made apparent that Mondays and Thursdays were not to be used for purposes of Supply, but for some other purpose. For his part, and he believed he might also speak for his hon. Friends, if it were certain that Her Majesty's Government would devote Monday and Thursday to Supply during the rest of the Session, until Supply was taken, they would be willing to forego their right to raise these points, which in despair of obtaining another opportunity they proposed to raise on the present Vote.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that at the present moment Supply was more forward than usual. The hon. Gentleman

was quite mistaken in supposing that it was unusually backward. More time had been devoted to Supply in the present Session up to that period than in former Sessions, and they were only asking for a Vote on Account which would enable the Public Services to be regulated for about six weeks after Whitsuntide. The hon. Member said, looking at the certain fact that in about six weeks hence the Session would be nearly closed——

MR. PARNELL: I never said anything about a "certain fact."

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member spoke of a confident assumption.

MR. PARNELL: No; I said there was a probability.

MR. GLADSTONE continued. The hon. Member, whether he spoke of it as a certain fact or a confident assumption, undoubtedly intimated that the Session would be near its close about six weeks hence; and he then proposed that the Government should set aside every Monday and Thursday for the rest of the Session for the purpose of bringing forward Supply. Almost in the same breath the hon. Member asked when the Government were going to proceed with the Labourers Bill. What was the meaning of that request? The hon. Member must know that it was a question which it was absolutely impossible for him (Mr. Gladstone) to answer. If the hon. Member would number up the days which had already been secured for Supply in the course of the present year, he would have no reason to complain. Of course, it was the natural desire, not of the present Government only, but of any Government, to get forward with Supply as much as they could. In this case they had already indicated that desire, and they had reduced the number of Bills they were about to present to Parliament. Indeed, he did not know whether they had not even gone too far in the exercise of that desire; but, at any rate, having, in the three months of the Session which were already passed given substantial evidence of their desire to get on with Supply, it was impossible for them to say that every Monday and Thursday during the rest of the Session would also be devoted to Supply until Supply was obtained. What, in that case, would become of the other Business of the House. Take Votes of Censure for instance. There had already been four or five Votes of Censure upon the conduct of the Government, moved by hon. Members on the other side of the House. He presumed that the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) felt very great interest in those Votes of Censure, seeing that he invariably supported them.

MR. KENNY: Quite right. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. GLADSTONE said, he could not understand why, under such circumstances, the hon. Member should desire to bar the door against more Votes of Censure. It was enough, however, to say that it would not be consistent with his public duty if he were to give the assurance asked for by the hon. Member; but, at the same time, he would say that it was the desire of the Government to devote as much time as possible to the speedy prosecution of Supply.

MR. HIBBERT wished to add one word to the observations which had been made by the Prime Minister, in order to show the number of days which had been devoted to Supply in the present Session and in some three or four previous Sessions. This year there had already been 13 nights devoted to the consideration of the Estimates in Committee of Supply. In 1881, up to the 31st of May, there were only two; in 1882, two; in 1883, five; and in 1884, only one. This year there had already been 13 Supply nights, and it must be borne in mind that all the Votes were much more discussed now, he would not say than in any previous year, but certainly more than was generally the case in previous years. In 1882 only five Votes were taken up to the end of the month of May; in 1883, 30 Votes; and in 1884, only three. This year, up to the present date, 26 Votes had been taken, and they had been obtained under the greatest difficulty, because, as hon. Members opposite would allow, nearly every Vote had been very seriously discussed. In regard to the opportunities which would still remain for discussing the Votes not yet disposed of, he would point out that the total amount of Votes to be taken was £26,000,000, and the Government were now asking for a Vote on Account to the extent of £3,200,000, having previously obtained about £3,300,000, which would still leave more than £19,000,000 to be taken hereafter, so that ample opportunities

would exist for discussion. There was one other subject to which attention had been called by an hon. Member (Mr. A. O'Connor) who spoke earlier—namely, the Secret Service money. No answer had yet been given to the inquiry of the hon. Member, and it was only right that an answer should be given. The amount asked for on account of Secret Service was not the whole amount of that item. A sum of £10,000 had already been voted, and an additional sum of £15,000 was asked for that night; but £25,000 would still be left. In previous years it had been the custom to give part of the Secret Service money in every Vote on Account.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked that there was a further sum of £10,000 charged upon the Consolidated Fund.

MR. HIBBERT said, he refrained from going into that matter, because it formed no part of the Vote asked for that night. The Committee, indeed, had no right to consider it in discussing the Estimates, as it was done by virtue of an Act of Parliament. Then, again, in regard to Cyprus—there was no money asked under that head in the present Vote. It had sometimes been the custom to ask for a reduced amount upon every item contained in the Estimates; but wherever it had been possible to do without a Vote on Account, he had withdrawn that particular Vote, and had, consequently, been able to reduce the total amount of the Vote asked for.

MR. WARTON wished to put a question to the hon. Gentleman. He wanted to know whether, bearing in mind the Vote on Account already voted, and adding it to the Vote on Account now asked for, there would be any one item in the Estimates in respect of which there would be no balance left to be voted hereafter?

MR. HIBBERT: No, none; except the Votes already passed.

MR. SEXTON said, it was quite plain, from the contention of the Prime Minister in reply to his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that the Government had no intention of facilitating the discussion of the Estimates themselves, and when the Session was a little further advanced the pressure of Public Business would be pleaded by the Government as a ground for passing the Estimates without adequate consideration or debate. He thought the request of his hon. Friend was an extremely reasonable one. A year or two ago, under the new Procedure Rules, the Government obtained from the House special facilities for pushing forward the Business of Supply. The Standing Order now enabled them to devote the whole of Monday and Thursday in every week to the Business of Supply, without the intervention of those Motions with regard to grievances which Members were formerly able to bring forward. The request of his hon. Friend was that the Government should devote to the Business of Supply—that being one of the chief functions of the House—those days in the week which, at the expenditure of great time and labour, they had procured from the House for Supply, so as to prevent any interruption from dilatory Motions. The Prime Minister chose to be jocular and satirical. Without the slightest necessity the right hon. Gentleman referred to Votes of Censure, and very irrelevantly dragged in the remark that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and the Irish Members who sat upon those Benches were usually found voting in support of Votes of Censure. It was not the Irish Members alone who were of opinion that Her Majesty's Government were among the most condemnable persons in the Realm. That opinion was shared by a considerable body of Members in that House, and when Votes of Censure had been proposed the Irish Members had felt themselves obliged to come to the conclusion that the balance of merit lay on the side of those by whom the Votes of Censure were proposed. It might be their misfortune or their fault; but, undoubtedly, that had invariably been the case. Occasionally they found the Prime Minister of a very exacting temperament; but certainly that evening the right hon. Gentleman had taken a most amiable and easily satisfied view of the financial condition of the country. The right hon. Gentleman denied that Supply was at all backward. If they compared the number of Votes obtained in this with other Sessions, and the amount of money in hand as compared with other years, perhaps it might be found that they were not very much behind; but there were seven Departments of the Civil Service for which the House had to vote Supply, and each contained various important sub-sections. At present they

had only just reached Class II., so that practically there were still six Classes to be voted, and they had not as yet touched any of the great Revenue Departments. They were now on the eve of the Whitsuntide Recess, and they had before them a programme which included several measures of the greatest importance, one of them a measure relating to Ireland, which would provide ample material for discussion for the rest of the Session, even if no other measure was to be considered. Yet with this programme of legislative work, including the Crimes Act, the Government, with cheerful hopefulness, persisted in the assertion that Supply was in a forward condition. He was afraid that it would not be possible to undeceive them on that point except by the test of experience; but, before the Session was brought to a close, he was of opinion that they would find that the condition in which Supply was left was not altogether favourable to the progress of legislative work. The proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was one that was well calculated to promote the general Business of the House. It was that every day in the week except Monday and Thursday should be taken for other Business, and that Monday and Thursday should be devoted to Supply. The remarks of his hon. Friend as to the insidious and persistent manner in which the control over Supply was now withdrawn from the House was amply borne out by the experience of the last few years. Hon. Members sitting on those Benches had watched with something akin to anxiety and alarm the gradual growth of this easy, slothful, and immoral system of tiding over the regular Business of Supply by Votes on Account. It could scarcely be forgotten that the House practically did no Business in Supply at all last year. In the first place, the Government asked for a Vote on Account, then at Easter they asked for another Vote to make up for deficiencies in the Supply of the previous year, and, having obtained two Votes of that kind before Easter, the Government took a third at Whitsuntide. By that means the Business of Supply was put off until the month of August, when the Votes were discussed in empty Houses after midnight. He contended that it was nothing less than a fraud upon the overburdened taxpayers of the country to Vote millions and tens of millions of money in empty Houses after midnight, because the Government knew that under such circumstances effective criticism of the Estimates was not possible at the end of August, and by the immoral course they pursued they were able at one stroke to get rid of discussion in the House of Commons and to hoodwink and cheat the taxpayers of the country. If the taxpayers of the country knew what grave and serious evils were produced by this practice of postponing the real consideration of Supply, they would take to heart the words which had dropped from his hon. Friend that evening, and the task of exhorting the Government to restore to the House of Commons the Constitutional function of supervising and checking the Public Expenditure would not be left to the Irish Members, but on both sides of the House there would be a united voice of protest and condemnation from Members of all Nationalities in every part of the House against these easy methods by which, from Easter to Whitsuntide, and from Whitsuntide to August, this process of stealthily dipping their hands into the public purse and plundering the taxpayer was carried on. His hon. Friend proposed that the Government should put an end to this system. If they would agree, even from this day, to devote the two days a-week which the House had given to them uninterruptedly to Supply, the House would have some little assurance that the expenditure of hundreds of thousands and even of millions of the public money would be checked with something like that degree of intelligence and care which a man would devote to the conduct of his own private concerns. Was it tolerable that £80,000,000 a-year should be paid in this country for the maintenance of the Public Service, and that it should be thrown away, or its application placed entirely at the discretion of the Government officials themselves, who paid this enormous sum of money out of the public purse without any check whatever from the accredited Representatives of the people? That was the system which was going on now; and unless the Government retraced their steps and adopted a more satisfactory policy in regard to the expenditure of the public

money, he thought they would find that the exhortations of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would appeal to the common sense of the subjects of the Queen, without regard to nationality, who would require proper and adequate facilities for the discharge of such important Business, and would strongly and effectively protest against the generally easy method now adopted of disposing of such questions.

MR. KENNY said, he had intended the other evening to call the attention of the Government to the case of the brothers Delahunty——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. KENNY resumed. He said, he had had worse luck the other evening, however, than he had now, for on that occasion the House was counted out, and he had no opportunity to bring on the case. He brought the matter forward now in the hope that the Government would exercise that equity in the case which the facts of it demanded. Now, the two men to whose case he referred were accused in the year 1882 with an offence under the Prevention of Crime Act. They were accused of having fired at a man named Donnellan. They were immediately arrested under the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act, and were conveyed to the county gaol at Ennis, which was about 22 miles away from the scene of the alleged outrage. The alleged offence was one which in no way could be considered as an agrarian outrage, because it was not connected with any dispute about land, and it was not connected with any conspiracy, as far as any person had yet ventured to assert; and he was entirely at a loss, therefore, to understand what was the reason which influenced the Government to bring the case under the exceptional law, unless it was that the Prevention of Crime Act was an exceptional law which at that time the Goverment were desirous of experimenting upon. The prisoners instructed a local solicitor for their defence; and when he returned from the locality in which the outrage was supposed to have been committed, the day before they were to be brought up at Ennis, he was informed that they had been conveyed another 30 miles, to another part of the country, and had there been returned before magistrates to whom they were strange. Having been returned for trial, they were kept in gaol until the Cork Winter Assizes, when they were brought up on this charge. The evidence against them was purely circumstantial. It was perfectly true that the man who was fired at alleged that he saw these two men fire at him; but as it was alleged by the witnesses that only one shot was fired, both of those men could not have fired. He was not certain whether the weapon used was a rifle or a pistol; he could not say whether there were one or two shots fired, and no injury whatever was done. It was on a charge of this kind that these two men were sent to penal servitude for life. The evidence might have been strong enough to find these two men guilty; but the evidence for the defence was managed in an exceedingly bad manner, mainly owing to the fact that the solicitor for the defence was not present at Cork to instruct counsel who were appearing for the defence. He had to point out in regard to that, however, that after the Government had deprived these men of the solicitor whom they selected to defend them, they had been obliged to instruct a man who did not pay proper attention, or perhaps was not able to devote that attention, to the case which it deserved. But there were other matters which he wished to bring forward. The evidence was of a particularly suspicious character. It was that class of evidence which was well known in Ireland, and was always used when no other evidence was forthcoming—the evidence of informers. The Crown suborned various witnesses to appear at Cork, and amongst them was a man named Michael Hayes, a blacksmith. His evidence was of vital importance to the prisoners; but the Crown kept him in their custody in Cork, and then at the last moment refused to call him. Mr. D. B. Sullivan, who was the barrister appearing for the defence, thereupon exercised what he (Mr. Kenny) thought was a wise discretion in refusing to call a man for the defence who for a whole fortnight had been in the safe custody of the Crown officials. Then, again, not more than a year since a man named Patrick Slattery made a dying declaration, in which he stated that he

had been suborned by a police sergeant to give false evidence against the Delahuntys. That man made two distinct declarations on two different occasions —one about two weeks before his death, and the other about a week before his death. The last of those was made before two magistrates of the county, and the first and original document was made before the parish priest and the man's own brother. Now, he claimed this—that if a dying man in England left a declaration behind him that he had been suborned to give false evidence against two men in prison, that would be considered sufficient by the Home Secretary to justify an inquiry into such a case. He claimed, moreover, that in the case of the notorious burglar, Charles Peace, when he stated that he, and not a man in prison, had shot a certain policeman, that was not only considered sufficient for the Home Secretary to make inquiries into the case, but to liberate the prisoner and compensate him. This was not an agrarian case. It was not arising out of land, and was not a special question at all. The whole fact of the matter was that it was a case in which two men took occasion to vent their spite on two other men at whose hands they believed they had received some injury. It was on account of some injury, or an imaginary injury, that this charge was launched against the Delahuntys. Now, the two men who were in prison under a sentence of penal servitude for life were men against whom no evil report was ever launched previous to their arrest on this occasion. It was true that about two months before this charge was made the two Donnellans had made a charge against them, and they were taken to the Ennis Bridewell; but the gentleman on the Bench knew the spite of the Donnellans, and would not listen to their charge, and liberated the Delahuntys. The alleged outrage arose this way. The boy Donnellan alleged that he was driving cattle about 700 yards from his father's field. Donnellan, himself, said that as he was passing through the furze bush he was fired at by one of the Delahuntys, and that they then ran away. He (Mr. Kenny) had seen the place where the outrage was said to have occurred, and the distance would certainly not be more than four yards between the place where Donnellan said he was walking and the place where it was alleged the Delahuntys fired the shot.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had endeavoured, but he had been unable, to trace any connection between the observations of the hon. Member and the items of this Vote; and he must say that if the hon. Member, or any other hon. Member, endeavoured to retry in that Committee, or go through, a case which had already been tried by a judicial tribunal, he did not see how it would be possible to get through Supply at all, and he must call the serious attention of the hon. Member to the fact that he was really retrying a case and advancing opinions of his own upon it, and he (the Chairman) did not see that it had anything to do with the Votes before them.

MR. KENNY said, he would respectfully point out that there was a Vote for Law Charges for Criminal Prosecutions in Ireland, and he believed that this case would come strictly under a heading of that kind, He submitted that he was perfectly in Order.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would be in Order in referring to a case under that Vote, but not in retrying it. He was giving all the evidence in the case, and was giving them his own version of the case; and if every hon. Member adopted a similar course they would never get through Committee.

MR. KENNY said, that any statement he made in that House must necessarily be an *ex parte* statement. All he was endeavouring to do was to give reasons in support of the request which he wished to make to the Government to grant an inquiry into this case. If the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) would rise in his place and say that there should be an inquiry, he would resume his seat; but, failing that, he must use all the arguments he could in support of an inquiry. Well, Donnellan said he was shot at; and the boy, 700 yards off, said he heard a gun shot or pistol shot, and about 10 minutes afterwards he saw the Delahuntys coming in the direction from which the shot was fired. That would have been scarcely sufficient to have convicted the two Delahuntys; and it was after that that the suborned witness was suborned to corroborate the statement of the young Donnellan as to the circumstances under which the shot was fired.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must again point out to the hon. Member that he was endeavouring to establish that the decision given upon a certain trial had not been in accordance with the evidence, and in that he was not in Order. That Committee was not competent to try such a case. If there was any allegation against any person in Ireland whose salary came under that Vote, there would be no reason whatever why the hon. Member should not state the reasons for rejecting that salary.

MR. KENNY said, it would not be necessary for his purpose for him to go into detail as to the evidence that was given at the trial, and he was quite willing to drop that portion of his remarks, although he claimed that it was an interference with the continuity of his remarks that he was not allowed to go into that matter. But he would ask the Chairman's leave to state one fact which occurred at the trial. It was this. The counsel for the defence was placed at a great and grave disadvantage on account of the fact that the solicitor who had originally instructed him had left Cork, and did not return until after the trial had taken place. He would show that that was material by showing what an important bearing his absence had on the action of one witness, who alleged that a certain girl had given one of the Delahuntys a pistol. Counsel was unable to call a witness to refute that statement, owing to the absence of the defendant's solicitor. But he (Mr. Kenny) had in his possession an affidavit from the girl, who said that, so far from her having given a pistol to one of the Delahuntys, she never had such a thing in her possession. In consequence of the ruling of the Chair, he (Mr. Kenny) was prevented from making out his case as he otherwise would; but he must point out this. This suborned witness, Michael Slattery—he did not say he was not a man of bad character; but if there was a moment when such a man would tell the truth it was the moment in which he was about to die, and the fact that at that moment he had made the declaration he had made ought to have been quite enough to induce the Lord Lieutenant to grant an inquiry. Now, this boy said he was driving cattle in the neigbourhood; but he (Mr. Kenny) had evidence from the boy's own mother that at the time the alleged outrage occurred he was seven miles away. He would not believe that any woman would falsely accuse her own son, under such circumstances, of having committed perjury.

MR. GREGORY rose to Order, and said he believed they were now upon a Vote on Account; but the hon. Member was now taking them into the most minute details concerning a certain trial, and involving the administration of justice and the conduct of a Judge and jury, which, he contended, was altogether out of Order. It had been sprung upon them without Notice, and without any Papers on the subject having been placed before them; and he would ask, therefore, if the hon. Member was in Order?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he had already twice stated that the hon. Member appeared to him to be exceeding the privileges accorded by the House even in Committee of Supply. His arguments would be valid and good if they were upon a substantive Motion, but they were not so on a Vote in Committee of Supply. The points to which the hon. Member alluded, important as they were, had no connection with the Vote before the Committee. He was unwilling to proceed further; but, in his opinion, the remarks of the hon. Member did not apply to the Vote.

MR. SEXTON, on the point of Order, contended that his hon. Friend was entitled to put his case before the Committee. His remarks did not deal with the trial, but with what had happened since. He would respectfully point out that this portion of the Vote was for Law Charges for Criminal Prosecutions in Ireland, and contained the salary of the Attorney General for Ireland, who might or might not advise the Crown as to the exercise of the Prerogative of mercy in the case of those men who were now in penal servitude. In his opinion, his hon Friend had made out a complete case for endeavouring to obtain an inquiry into the case of those men, whom he believed should be released from penal servitude.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that if the hon. Member desired to impugn the conduct of the Attorney General for Ireland, whose salary was contained in this Vote, it would be a different matter; but he had brought before the Com-

mittee various legal matters which the Committee was not competent to decide, and which had nothing to do with the salary of the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. KENNY said, he thought that if he was allowed to go into some of the evidence he ought to be allowed to go into all of it. He had no objection, however, to name Mr. Peter O'Brien, who conducted the prosecution, as the official whose conduct he would impugn.

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether Mr. O'Brien's salary was included in the Vote?

MR. KENNY said, he believed it was. He was Crown Prosecutor in those cases. He (Mr. Kenny) could not say exactly what he was; but he was in the habit of going round the country prosecuting on behalf of the Crown. He was referring, when he was interrupted, to the woman's statement that the evidence of her own son was not true; but, beyond that, he had further affidavits showing that an effort was made to suborn other people before Slattery was obtained.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he should be obliged to call upon the hon. Member to resume his seat if he continued in that strain. He could not allow the case of the Delahuntys to be tried over again.

MR. KENNY said, that, of course, if he were ruled out of Order in referring to this subject, he would resume his seat; but, at the same time, he should have preferred not to have been called upon to resume his seat in that way.

MR. SEXTON pointed out that the hon. Member had given an outline of the case he wished to bring forward, and had asked the Government to grant an inquiry into the case of two men now in penal servitude. He would now call upon their Attorney General, therefore, to reply and state whether he could grant an inquiry or not.

MR. KENNY, rising to Order, desired to know if it would be competent for the Attorney General for Ireland to reply to a case which he had not been allowed to finish?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not be in Order in replying in detail to a case which had been only half-opened by the hon. Member.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that last Session they impugned the conduct of the then Chief Secretary, and opposed the grant of his salary. They endeavoured to obtain a promise that there should be an inquiry made into the case of Bryan Kilmartin. He had been sentenced to penal servitude for life for shooting at a man. The Chief Secretary rose in his place and said that, having seen all the Papers in connection with the case, he was of opinion that the conviction was right, and that Bryan Kilmartin ought to remain in prison. But Kilmartin had the good fortune to have the sympathy of some other Members in that House, and the hon. Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), and another Member sitting opposite, got up and said that the Irish Members had made out their case. The consequence was that the Prime Minister got up and threw over the then Chief Secretary and the Home Secretary, and promised an inquiry. The inquiry was held, and it then turned out that that trial and sentence of Kilmartin were unjust. The right hon. Gentleman opposite made use of an exclamation which he (Mr. O'Connor) would like to have translated into a more articulate expression. If the sentence was not unjust, why was Kilmartin released from penal servitude? But, however that was, the Chief Secretary at that time was thrown over. In this Vote the salary of the Chief Secretary was involved. Now, in order to make himself perfectly in Order in this matter, he emphatically stated that it was the deliberate intention of the then Chief Secretary, and it must be the whole effort of the person who occupied the position of Chief Secretary, to smother and suffocate inquiry into such cases as this in order to strengthen their own plea in support of the re-enactment of the Prevention of Crime Act. On the general question he shared the opinion of nine out of every 10 people in Ireland, who believed that, by the "white terror" which the present Lord Lieutenant had established in Ireland, the Delahuntys had been driven into penal servitude without sufficient evidence; and the best work which the present Chief Secretary could apply himself to would be to institute inquiries into all such cases. The right hon. Gentleman who now held the Office of Chief Secretary could not do better than inaugurate his appointment to his present position by instituting an inquiry into this case.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN confessed that he did not understand the object of the speech which had just been delivered. The hon. Member had introduced into the discussion another case which had been brought before the House last Session. That was another case altogether. The question which they were now discussing was whether the hon. Member was entitled to bring up all these matters on a Vote on Account, and that was the point which the Chairman had decided in such strong terms over and over again. He did not see any connection between the two cases.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Same charge; same trial; same sentence!

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: But it was a different case altogether. The hon. Member had stated that the Chief Secretary was thrown over. He had stated that the Chief Secretary's object was to huddle up——

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Smother up!

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: To smother up such cases as this; but the trial of the Delahuntys had nothing to do with the Prevention of Crime Act.

MR. KENNY: They were tried under that Act.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: They were tried at the ordinary Winter Assizes, without any reference to the Prevention of Crime Act whatever.

MR. KENNY: By a Crimes Act Special Jury!

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN contended that the trial had nothing to do with the administration of the Prevention of Crime Act. The question was whether upon a Vote on Account such as this the hon. Member should be allowed to go into such matters. The hon. Member had introduced the name of Mr. Serjeant O'Brien, who had happened to prosecute on the occasion referred to; but there was no certainty that Serjeant O'Brien would be so employed in future, and, therefore, the whole point of the hon. Member fell to the ground.

MR. SEXTON said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland stated that he failed to see any analogy between the two cases cited. The right hon. Gentleman was not usually so difficult of perception, and he (Mr. Sexton) thought that he could in a few words show that there was a perfect analogy between the cases. These men, Bryan Kilmartin and the Delahuntys, were both accused of the same crime; they were both tried by juries specially selected from the panels by the Government in Ireland; they were both convicted of that crime and sent into penal servitude; and after the Delahuntys and the other man got into penal servitude, a man dying made a confession which threw a new light upon the case. Now, there was the analogy, and he regarded it as very instructive, and as a very complete analogy. When the man said he had done the crime, it was at first laughed at, scouted, and represented as grotesque in the House of Commons; but hon. Gentlemen on these Benches happened to excite the sympathy of two Members. On that occasion the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) happened to be in the House when he brought forward the case. The House heard the matter with its usual inattention, for the voice was the voice of an Irish Member; but owing to the fact that the two Members referred to were present, he and his hon. Friends managed to get a hearing, and the promise that an inquiry should be held. Well, that inquiry was held, and at the first blush it appeared to the legal mind of the gentleman who attended the inquiry on the part of the Crown that the man who was then suffering penal servitude was innocent. Did the right hon. Gentleman now ask where was the analogy? It was in the fact that a man on his dying-bed, knowing himself to be about to die, had said not that he had done the crime himself, but that he had himself been suborned by the police to suborn witnesses to make their case good. Did the right hon. Gentleman say there was any difference? There was no difference whatever; all the circumstances in the two cases were parallel with each other. Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland get up at the Table of the House and say that he persisted in the statement of the Chief Secretary, that there was no analogy between the two cases? The argument of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was that Bryan Kilmartin, having

been released after inquiry because a dying man confessed that he had done the crime for which the other was condemned to penal servitude, an inquiry ought to be held equally in the case of the Delahuntys, and that it should be granted by Her Majesty's Government on the ground that a man had made a solemn confession of subornation on his dying bed. Would anyone say that there was a flaw in that reasoning? If there was a proper case for inquiry in one instance, there was, he contended, a proper case for inquiry in the other. But the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland said there was no point in the argument of his hon. Friend the Member for Galway. They all knew that the Government wanted to continue the Prevention of Crime Act in Ireland, and it was the policy of Irish officials accordingly to turn a deaf ear to arguments such as his hon. Friend had addressed to the Committee; they knew also that Earl Spencer was opposed to the advocates of Home Rule, and they were all aware that the right hon. Gentleman was the mouthpiece of Earl Spencer, and, notwithstanding the child-like simplicity of the right hon. Gentleman, they could hardly suppose him to be in favour of such a demand as that which his hon. Friend the Member for Galway had made, that an inquiry should be granted. And what was the objection of the Government to the granting of that inquiry? He would tell the right hon. Gentleman. It would show that convictions had been repeatedly had and sentences given on suborned evidence; the disquiet existing in the public mind, caused by the conviction of Kilmartin, would be doubled; and not only would a stronger feeling be spread against the Prevention of Crime Act in Ireland, but all honest Englishmen would say to the Government—"If you procure convictions on this evidence under the ordinary law, so much the more reason is there why we should deny you the further powers asked for." Did that suit the argument of the right hon. Gentleman? When they found that the law in Ireland was such as to put the lives of innocent men in peril by the tricks of the Crown Prosecutors, they said that the powers which put special facilities into the hands of the police for hanging men should not be given, and that Her Majesty's Government should rely upon the ordinary law alone. He would now refer to the Tubbercurry case. That case had already been several times referred to; it was a matter not relating to officials in Dublin Castle; it had nothing to do with the Prevention of Crime Act; it concerned 12 men of his own district who had been suddenly seized in their beds and hurried away to Sligo Gaol. He might say, at that point, that when the Government in Ireland took a man out of his bed at night, they never failed to make a plump charge against him; the charge was usually in keeping with the melodramatic effect of the arrest. Accordingly, these men were charged with treason-felony and intent to murder; they were thrown into gaol; they were forbidden to see each other, and forbidden to see their legal advisers. While they were segregated, the police went to their private houses, and went into every detail week by week and day after day in their private lives. Then followed a series of remands which lasted from the month of April to July; in the month of July the Assizes were held, but the Crown, after having got its informers together, refused to go on with the trial; the men were sent back into gaol; they were taken from Sligo to Dublin, and from Dublin to Sligo, until the month of October last. He (Mr. Sexton) had repeatedly raised this case in the House of Commons; he had asked that the evidence should be again considered, but the Government knew what they were about; they put an informer in the cell with the accused persons, who endeavoured to worm himself into their confidence. At last the Government found that this system of dealing with the prisoners was of no avail, and they brought them to trial. The jury, when they heard the evidence of the informer, failed to convict the first man tried; they acquitted him, and they added to their verdict a strong expression of opinion. The 11 other men remained to be tried; and now what he had to point out bore upon the question of expenses. There was a large sum in the present Vote for Law Charges, and he objected to voting any money for that purpose until he heard what was going to be done in the Tubbercurry case. The law provided that where people were brought away from their place of abode to be tried, the Crown

should pay the costs of the defence. The Crown had agreed to pay the costs and the expenses of the prisoners in question. He was aware that the sums expended by the prosecution upon witnesses were so excessive, that one gentleman who spent only 20 minutes in Court altogether had a cheque sent to him for a sum of money so extravagant that he felt bound in self-respect and manly shame to send the cheque back. What did that mean? It meant to convey to the people in Ireland that any man who was ready to give evidence against innocent persons would have any sum of money placed at his disposal. This was the most shameless system of corruption and bribery that it was possible to conceive. These men were kept up to last October in gaol; at the last moment they were brought up on a charge of treason-felony and conspiracy to murder. He (Mr. Sexton) happened to be in Court at the time, and knew most of the persons accused. He offered himself as bail; the Crown refused; he went day after day to the Court, and would it be believed that afterwards the Crown accepted him as bail in the sum of £200 for the whole of the prisoners—those 12 felons and conspirers to murder? Could anything furnish a more clear proof than this of the shameless and bogus character of the case? If the Crown had had in their possession a shadow of proof, he asked the Committee to say whether they were likely to have accepted the bail of one man? Eventually the case fell through. The informer would not swear to the men. Then came the question of the expenses of these persons who had been put upon their trial at a distance from their place of abode. Some of them were shopkeepers who had been taken away from their homes and businesses; they had witnesses to the number of 40; their neighbours and other people who knew them had been brought from the North-West of Ireland, by car and by railway, to Sligo and Dublin; they had been kept in Dublin during three weeks, lodging and living there at their own expense, and hanging on the will of the Crown Prosecutor. Then they were told that they might go home, as there would be no trial at all. The Crown Prosecutors, after bribing informers, failed to make out any case against the accused persons, and they were told they might go away. They obtained a sum of money on account in October last. He was speaking in the month of May, and from the former time to the present he had never ceased to call upon Her Majesty's Government to fulfil the common duty of honesty by paying these men their expenses. The Government were ready enough to pay £500 to a man who committed perjury; any man who was ready to commit perjury, to supplement the story of informers, or to back up and assist the police in bringing innocent men to the gallows, would not have to wait 24 hours for the payment of his expenses; but when people came into Court and said—"I know these men; I believe them to be innocent," they would have to wait weeks and months without having their claim listened to. A man so placed might have to return home 160 miles at his own expense, and his Representative in that House might very likely go on for another year asking for his expenses. He had repeatedly appealed to the right hon. Gentleman in that House, and he had first assured him that he was in communication with the solicitor in Sligo, and then that efforts were being made to get the money paid. Then another change of venue was tried, and the matter was put into the hands of the Treasury at Whitehall. Ten days ago he asked whether the Treasury meant to pay the money or not? Half a-year had passed, and he asked whether the men were to be ruined for the want of the costs incurred in defending themselves in a bogus case, which the Government had shirked and failed to bring before a jury? Ten days ago the right hon. Gentleman said that an order had been issued; whereupon he (Mr. Sexton) tried to ascertain by whom that order had been issued, but he had failed to get any satisfaction; he could only learn that it was issued by the Treasury. He suffered himself then to believe that the Crown had at last paid the money to these people for the defence that had been thrown upon them; but what was his amazement at getting a letter that morning from the solicitor for the defence to say that he could not understand the reply given to him, that he had received his own costs, but that he could assure him that these costs incurred by the witnesses early last year had not been paid up to the present

moment. Well, he thought the career of a footpad, who openly robbed on the highway, was more respectable than to admit of an action of this kind. The Government had been guilty of taking 12 respectable farmers and men of business out of their own county, thrown them on their defence, kept them in Dublin for weeks and weeks together, and then, after a year, still deluded their Representatives in the House of Commons with promises which were never carried into effect. He did not know how, after this experience, innocent people were to be protected from false charges by the testimony of respectable persons who knew them; but it appeared that to such a pass as this had they come with respect to Irish prosecutions.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that after the ruling of the Chairman, he should not be in Order in going into the legal case referred to by hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he had no objection to raise to the manner in which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had referred to the expenses of the witnesses in the case of the men arrested at Tubbercurry. Those persons were entitled by Act of Parliament to their expenses and costs; it was their right to be paid. It appeared before the trial came on, and in order to enable them to be present to give evidence, the sum of £120 was paid on account for the expenses of the witnesses for the prisoners. After the Crown declined to proceed, the solicitor for the defence, who had a right to be paid his bill of costs, furnished a bill of costs claiming a large sum. The Crown Solicitor alleged that the £120 paid were sufficient, and that the bill of costs was too large; and the result was that ultimately the bill of costs of the solicitor for the defence was referred to Mr. Coll, the Crown Solicitor for Dublin, for taxation, and he certified the amount to the satisfaction of Mr. Tully, the solicitor for the prisoners. That bill ought to have included, according to the usual practice in all such cases, the expenses of the witnesses, as well as his own professional charges. The bill was then referred to the Treasury for payment, and an order for the amount certified had been made in the usual way—because, although the officials in Dublin acted in the first instance, it was from the Treasury that the order must proceed—and the solicitor for the defence had received the amount. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman suggested that the bill in question did not include the witnesses' expenses; if so, he thought it would be well for him for him to make inquiry on the subject. If the bill did not include the expenses to which the Act of Parliament entitled the parties, it was the fault of the solicitor who prepared it; but so far as he was at present aware, all the expenses properly claimable were included, or ought to be. If that be so, the question was one between the parties and the solicitor; and he was perfectly sure, judging from the practice, that the hon. Member would find that it was so, and that Mr. Tully was mistaken when he said that his bill of costs was distinct from the costs of the witnesses.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he noticed that, in trying to explain the extraordinary system of arithmetical deception under which the men of Tubbercurry had been victimized, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had given no explanation whatever of the extraordinary reluctance on the part of the Irish Government to make any inquiry in cases like that which the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had managed, at an earlier period of the evening, to place before the Committee. He (Mr. O'Brien) again referred to the case of the Delahuntys, because, as in that case, so in a great many others, there was suspicion on the evidence that a gross and cruel miscarriage of justice had taken place, and the proof was just as clear and convincing as it was in the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners. The fact was, as he believed, that the question which the Government asked themselves was—"How will an investigation affect other cases?" And it was that fact which made the Irish Government so fearful of entering into an investigation of these cases. The position sometimes taken up by the Irish Government appeared to be that there were other numerous cases in which there was reason to suspect that there had been fearful wrong and injustice done, and that, because there were so many cases, none of them ought to be investigated, for fear that it might turn out that in some

of those cases innocent men in Ireland had been sent to the gallows. It was idle for Irish Members to argue, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had that night attempted to do, that there was no analogy between the two cases brought forward, or that the suspicions in the one case were not just as strong as in the other. The conviction of Bryan Kilmartin had been as strenuously upheld by the Government in that House as the conviction of the Delahuntys would be. It was so upheld until an inquiry was forced upon Earl Spencer, and Kilmartin's case was shown to be a fallacious one. He believed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would not come forward in the House and give a guarantee that, if an inquiry were granted, the result would not be the same—namely, the release of these men. He (Mr. O'Brien) was able to say, as the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had said, that the people in Ireland believed that the Irish Government—he would not say knew, but, at all events, strongly suspected that in this case the result of an investigation would be to show that a frightful scandal in the administration of justice had occurred, and that it would result in the liberation of these men. The fact was, that Earl Spencer and the English Government knew, in the case of the Prevention of Crime Act, the *mot d'ordre* had been to obtain convictions by any means. They knew that the trials in all the cases under that Act had been scrambled through in haste, in a state of panic, and that little regard had been paid to the defences of the prisoners; that all sorts of witnesses had been pressed into the service of the prosecution, and that a number of gross miscarriages of justice were the consequence. He believed that it was because Earl Spencer was afraid to re-open that dark and blood-stained page of his administration in Ireland that there was now this extraordinary reluctance on the part of the Government on this occasion to grant Irish Members an inquiry into the case of the Delahuntys by an independent tribunal, which would show how convictions were obtained in Ireland. At all events, so long as the Government maintained the attitude they had taken up with regard to this case, and in so many others, he said that the House could not be surprised that the Representatives of the Irish people should resist to the utmost extremity any proposal to arm Earl Spencer again with powers that had been so misused that it was impossible to expect from them in future anything like an honest result.

Mr. GREGORY said, he did not think it ought to be allowed to go forth that that House was at any time in the slightest degree indisposed to discuss any case that might be brought before it if it could be shown that any useful purpose would be served by such discussion. He did not think it had ever shown the slightest indisposition to listen to any case that was properly brought forward and represented by any of its Members; but, at the same time, he could not help thinking it was a highly inconvenient course, and one that did not tend to raise the character or the credit of that House, to have questions of the kind that had just been raised—questions of a judicial nature, involving important considerations connected with the administration of justice—suddenly sprung upon the House without having been previously put upon the Notice Paper, without even a moment's warning, and without any evidence or documents upon which the House could decide, but altogether unexpectedly entered upon and discussed in the manner in which hon. Members seemed disposed to raise them on that occasion. The discussion that had been introduced by hon. Members below the Gangway had turned upon two cases, and presented two different aspects—one with regard to the treatment of the Delahuntys, and the other with regard to the action that had been taken in the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners, the latter being a matter not so much with reference to the administration of justice as with respect to matters affecting the Government of Ireland subsequent to the institution of judicial proceedings; and he could not but think that this latter case had been fully met by what had been stated by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. It appeared, from that statement, that the Government had made an allowance for the expenses of the defence in connection with that case. That allowance was, as he understood, made, in the first instance, by the pay-

ment of a sum of money on account for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the defence; and, in the second place, by a payment very properly made for the remuneration of the solicitor. The solicitor would, indeed, have failed to do justice to himself or his clients if he had not sent in an account of the expenses unpaid on the previous account; and he thought it might be assumed that such an account was sent in, and that the expenses were paid by the Government of Ireland. But another question, which was wholly inappropriate to such an occasion as the discussion of the Vote under consideration, had also been raised by hon. Members from Ireland, and that was the case of the Delahuntys—a case on which points had been presented, involving questions as to the administration of criminal justice, the conduct of the case before the Court in which it had been tried, the action of the Judge and jury, the verdict the jury had returned, and the evidence on which that verdict had been found. He thought it a most inconvenient course that such questions should be raised before that House, and that it should be asked to take upon itself the functions of a Court of Criminal Appeal. But, at any rate, if the House were to be called on to perform such duties, it ought at least to have placed before it a full Report of the evidence on which the trial it was asked to review had proceeded. It should be in possession of all that had been stated by the witnesses who had been called, the ruling of the Judge, and the record of the sentence that had been pronounced. The House ought, indeed, to have a complete record before it of everything that had taken place before it was asked to form an opinion. For his own part, he did not wish to be called upon to pronounce an opinion until he was in possession of the fullest information; and he did not think it was within the functions of that House to occupy the position of a Court of Criminal Appeal; at any rate, if it were to be called upon to act in that capacity, it ought to have all the facts fully laid before it. He remembered a case that had been brought before the House at the beginning of the Session—he alluded to the Maamtrasna case, in which he had taken a good deal of interest; but he had thought, at the time it was brought forward, it was inconvenient to raise it in the manner in which it was then put before the House. But having carefully looked into that case, he had felt no doubt as to its nature, and he had ventured to say so to the House in support of the opinion he had then expressed. He should do the same in any other case of a similar character that might be put before the House, and on which it might be called on to pronounce an opinion. As a member of the Legal Profession, he should think it his duty to express his opinion, not merely by the vote he might feel called upon to give, but also orally, and in detail, as to the grounds on which that opinion was based. With regard to the case of the Delahuntys, which had been introduced into this discussion, he had before him now a statement of that case, which he had reserved for consideration, and which he should be prepared to go into and discuss at such a time as it could be properly brought before that House. He should be willing to entertain the questions arising upon it whenever it could be properly brought on, and to give a judicial decision on its merits as far as his powers would allow; but he must, on the present occasion, protest against the bringing forward of cases of this kind, involving questions as to the administration of justice—cases that had been submitted to a jury, and conducted with all the forms of procedure belonging to a trial by jury. He protested against such cases being made matters of oral statement in that House without any evidence being submitted by which the House might be guided to an opinion, for the House could not have any opportunity of forming anything like a reasonable judgment, or of entering into the evidence that was given, or the facts upon which the verdict had been founded, from the way in which the case had been brought forward. He very much regretted that the discussion could not have been stopped at an earlier period of the evening; and, as far as he might be allowed to do so, as a very humble Member of that House, he protested against the course that had been adopted. He objected to the continuance of a discussion on a question of this kind, although, as he had stated, he was willing to enter into the matter whenever it could be brought on after proper Notice, and with a proper opportunity of considering it. He trusted the

Committee generally would concur in this protest against such cases being suddenly sprung upon it, and its being called upon to pronounce an opinion on such very imperfect evidence as had been brought forward on this occasion, when the matter under discussion was merely made the subject of vague declamation and loud clamour against the Government of Ireland.

MR. BIGGAR said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had protested very strongly against two things. He had protested against their going into a discussion on the administration of justice in Ireland; and he had also protested against the bringing forward of cases such as had been referred to without proper Notice. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman was not aware that, in reference to the case of the Delahuntys, the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had obtained the first place on the Notice Paper of last Friday for the discussion of that case upon a Motion of which he had given four weeks' Notice. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Kenny) was fully prepared on that occasion to have gone into the whole of the circumstances connected with the case; but the Government had succeeded in preventing his doing so by permitting the House to be counted out, and the practical result of that proceeding was that the discussion of the question involved in the Motion had to be postponed from Friday until Monday. Had the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gregory), who had so sharply commented on the misconduct of those who brought forward this case without Notice, looked at the Order Book, he would have seen that four weeks' notice had been given of the intention to discuss that particular matter. He (Mr. Biggar) thought the Committee would agree with him that four weeks afforded sufficient opportunity for hon. Members generally to have considered the case, and ample opportunity for the Government to defend the course that had been taken with regard to it, if they had any defence to offer; but, for his own part, he did not think they had any defence at all. Surely a period of four weeks was sufficient for the hon. Member for East Sussex to have read up the Delahunty case, so as to have enabled him to give his judicial verdict upon the facts. The hon. Gentleman had stated that those who brought forward these cases were in the habit of making vague and declamatory speeches in that House. He (Mr. Biggar) was inclined to dispute the dictum of the hon. Member on that point. On the contrary, he was inclined to think that his hon. Friends who brought forward these cases were in the habit of stating them, chapter and verse, and of giving all the facts they had to bring forward with very great moderation. It ought to be remembered, on the other hand, that the Government were in possession of the Crown briefs, and of all the facts and circumstances connected with these cases, and that consequently they were in the best possible position for defending what had been done, if they had any defence to offer. But, as he had said before, he did not think they had any defence. What, he asked, was the defence of the Irish Members for the course they pursued? Their defence was that such a thing as justice did not exist in Ireland. They asserted that the system of hiring perjurers to give evidence in the Law Courts was notorious. They stated, moreover, that the authorities packed the juries, and changed the venue of trials in such a way that if any person who happened to belong to the popular Party in Ireland were proceeded against before a jury so selected, rightly or wrongly, he was sure to be convicted, with or without evidence; while, on the other hand, if an offender were proceeded against who did not belong to the popular Party, it was equally certain that the jury would, rightly or wrongly, acquit him. In the Newry case, the prisoner was brought to Belfast, where they had not the slightest idea of justice. It was, in fact, well known that a Belfast jury never gave an honest verdict, and he founded this statement upon his own knowledge. In that Newry case, the charge was that of firing out of the window of the Newry Orange Hall, and the prisoner was taken to Belfast, in order, as the Attorney General for Ireland would put it, to obtain an honest verdict from a Belfast jury, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) knowing very well that such a thing as an honest verdict from a Belfast jury was what could not possibly be had. Let the Government cease to hire perjured witnesses; let them cease to pack juries;

let them cease to change the venue of trials to places where it was well known conviction or acquittal would take place, just as it suited their own particular views, and the Irish Members would have no cause to complain. But so long as they persisted in taking care that justice was not honestly administered, so long would the Irish Party protest against their proceedings, and draw the attention of the House to what was going on, whenever the opportunity occurred. He thought the complaint of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gregory) against the Irish Members was unreasonable. They knew the cause of these packed juries, and that the Government were guilty of being accessories after the fact in all these cases of misconduct. They suborned juries, and perpetrated all the crimes they could possibly conceive, and yet the Attorney General for Ireland was ready to get up and declare that they had never packed a jury, although the fact that they did so was well known to everyone in Ireland.

MR. KENNY said, he desired to call the attention of the Chairman to the question on which he had a short time ago ruled him (Mr. Kenny) out of Order. On the point of Order he would refer the Chairman to a case analogous to that which he had mentioned—namely, the case of Bryan Kilmartin. During the last Session of the present Parliament, a question was raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) in Committee on the identical Vote on which he (Mr. Kenny) had endeavoured to raise the question arising out of the Delahuntys' case; and inasmuch as the point was discussed in Committee, and not on the Motion to go into Committee, he had now to ask whether he was not entitled to continue the discussion of the Delahuntys' case, on the ground that it was of the same nature as the Kilmartin case which had been discussed last Session?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the case to which the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had referred as having been discussed last Session was not ruled out of Order, and he could not say that the Chairman was wrong on that occasion. He could only judge of each case as it was presented to him. He had considered that the hon. Gentleman was giving in his speech too great development to the details of a case that had been tried before a Judge, and therefore it was that he had advised him not to continue in that course. He could not say that the Kilmartin case being considered in Committee of Supply was improperly allowed to be discussed; but he must point out to the hon. Member that the Question before the Committee was a Vote on Account, in which there were various items put down for the Civil Service, and it was impossible to conduct the Business of Supply if cases that had been tried in Ireland were on such occasions as this to be tried over again in that House.

MR. KENNY said, he would ask whether, in the event of his not carrying the case he had endeavoured to bring forward any further, the Attorney General for Ireland would not be entitled to reply on behalf of the Government, and state what action the Government proposed to pursue in regard to the prisoners?

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether the hon. Member merely put the question as an inquiry addressed to the Attorney General for Ireland, or whether he wished to know if the Attorney General would be in Order in replying?

MR. KENNY said, the Chairman had declared him to be out of Order in the statement he was making; but he had now shown that a perfectly identical matter had been allowed to be brought forward in Committee of Supply on a previous occasion, and as the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) was enabled to reply to the observations of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), he trusted the Attorney General for Ireland would be considered equally in Order in replying to the remarks which he (Mr. Kenny) had made on the case of the Delahuntys.

THE CHAIRMAN said, until he heard the Attorney General for Ireland, he could not say whether it would be in Order or not.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the Government were not prepared to institute an inquiry, as the case to which the hon. Member for Ennis had referred had been fully and fairly tried, and to re-try the case in that House would not only be extremely inconvenient, but would, as the Chairman had already ruled, be out of Order. If, however, the hon. Member would bring the case

forward on a future occasion as a substantive Motion, he should then be prepared to state the reasons why the Government were not prepared to grant an inquiry.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the statement just made by the Attorney General for Ireland was one that would greatly disappoint the expectations of the Irish people, and he was still more disappointed at finding that the present Chief Secretary had not availed himself of the opportunity of replying to the distinct challenge that had been offered to Her Majesty's Government. He very much regretted that after his hon. Friend (Mr. Kenny) had been permitted to bring forward his case, even in the mutilated form it had assumed through his not having been able to complete it, the Chief Secretary had not taken the opportunity of offering some opinion upon it. The Attorney General for Ireland had got up and stated that it was most inconvenient that cases of this kind should be brought forward and retried in that House. That was the stereotyped answer that was always given when a demand was made for inquiry into any Irish case which he had ever known brought before that House. It was invariably said that the course pursued in bringing the case forward was most inconvenient, and that the House could not judge the matter. This was a piece of cant which he should have thought would by that time have been expelled from the Parliamentary vocabulary even of Law Officers of the Crown. He would point out that when the Irish Members had brought forward the Kilmartin case the same sort of thing had occurred. The Chief Secretary for Ireland then said—

"The case was carefully gone into by the Judge who tried it. All the papers were sent to the Chief Secretary, whose sole function it is to represent the mercy of the Crown, and the power which the Crown has of re-trying the case. [Mr. SEXTON: Who was the Judge who tried it?] Judge Lawson. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *from the Irish Members.*] Yes; Judge Lawson, than whom, I must say, there is no abler nor juster Judge. The Lord Lieutenant went carefully into the case himself; and as an application had been made to me in this House, and as it was not improbable that the question would come before the House upon the Estimates, His Excellency submitted the papers to me, and I studied them with great care. I may say that I entirely concur with the judgment of His Excellency and of Judge Lawson that the case stands quite complete and separate from the confession of Gauly, and that that confession does not shake the case as it stands in the very least particular."—(3 *Hansard*, [291] 1193.)

And within two months the man, who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life, was restored to liberty. He (Mr. O'Connor) had ventured in that case to raise his voice in favour of the man, and the Home Secretary then said—

"In dealing with a matter of this kind, it certainly requires the calmest exercise of judicial faculties, and I hope that it will not be approached in the spirit of the speech to which we have just listened. We are, however, used to the violent and abusive language in which the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has indulged."—(*Ibid.* 1200-1.)

He (Mr. O'Connor) would like to know what hon. Members would say if he were to apply the same sort of language to them. The right hon. Gentleman had proceeded thus—

"I say that habitually the language used by the hon. Member, and by hon. Members sitting by him, towards my right hon. Friends is violent, abusive, and most unjustifiable."—(*Ibid.* 1201.)

The result, however, of his (Mr. O'Connor's) most violent, abusive, and unjustifiable language was that the Irish Members had forced an inquiry down the throat of the right hon. Gentleman. If they had the Prime Minister present, and one or two English Members were to get up and join their voices to those of his hon. Friends who had brought forward the case of the Delahuntys, an investigation would doubtless be ordered, the Chief Secretary for Ireland would have to swallow his words, and the unfortunate prisoners would be restored from a penal servitude which was almost worse than death to their homes and families. He thought the conduct of the Government in refusing the inquiry asked for had been most unreasonable.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he doubted whether he was in Order in making any statement upon this subject; but, while he could only repeat that the Government were not prepared to institute the inquiry asked for, he might also say that if the subject were brought up as a substantive Motion, his right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland would be prepared to go into the whole case.

MR. DEASY said, he could not understand the attitude assumed by the

Government in regard to this question. It appeared that if his hon. Friends had been enabled to bring the case before the House on a former occasion—which they had been prevented from doing—the Attorney General for Ireland would have been prepared to have met their statements. If that were so, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman was prepared to meet the case and to refuse the inquiry asked for, why had not the Government kept a House, so that the matter might have been discussed last Friday? His hon. Friend the Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had given Notice of his Motion four weeks ago; and, although it would have come on at an early hour last Friday, he was not aware that at the time it was to have been gone into there was a single Member of the Government on the Treasury Bench, with the exception of the Attorney General for Ireland. There might possibly have been one or two others present; but, in any case, the Government had made no attempt to keep 40 Members in the House. He remembered at one time seeing 13 Members of the Government seated on the Treasury Bench; but every one of their followers was sent out of the House, so that the Irish Members should not have an opportunity of entering upon the discussion of the Motion that had been put upon the Paper. If there were any desire on the part of the Government that the question should be considered, why did they not offer the Irish Members a night on which it could be discussed in a more regular form than it could take on the present occasion? As far as the case had already been gone into, he submitted that it had been made out by his hon. Friend (Mr. Kenny), and that, inasmuch as the Chairman had allowed the hon. Member to proceed with a great portion of his speech, it was clear that the Attorney General for Ireland would have been perfectly entitled to go into at least that part of the speech which had not been ruled out of Order. He had, at any rate, placed such a statement before the Committee as would have persuaded any fair-minded man that an inquiry was necessary in order to ascertain the truth of the charges that had been made with regard to the conviction of the unfortunate men for whom he had pleaded. In his opinion, it was perfectly idle to suppose that any hon. Member sitting on those Benches could believe that the Government of Ireland, or any single individual connected with the administration of justice in that country, was disposed to do what was right and just. They knew that perfectly well, because they lived in the country, and had witnessed the acts of injustice that were constantly being perpetrated. They knew that no Irish official ever cared what became of the unfortunate people of Ireland, as long as he could maintain the confidence of his superiors and draw a salary. The Irish Members had from time to time furnished many instances of that. During the present Session, unfortunately, the Government had debarred the Irish Members from taking any important discussion on the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland. That was not the first occasion on which they had, during the present Session, endeavoured to impugn the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had been ruled out of Order. It was very difficult, therefore, for them to know what course they ought to take with a view of having Irish grievances discussed by that House. If the Government continued the practice they had begun with regard to the conduct of Business in that House, their time would be so monopolized that they would not be able until the end of the Session, and until the Prevention of Crime Act had been renewed, to find an opportunity for debating matters of that kind. They, therefore, felt it to be their imperative duty to avail themselves of every possible opportunity, no matter how unfavourable it might be, of bringing under the notice of the House the conduct of the officers of the Crown in such cases as those of the Delahuntys and the Tubbercurry prisoners. The Irish Members had been reviled by an hon. Member (Mr. Gregory) for not having given sufficient details to enable him to form a correct judgment on the case that had been submitted. If the hon. Member to whom he referred were then present, he would remind him that they were not allowed to go into the question in the way they desired to do. If they had been permitted, they would have been able to have enlightened that hon. Gentleman to a considerable extent, so that if he were not absolutely prejudiced on the subject, he would have felt bound

to have voted with the Irish Members; but he had no confidence in the kind of judgment the hon. Gentleman would have been likely to have formed. He had stated that he had had in his possession for some time a pamphlet containing a statement of the facts; but, notwithstanding that there had for some weeks been a Motion on the Paper for a discussion of the question, the hon. Gentleman had not yet opened that pamphlet. He did not think hon. Gentlemen opposite had come into the House prepared to take a fair view of the subject. He was afraid that most of them came there prejudiced against anything which the Irish Members might bring forward, and that it was, therefore, impossible to convince them, no matter what facts might be brought forward. He would not be astonished at anything that would be said against Irish law officials or against special jurors. He would give one of the reasons why. Mr. Peter O'Brien had given the greatest offence to Catholic jurors in Cork by his conduct as Crown Prosecutor in challenging Catholics on special juries—such offence, indeed, that those gentlemen had signed a Memorial against his conduct, and had declared that if they could possibly avoid it they would not serve even upon a common jury, seeing that they were not to be permitted by the Crown to serve on special juries. The moment the names of those gentlemen were called in Court they were, one after another, told to stand aside as being unworthy of belief on their oaths, whilst those who were empannelled were almost invariably Masons and Orangemen. Masons and Orangemen were put on the juries wherever it was possible; and he submitted that so long as such conduct was allowed to go on in Ireland—and there was no Court of Appeal there in criminal cases—and so long as Irish Representatives had to come over to the British Parliament, they would be obliged to bring such matters as these under the notice of the House of Commons. It was all very well to say that the House of Commons was not to be made a Court of Appeal; but if it was not made a Court of Appeal, what Court of Appeal were the Irish Members to resort to? The Irish Members came here, very much against their will, to discuss these matters. It was not a pleasure to them to have to raise such questions—to bring before the notice of the House such glaring instances of cruelty as they had to raise from time to time. They did it with the greatest reluctance; but they were obliged to do it in the due discharge of their duty. He regretted that the Government had taken the course they had taken with regard to the Irish Members this Session. He himself had had a Notice on the Paper with regard to a most important matter involving the conduct of certain officials who were paid under the Vote now under consideration, and he had obtained an opportunity for bringing the discussion on; but the Government had taken the evening from him. On other occasions, when Irish Members had had Questions on the Paper, the Government had monopolized the entire time of the House, and the result had been that they had been unable to bring under the notice of the House and of the country, through the House, the manner in which the Lord Lieutenant and his underlings had behaved. He did not suppose that anything the Irish Representatives could say or do would influence the majority of the Members of the House; nay, he did not expect any English Members would go into the Lobby with them, because those who came to take part in the division would come in from the Smoking Room or the Dining Room simply to vote for the Government, without having heard a word that had been said by the Irish Members, or knowing anything of the subject, or caring anything about it. But this course on the part of English Members, however persevered in, would not prevent Irish Representatives from bringing forward these questions, and debating them as fully as the Rules of the House permitted, if they believed that by so doing they enlightened public opinion outside. Of course, it would be highly inconvenient to Her Majesty's Government, if there were a full House, to hear the representations of the Irish Members. In the course of a week or two the Prevention of Crime Act would be before the House—a Bill would be introduced to renew it; and if a full House heard the just demand of the Irish Members for an inquiry into this case it might accede to it; the result, there could not be the slightest doubt, would be the release of the men now suffering penal servitude, and that would

be a strong argument against the renewal of the Act. The men had been convicted because they were tried by a tribunal upon which no reliance could be placed. It only required some impartial tribunal to investigate such cases, and within a month they would have the majority of the men convicted under the Prevention of Crime Act set free. It might be said that if that Act were done away with Earl Spencer would resign. But what would that matter to the Irish people? Under any circumstances he could not be much longer in the country; and when he went the people would, at any rate, have the consolation of knowing that he could not be succeeded by a worse Lord Lieutenant. But even though the Lord Lieutenant threatened resignation, and even though to prevent that resignation certain clauses of the Prevention of Crime Act were renewed, he (Mr. Deasy) did not see that that justified them in keeping in prison men who were innocent of the offences for which they had been tried. But it was useless for him to go more fully into the matter now. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland had had an opportunity of replying to the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny); but he had not availed himself of it. They knew why he had not done so. It was not because in adopting that course he would have been out of Order, but because he had no valid reason to give for the course the Government had taken in the matter. It was useless, therefore, to endeavour to impress upon the right hon. and learned Gentleman the desirability of granting an inquiry. It was waste of time to tell him that they believed these men to be innocent, because there could be no doubt he knew it as well as they did themselves.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he did not wish to say many words on this question. He was only anxious to support the statement of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) in the view of the case he had just put before the Committee. The Government at present were tied to the car of Lord Spencer, and wherever he led them they were bound to go. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was anxious to quote a passage which had come under his eyes only that evening in turning over the letters of *Junius*. *Junius*, speaking of a certain politician, said—

> "In what repute can he conceive that he stands with his people when he sees, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that, whatever be the office, the suspicion of his favour is fatal to the candidate?"

He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) contended that that was the position in which the present Viceroy of Ireland found himself, and that if that had been written by a writer of the present day it could not have more correctly described Lord Spencer's repute amongst all classes of the Irish people. Such was the condition of Ireland, because while the Viceroy was really the Leader and the despot of the Government in Ireland they could have nothing but dissatisfaction, both in large cases and in small, in all Departments of the Government. Irish Members could only do as the hon. Member for the City of Cork had done—namely, endeavour, by impressing that condition on the House of Commons again and again, to awaken them to a sense of the impossibility of the Government, under such conditions and under such a Leader, acting in a manner satisfactory to the Irish people.

MR. DEASY said, he had another question to raise which he had brought before the House at an early period of the Session, but which, owing to the Forms of the House, he had been unable to state for more than a few minutes' time, Mr. Speaker having ruled him out of Order. However, having brought the subject under the notice of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, he felt sure that by that time he would have informed himself upon it, and would be able now to give a reason why Mr. John O'Brien, Town Councillor of the City of Cork, had not been placed upon the Board of Governors of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum. He (Mr. Deasy) had to complain of the manner in which that Board of Governors discharged its duties. The manner was unsatisfactory, and it was because of the kind of men who were placed upon it by the Lord Lieutenant, who had the making of the appointments in his own hands. But, before he went any further, he (Mr. Deasy) would point out to the Chairman that there was a sum for the salary of the Lord Lieutenant included in the Vote before the Committee, and that,

therefore, he was entitled to refer to a body of Governors whose appointment was vested in the Lord Lieutenant, and who had intrusted to them the administration of money that was paid under a different class altogether to that which was paid under these Votes. Boards of Governors generally in Ireland were mainly constituted of the landlord classes, the people who made the money and paid the rates for the maintenance of those asylums having no representation whatever upon them except by the goodwill of the Lord Lieutenant—and he must say that, as a general rule, Lord Lieutenants in Ireland had not evinced any very general disposition to place on those Boards men at all representative of the people whose money the Boards squandered. Take, for instance, the composition of the Board in Cork. There were such men upon it as Lord Mount Cashell, who was about a century old; Lord Bantry, who spent the greater part of his time in Australia and other places abroad; and others of the same kind who never for a moment considered the interests of the people or the amount of money they squandered so long as they were able to appoint their own friends to lucrative positions. The Corporation of the City of Cork contributed £7,000 annually towards the maintenance of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum, and the Government contributed largely. Of course, he had no objection, under those circumstances, to the Government nominating a certain portion of the Board; but he had a great objection to the ratepayers of the City of Cork not being allowed to appoint a single representative of their own on the Board of Governors, without the permission of the Lord Lieutenant. The ratepayers had had grave reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the Governors. Four or five years ago they found that a number of contracts were improperly given in connection with the Asylum, and they had good cause to believe that a great deal of the money found by the ratepayers was misspent. The Corporation had been in the habit of nominating members of the Board, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant; but when two vacancies occurred some time ago, and two gentlemen were nominated to fill them, Earl Spencer only selected one of the nominees, and that gentleman he had appointed the very day after his nomination, doubtless for the reason that he was a member of an Orange Lodge and one of the leading Masons of Cork. The other gentleman, Mr. John O'Brien, the Lord Lieutenant had absolutely refused to appoint. It was now well understood why Earl Spencer had refused to confirm the nomination. It was because Mr. O'Brien had refused to be present at a dinner given to the Lord Lieutenant about a couple of years ago, and because Mr. O'Brien had been sentenced to two months' imprisonment and a plank bed. The imprisonment and plank bed were bestowed upon Mr. O'Brien for making a speech which he (Mr. Deasy) should consider moderate. Another reason why that gentleman had not been appointed was because the Lord Lieutenant feared that if he were put on the Board of Governors the little game of the Orange Freemasons on the Board would be, to a certain extent, spoiled—that they would be no longer allowed to vote addresses to Earl Spencer without opposition. The District Asylum had been the only place in Cork at which the Lord Lieutenant had received a cheer when on a visit to that city a short time ago, and probably he did not wish to have the apple of discord thrown in amongst his devoted friends. At any rate, whatever the reason was, his Lordship had refused to appoint Mr. John O'Brien in spite of his nomination by the Corporation. The people of Cork complained of that, because they had been anxious to have Mr. O'Brien on the Board in order to advocate reforms, particularly in regard to the giving out of contracts, as it had been ascertained—in the woollen business especially—that tenders had been refused which were at a far lower figure than those which had been accepted, the reason being that the persons who had sent in the lowest tenders did not quite come up to the Dublin Castle standard. The interests of Cork, in fact, had been to such an extent prejudiced by the action of the Lord Lieutenant, by refusing to appoint the nominee of the Corporation of that city, that it was almost time to advise the Corporation to bring the Lord Lieutenant to reason by refusing to grant the supplies necessary for the working of the Asylum. There was a Motion down for consideration in the Town Council to take such

a step, unless the Lord Lieutenant could see his way to appoint Mr. O'Brien. The Board did not want to be intruded upon by any outsider who would be anxious to act honestly and in the interest of the ratepayers; and it could be easily understood why they were reluctant to be so intruded upon, when it was borne in mind that only 12 months ago the auditors had surcharged the Chairman and two other Governors £250 for illegal expenditure. The auditors were under the Local Government Board, which was under the control of the Lord Lieutenant; and ultimately, the matter going before the high officials on the representation of the Governors, the items in respect of which the surcharge was made were admitted. This was a gross fraud on the ratepayers of the district, and he hoped that the Government, as they did not seem inclined to bring in a Bill for the reform of County Government, or any measure which would deal with a question of that kind, would at least see that in those matters the interests of the ratepayers, who contributed so largely to the maintenance of pauper lunatics, were properly represented on the Board of Governors. There was not upon the Cork District Lunatic Asylum Board a single representative of the agricultural classes — a single person representing the farmers of that vast county, although they had to pay a large proportion of the expenses of the Asylum, the landlords in respect of their property contributing not a single farthing—that was, contributing nothing in respect of that part of their property which they did not occupy themselves. There was every reason why the people of Cork, as well as the tenant farmers, should complain of having the present system in force any longer; but, as that was not the question under discussion, he should confine himself to urging upon the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant the desirability of reconsidering the case of Mr. John O'Brien, and of advising the Lord Lieutenant to have that gentleman appointed on the Board of Governors of the Cork District Asylum in compliance with the demand of the Corporation of the City. If the right hon. Gentleman did not do that, he would probably hear more about that matter than he had heard that evening, because there would not be a Vote coming under the notice of the House which related to County Government in that county, to the contributions for the maintenance of pauper lunatics, or the salary of the Lord Lieutenant, upon which he (Mr. Deasy) would not be prepared to raise this question. He should like, also, to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it was the intention of the Government to retain in office in the Asylum Dr. Eames, a doctor whose case had been discussed more than once in that House? It would be remembered that Dr. Eames was one of the physicians appointed by the Government to examine into the case of James Ellis French, and one of the physicians who pronounced James Ellis French to be insane, though a short time afterwards he was declared by a jury to be perfectly sane, and was sent to gaol. That case of French was not the only one in which Dr. Eames had shown his incapacity to take charge of cases in the Asylum. About 12 months ago one of his (Mr. Deasy's) own constituents applied to Dr. Eames for a form of tender, or a form for a milk contract. Dr. Eames told him he wanted a form of committal; and before the unfortunate man could show that he was perfectly sane, and that he only applied for a form for a milk contract, a strait-jacket was put on him and he was placed in a cell. The man afterwards brought an action against the doctor, and the doctor paid him some damages. So that in the brief period of about 12 months two clear cases of incompetence were proved against Dr. Eames. The Irish Members, however, might as well hold their tongues as mention the matter at all except through the House. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would promise to make an inquiry into the capacity of Dr. Eames for filling his present post, because he had himself serious doubts of the man's sanity. He made the statement with great reluctance here; but there was a general impression abroad that Dr. Eames was not a fit man to be intrusted with the care of the unfortunate people in this Asylum. Another question in connection with this matter which he should like to raise was ——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Member whether Dr. Eames's salary is included in the Vote before the Committee, because the question was gone into very fully a few days ago, and it was not admitted then that he was a

salaried servant of the Government. Is his salary in any way included in this vote?

MR. DEASY said, Dr. Eames's salary would come under Class VI., which was for the maintenance of pauper lunatics in Ireland. There was another Vote for the salary of the Lord Lieutenant which, he maintained, would render this subject in Order. But his further remarks would not have so much to do with Dr. Eames as with pauper lunatics, which would come under the head of Class VI., Vote 5. The Cork Asylum was built for about 1,200 patients; but at present there were not 900 in it, while the workhouse was overcrowded with poor people, and had to accommodate 300 pauper lunatics. Those unfortunate lunatics had no chance of recovering on account of their surroundings, no proper provision being made for them; and his contention was that they should be removed to the Cork District Asylum, where there was ample room for their reception, where they would be properly treated, and where the percentage of recoveries would be far and away higher than in the workhouse. So long as there was room in the Asylum those people ought to be sent there for proper treatment; and he submitted that the Board of Guardians ought to be compelled by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to send their pauper lunatics there under a doctor's certificates, and the Board of Governors obliged to receive them. If the Government would be content to pay a portion of the expense of their maintenance there was no reason why those helpless people should not be admitted into the District Asylum. Hundreds of people were treated in the Asylum, the expense of whose maintenance should not, under any circumstances, be thrown upon the rates. People were taken in, no matter where they came from—whether from England, America, or Australia—and became chargeable to the Cork ratepayers. The people of Ireland had not the privileges that people similarly circumstanced possessed in England, consequently the people of the City and County of Cork, and the people of Kerry, were saddled with large and very unjust expenses in respect of lunatics who were landed at the ports within the district who ought not to be treated in Ireland at all, but who could not, under the existing law, be sent back to the Unions to which they belonged. In conclusion, he wished to express a hope that as the Government did not intend to introduce their County Government Bill that Session, the Chief Secretary would take care that power was conferred upon the authorities in Ireland enabling them to compel Boards of Governors to levy the rates fairly and to expend them honestly.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said, he would endeavour to draw the attention of the Committee to a few figures which bore on this subject. The ratepayers of Ireland paid nearly £130,000 per annum for the support of pauper lunatics—they paid £123,702, whilst the Government contributed £98,200 this year, according to Vote 5 in Class VI., and in 1883 they contributed £92,866. Those figures showed a very great increase, and whilst the figures were increasing for the support of pauper lunatics they had the anomaly that the population of the country was decreasing at a great ratio. He thought he should be correct in stating that the population of Ireland had decreased since the last Census by 200,000 persons. Then, what was the cause of the increase in the amount expended on pauper lunatics—was it that pauper lunatics in Ireland were on the increase? No, that was not the fact, as the figures showed; then it must be due to some extravagance on the part of the Directors, who were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. That had been particularly the case in Cork; and the Corporation had discovered that great irregularities prevailed on the Board in connection with the issuing of contracts. Those irregularities had been conspicuous in connection with contracts for the purchase of the woollen materials used in clothing the pauper lunatics. Well, the Cork Corporation, as they had contributed so largely to the support of the pauper lunatics, and as the Lord Lieutenant, on a former occasion, acceded to their request to have a certain number of their body appointed on the Governing Board of the Cork District Asylum, thought it would be advisable to send to the Board a man who was an expert in the matter of those contracts, and upon whom would devolve the duty of seeing that the pauper lunatics were well treated, and that the taxpayers and the Imperial Revenues were not

cheated by the maladministration of the Governors appointed by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. Therefore, they decided to send to the Board a man who was an expert in the woollen trade, and they selected a Councillor of great integrity and repute, Mr. John O'Brien. The name of that gentleman was sent up to the Lord Lieutenant, and day upon day, week upon week, month upon month elapsed, and yet Mr. O'Brien was not appointed to the Board. Why was it? Was it because he was not a competent business man? No; that could not be the case, because he had made his own business a success and he (Mr. O'Connor) held that anyone capable of making his own business a success was a fit and proper person to look after the business of other people. Was it, then, because he was a bad public man? That could not be either, because he was a respected and faithful representative of the people in the locality in which he dwelt. Then, what was the reason? They could come to one conclusion, and one only—namely, because he had slept for two months on a plank bed for the commission of an offence and a breach of laws the Irish people considered more honoured in the breach than the observance. He (Mr. O'Connor) held that the offence Mr. O'Brien had committed was no reason why he should not be intrusted with the administration of the affairs of the Cork District Asylum. The Government saw amongst the Irish Members many who had suffered the miseries of imprisonment, and yet they asked them to come here and aid and assist them in the enactment of laws for the better government of Her Majesty's subjects. The Irish Members were, therefore, entitled to ask—"Is what is right in St. Stephen's wrong in connection with the Cork District Lunatic Asylum?" Yet such was the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Government hinted at the passing of laws for the better government of Ireland—they promised them laws for the development of County Government and for the improvement of Local Government generally, and it would be in the hands of such a Viceroy as Earl Spencer that they would place the administration of those laws. Look at what a muddle the Lord Lieutenant had brought things to in Limerick—see the collision he had brought about between the authorities of Dublin Castle through the imposition of an unjust tax; and yet the contest that was going on between Dublin Castle and Limerick was taking place elsewhere, although it had not received equal notoriety. And yet they would sustain in his position a Lord Lieutenant who placed himself in opposition to localities in this way, and would, furthermore, place in his hands the administration of those laws which had been promised to the people of Ireland for their better government.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the question which the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) had raised was, after all, only a portion of a much wider question which he thought the Government, whatever might be the pressure on their time and resources, ought to take in hand at the soonest possible moment. Every year, whenever occasion offered, he had urged this matter on the attention of the House; and he should think he was remiss in his duty if he failed on that occasion also to state what he thought ought to be done in this regard. The question of the whole treatment of paupers and pauper lunatics generally in Ireland was a question which could, scarcely be studied without feelings of indignation and disgust. Only two months ago he had put a question to one of the officials of the Government as to the condition of the district lunatic asylums in Ireland. He had asked whether it was not the fact that out of 22 asylums there were not 11 in which the number of inmates far exceeded the number for which the buildings were registered? The Government had to admit that it was a fact; but in palliation of it it was urged that there were other lunatic asylums which were not up to their full establishment. But that had nothing to do with the case. In at least 50 per cent of the district lunatic asylums of Ireland, the number of patients was so great that there was not adequate accommodation for them, and the staff was insufficient to look properly after them. Another portion of the case related to lunatics who were the inmates of workhouses; and he supposed there was not in the United Kingdom any class more deserving of commiseration, and having a greater claim on the attention and time of the House, than this

unfortunate set of people, who were absolutely unable to do anything for themselves. What was the fact? Why, in many of the pauper establishments in Ireland there was absolutely no classification whatever. The consequence was that lunatics were the habitual, daily, and nightly companions of persons who were sane. In certain poorhouses in Ireland—however it might amuse the Home Secretary who was laughing—they were habitually required, day after day, to spend the whole of their time from morning till night in the company of lunatics. He had mentioned more than once the case of Dingle Asylum, in West Kerry. They there found female lunatics left in a large shed which could not be called a room, with no floor but the cold earth—a shed which served also for the children's playground. In the whole of Europe no people could be found who were in a more mournful condition than those in that place. He had cited the case of that institution now for three years in succession, and not only that case, but the treatment of paupers generally in the workhouses of Ireland deserved a very searching investigation. He had on more than one occasion observed, and he would observe again, that the amount of nourishment given to many of those paupers would not keep a mere idle person in a normal condition of health. Three years ago he had privately obtained particulars of the amount of food given to the adults, and the sick, and the children in some of those workhouses. He would not go into the amount of nutritious elements—the nitrogen and carbon—contained in the food, nor the weights, nor go into a comparison of the quantity and quality of the food supplied to those poor people and that supplied to prisoners in England; but he had shown, and could do so again, to conviction that the state of the unfortunate people in the Irish workhouses was something disgraceful. He had submitted the figures to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), who had admitted that the quantities as marked out were fairly open to challenge. The right hon. Gentleman, at his (Mr. A. O'Connor's) request, after investigating the Return submitted to him, handed it to the then Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster). That right hon. Gentleman had promised that in the ensuing Recess he would cause a careful investigation to be made into the subject; but he (Mr. A. O'Connor) was sorry to say that investigation was never made. When the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford was succeeded by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) a similar promise was obtained from him; but it was kept in precisely the same way. Now, in his turn, he wished to ask the present Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) if he would cause some inquiry to be made, not only into the condition of the lunatics in the Irish workhouses, but into the amount of food given to the rest of the inmates? Such an inquiry would not be a very difficult thing to institute. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he was willing to lay on the Table of the House a Return of the scales of dietary in force in the West of Ireland—in the two Provinces of Connaught and Munster? He was certain that if the right hon. Gentleman would obtain such a Return, and would submit it when obtained to competent authorities to report to him as to the amount of nourishment to be obtained from those scales, and necessary for ordinary adults in fair health, and even without the necessity of doing anything like heavy physical labour, he would come to the conclusion which the medical authorities who had been consulted had come to already—namely, that there was not a sufficient amount of nourishment given to those poor people to keep them in a normal state of health. The consequence was that they had an amount of debility, helplessness, and hopelessness in the Irish workhouses that would not be dreamed of in this country, and that the mortality amongst the workhouse children was greater than it was amongst the children of the poorest people outside the workhouses.

COLONEL NOLAN trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would now reply to the various points raised, as he (Colonel Nolan) desired to touch upon a different topic.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: With regard to the question put by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr.

A. O'Connor), he refers to certain promises which have been made to him—he does not unfold a tale of a very encouraging character. He says he received promises from my two Predecessors, which, in neither case, were fulfilled. Well, Sir, I shall avoid the somewhat dangerous step taken by my Predecessors. I will say this, however—that I fully recognize the importance of both the points raised by the hon. Gentleman. With respect to the dietary scales in workhouses, perhaps the best way to proceed will be for the hon. Member to kindly communicate to me the facts which he wishes to bring out, and I can assure him that I shall be very glad indeed if anything can be done to satisfy him with regard to the matter in question—I shall be especially glad if any disclosures I can bring about will lead to any necessary amelioration of the dietary of the workhouses. As to the other point—namely, the pauper lunatics, I quite appreciate the great importance of that matter; and I shall be very glad indeed if, by any attention I can bestow upon it, it can be put on a better footing than it is. I am not without a little experience with regard to investigation on that particular point. I will not go very far in giving additional promises; but I admit with the hon. Member that the subject is one well worthy of being inquired into, and if he can suggest any particular way in which an improvement can be effected I shall be very glad to meet him. As to the other points alluded to at considerable length by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy), I can only say that these matters connected with the Cork District Lunatic Asylum were fully brought up and discussed in Committee on the Supplementary Estimates. The whole question concerning the conduct of Dr. Eames, and of the appointment of another Governor, were brought up, and I was then able to make a reply on the whole case, with the facts and papers before me. I have nothing to add to the reply that I then made. I was able, for instance, to show the hon. Member that the reason why no appointment was made to the Board of Governors by Earl Spencer was because there was no necessity at that moment for any addition to be made to the Board, especially of representatives of the town. I showed that in proportion to the money paid by towns were more liberally represented than were the country districts. I am speaking now from memory, and I have not the figures before me. It was on that ground, and on that ground alone, that no appointment was made at the time it was proposed. The Cork Corporation claimed the right to nominate, which, as a matter of fact, was never conceded to them. It has always been customary, as far as possible, to consult local interests; but the responsibility for appointing proper people for the position rests with the Lord Lieutenant. It is not a responsibility that the Lord Lieutenant covets or desires to retain. He would be much better pleased if in the process of time, as I hope it may be, the whole duty is handed over to some Local Authority; but as long as the duty falls upon him he is bound to discharge it, and cannot devolve it on any other body.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary give me, if I move for it, a Return of the dietary scales in force in the workhouses?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not see that there can be any objection; but I will consult with the hon. Gentleman on the subject. I can make no promise.

MR. PARNELL: The reply of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the junior Member for the City of Cork as to the question of the appointment or the non-appointment of Mr. John O'Brien on the Board of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum is singularly illustrative of the policy of the Irish Executive, and of the difference which exists between that policy and the supposed policy of the Liberal Cabinet and Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, in his speech just now, stated that the Lord Lieutenant is most desirous that the duties in connection with the governing of this lunatic asylum shall be handed over to some Local Authority, and certainly the action of the Lord Lieutenaut is very indicative of the extent of his power for the handing over of these duties. The law, as it stands at present, does provide for a certain amount of local action and responsibility—a very small amount of local action and responsibility—on the part of the Cork Corporation. As the law stands, the Cork Corporation have

the right of nominating for the consideration of the Lord Lieutenant three members out of 60 who compose the Board of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum. Up to very recently the Corporation had the right of nominating four. As a matter of fact, they have that right still. On a recent occasion a vacancy occurred in this number of four nominated by the Corporation, thus reducing the members so nominated to three. Well, the Corporation of Cork met to consider who they should nominate to fill this fourth place. Due notice of the nomination was given, and all the formalities provided by the law were complied with. It was not contended that their action was illegal, *ultra vires*, or irregular in any respect. The result was that, after a formal debate and division, the Corporation, by a majority, decided to recommend to the Lord Lieutenant, as their nominee, Mr. John O'Brien, one, I believe, of their own number—a Town Councillor of the City of Cork, and consequently a gentleman admirably fitted for the discharge of the duties of membership of the Cork Lunatic Asylum. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has told us that Earl Spencer is desirous of effecting an extension of local elective responsibility; but in this particular case, where an opportunity was given to him to recognize that responsibility and that authority, what did he do? Why, he threw it on one side. We have been told by the Government for a number of years, and especially by the Prime Minister, what their desire to extend the system of elective local authority in Ireland is; and where it does exist, even to such a small and partial extent as a right to nominate four members out of a Board consisting of some 60, nearly all the balance of the 60 being nominated by the Government, what does the Lord Lieutenant do? He thrusts upon one side, without ceremony, the nomination of the Local Authority, limited as their power is, being, as they are, only a nominating authority, the Lord Lieutenant having the right to override their nomination. The Lord Lieutenant refuses to accept the nomination, and he leaves the representation of the Corporation of Cork upon this Board—which manages the affairs of a lunatic asylum, towards the expenses of which the Corporation of the City contributes £7,000 a-year out of the rates of the citizens—at three instead of four members. Now, the City of Cork pays one-fourth of the income of the Asylum. The right hon. Gentleman opposite is the Chief Secretary of a Liberal Government which is most desirous of extending local self-government in Ireland—which, in fact, are in tears because, owing to the necessity of passing a Coercion Act, they cannot pay any attention to the enlargement of the local responsibility of the country. The Government is most desirous, and has been for a number of years, of doing this; and here we see an Irish Chief Secretary coming forward to defend the action of a Lord Lieutenant who absolutely tramples on all the principles of local self-government in Ireland, and of the representation of the taxpayers. Here is the City of Cork, which contributes a quarter of the income of the Lunatic Asylum, asking for four members out of 60, or 1-15th of the representation on the Board, and its demands are ignominiously flouted by Earl Spencer, no valid reason being given for that conduct, which the Irish Members contend is entirely inconsistent with all the representations of the Government and of the Liberal Party. The right hon. Gentleman said, a while ago, that this question had been fully discussed on the Supplementary Estimates, and that he had already given a full reply. Now, I venture to contend that neither of these questions was discussed on the Supplementary Estimates, and that the right hon. Gentleman did not give a full reply. I have before me a report of the discussion. I find that the Chairman of Committees—I am quite sure most properly ruled—that the discussion was out of Order, and refused to allow the junior Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) to proceed with it. He found that it was not germane to the Vote. The Vote then before the Committee had reference to a limited portion of the Asylum, and had no relation to the question of the appointment of Mr. John O'Brien. The Chairman ruled it out of Order, and it is, therefore, preposterous for the right hon. Gentleman to say that a question so ruled out of Order, as beyond the intention of the Vote, was fully discussed.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We discussed the question for quite an hour.

MR. PARNELL: *Hansard* does not mention how long the discussion took; but I have before me the ruling of the Chairman of the Committee, in which he decided on two occasions that the discussion could not proceed, and decided it during the speech of the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for the City of Cork, who was bringing the matter forward. Now, I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is reasonable to suppose that a question can be fully and properly discussed on a Vote when the Chairman rules that that Vote is not of sufficient scope to allow it to be discussed in accordance with the merits and facts of the case? I turn to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and I do not find there any sufficient reply to even the limited arguments that were used by my hon. Friend, or which my hon. Friend had been permitted to use up to the time of the Chairman's intervention. Before sitting down I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to say whether we are to suppose that the attitude he has exhibited in reference to this question, and the spirit which he has shown in defending the acts of Earl Spencer in reference to this matter, are an indication of the spirit in which the Government intend to propose a settlement of the question of local self-government in Ireland? I can assure the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee that so long as we see such action as that of Earl Spencer in reference to a matter of this kind, and such action as that of the right hon. Gentleman, and so long as we hear such speeches as those that have proceeded from the right hon. Gentleman in defending Earl Spencer's action in reference to this matter—which is not a question connected with the maintenance of law and order and the administration of justice, or the integrity of the Empire, or the upholding of the Union, or any other of the great functions and things that Englishmen are ready to die to maintain—so long, I say, as we see this spirit on the part of the Irish Executive, so long shall I entertain the opinion that it will be better for them to leave local self-government alone. I say that if the spirit of Earl Spencer is to be the spirit with which the Liberal Cabinet and the Liberal Party intend to propose a settlement of the question of local government in the next Parliament they had far better not put their hands to it.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member who has just sat down has not precisely represented the state of affairs as to what he calls the rights of the Corporation. The Cork Corporation have no rights in the matter at all, in a legal sense. The Corporation have no right in the world to nominate or take any steps in the matter; but out of courtesy it is usual to listen to the recommendations made by the Corporation. The person upon whom responsibility devolves under the Act of Parliament is the Lord Lieutenant, and there is no question at all under the Act of any right or privilege whatever belonging to the Corporation. It is a mere question of courteous interchange of opinion. As a rule, the recommendations of the Cork Corporation have been acceded to. [MR. PARNELL: Always.] No; not always. I am speaking from knowledge on the matter, and from having had in my possession all the Papers bearing on the point. I am able to say that there have been cases before in which the nomination of the Corporation has not been adopted. The reason this particular name—Mr. John O'Brien—was not put on the list was because the list was already full, and there was no occasion to appoint a new Governor. It rests with the Lord Lieutenant to say whether he will appoint many or few, and in his opinion there was no occasion to appoint more at this time. As to the number which may be nominated by the town of Cork, it is not limited to three or four. But, considering the proportion of the expenses contributed by the town, the Executive have to consider how many of the Governors shall belong to the town, whether their names are submitted by the Corporation or not. It will be found that there are a larger number of townsmen in proportion to their contribution than there are country members. That is my recollection; but I only wish to put the hon. Gentleman right by saying that the Corporation has no legal right in the matter, and that the whole responsibility rests with the Lord Lieutenant. So long as that responsibility rests on him, which he himself considers, and which I consider, to be almost an anomalous position of things, it is impossible for him to devolve it upon the Corporation of Cork, or anyone else.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked whether it was not the unbroken cus-

tom and usage to appoint the City Members as Governors of the Institution? Was not that the unbroken custom and usage down to the time when his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) became Member for the City of Cork; and when he did become Member for the City, was not the hitherto unbroken custom broken through? Was it not the fact that at the present time neither of the Members for the City of Cork was a Governor of the Institution? Was it not the fact that the present Government, which professed to be thirsting for the establishment of local institutions everywhere, had gone in this case entirely against the spirit of the locality, and had, so to speak, disestablished the popular Members for the City of Cork, while they had established in perpetuity the less popular—he would not say the unpopular—Members for the county?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN was sorry to say that he was unable to refer to any Papers on the subject, and that was one of the consequences and inconveniences of bringing the matter on in that way. When the question was raised on the Supplementary Estimates, when the Vote for Lunatic Asylums was under discussion, he took care to have all the Papers and all the necessary information at hand; but now he had nothing to refer to. Still, he remembered the facts as to the question of the Members for the City of Cork being necessarily supposed to be also members of the Board of Governors.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: I did not say "necessarily;" I said "by usage and custom."

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Well, by almost invariable custom and usage. According to the best of his recollection the custom had not been invariable; and he thought it was departed from at a more remote date than that to which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had referred. But the question was raised by the Cork Corporation, and he certainly had not been able to discover that it had been at all associated with the advent of the hon. Member for the City (Mr. Parnell). The Corporation wished that the practice should be revived; and when his (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's) opinion was asked, he said he did not think the Member of Parliament for the City was necessarily a proper person to be put upon the Board of Governors, because such a Member was not always connected with the borough in any other way than by his Membership. Many Members had no connection with the locality they represented at all. They did not reside there, they had no intimate knowledge of the facts necessary to be known for the efficient discharge of local duties, and they would be altogether undesirable persons to appoint upon such Institutions. He knew that if there was an asylum in his own constituency he should be very unwilling to be put upon the Governing Board, because he was very seldom there, and he was not properly qualified in regard to an intimate knowledge of local requirements; but the county Members in most cases were resident in the county. They were gentlemen who could take an interest in its local affairs, and they were in an altogether different position from Members of Parliament, who had no local qualification, and who were merely associated with a place in a Parliamentary sense.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had complained of want of Notice. If those Irish Members who were interested in the question had not been able to give Notice, the fault was not theirs. The Government now came forward for a Vote on Account for a certain number of weeks' Supplies. They must have known what they wanted beforehand. They must have been well aware a week or a fortnight or a month ago that they would want this particular Vote that week. Why, then, did they not say so? Why did they only give Notice late on Friday night that the Vote would be asked for to-night? The Irish Members had had no time to collect Papers or information. The fact was that the precipitancy of the Government in asking for the Vote was entirely due to their own studious reserve in refraining from giving any Notice of it until the last possible moment. As to the complaint of want of Notice, they were all quite aware that the right hon. Gentleman did not really want Notice, for what he wanted in documents he was always able to make up in ingenuity. The right hon. Gentleman had put forward this argument—that Members of Parliament were elected to Asylum Boards when they were really connected with

the locality, and that the county Members were placed upon the Board for that very reason. Well, if that were so, why was not his hon. Friend the junior Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) appointed? That hon. Gentleman lived within two miles of the city, within the Parliamentary boundary, was an elector, was a ratepayer, was a Member for the city, was a member of the Board of Guardians—in fact, he combined in himself as many urban qualifications as a local candidate could possibly have. But because he did not troop after the Government Whips in the Lobby, but followed his Colleague in the representation of the city (Mr. Parnell), and took an independent view of Irish questions, he was not fit, forsooth, to sit upon the Cork Lunatic Asylum Board. Such was the principle upon which Members of Parliament were excluded from posts of public importance and honour in Ireland. If the speech of the right hon. Gentleman meant anything, it meant that. The right hon. Gentleman had tried to account for the fact that a merely nominal Home Ruler like the Member for the county, or a fossil Tory like the late Member for the city, was good enough to sit upon the Cork Lunatic Asylum Board; but that, according to the wise and discreet exercise of the jurisdiction and privileges of Earl Spencer, a Member of the really National Party headed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) was not fit for anything of the sort. The right hon. Gentleman had crammed more inaccuracies into his speech than he (Mr. Sexton) had ever heard in a speech of the same extent. He had said that the number of vacancies upon the Board was filled up. As a matter of fact, there was no particular number to be filled up.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No; I did not allude to a fixed number.

MR. SEXTON: You said there were no vacancies.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not allude to a fixed number.

MR. SEXTON: Then what was it that was to be filled up? The Lord Lieutenant could make 100 or 1,000 Governors at his pleasure.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not use the phrase. I said that on a former occasion the Board was filled up. What I said was that Earl Spencer did not make these particular appointments because he considered the number of Governors was sufficient; there was no necessity to make more. If I used the phrase, "The number was filled up," I did not mean to convey what the hon. Gentleman assumes at all. It rests with the Lord Lieutenant to appoint many or few, as he thinks fit.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman's explanation, so far, was satisfactory. No doubt, the number of members who should be upon the Board was quite within the power of Earl Spencer, who could make as many or as few as he chose. But what was the next point? The right hon. Gentleman had declared that this was not the first refusal which the Lord Lieutenant had given to the county, and that he had done on former occasions what he had done now. The object of that argument was to show that the Lord Lieutenant was not, on this occasion, influenced by any objectionable or indefensible motive. But he (Mr. Sexton) maintained that nothing of the kind ever occurred before. It was true that the Lord Lieutenant at first refused to appoint Alderman Nagle; but in the long run he did appoint him.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps he may appoint this one, too.

MR. SEXTON dared say he might. If the Lord Lieutenant had any sense he would do so, because he would find that the inconvenience which would spring up from an absolute refusal to appoint this Gentleman would be much greater than would be compensated by any self-satisfaction which the noble Earl might derive from the refusal. The only instance which could be given was not a case in point, for there was no refusal in the end. The Corporation had always had four members appointed; but now they had only three. The annual income for the support of the Asylum was £26,000, and of that sum the Cork Corporation paid £7,000, or one-fourth. The Asylum had 40 Governors, and the Corporation, according to any reasonable calculation, ought to have the appointment of 10 of them. If this inequality between the proportion of cost defrayed by the Corporation and the power of nominating members of the Governing Board were to be found to exist, say, in the case of Liverpool, or in the case of the particular

Scotch town in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was interested—what would be the result? Suppose there was an Asylum there, and the Corporation paid one-fourth of the total income, and the Corporation, by law, reason, usage, or custom, had acquired a right to nominate a certain number of the Governors, what would the Scotch people say the proportion ought to be? Why, not four, but 10, of the members of the Governing Board; and the Lord Advocate would have to get up in his most oily and honeyed manner, and say that the matter should be made right. If the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate were informed that a Corporation in Scotland was paying one-fourth of the income of such an Institution, he would say that common sense and equity alike dictated that that Corporation should have a corresponding share of the government of the Institution, and in 24 hours it would all be made right. But the Irish people in such a case were to be put off with all manner of fallacies and delusions, which practically amounted to this—that the Corporation of Cork were to have the right of suggesting a certain number of members, but that the Lord Lieutenant was to have the right of rejecting them. That was a very unequal kind of right. He (Mr. Sexton) maintained that this Corporation, which paid a certain proportion of the money for the maintenance of this Asylum, ought to have, 1*d.* for 1*d.*, a share in its government proportionate to that amount. There was no other reasonable arrangement which could be come to, and why should Earl Spencer be allowed to overturn and upset the reasonable and ancient Constitutional maxim that representation should accord with and follow taxation? He had only one fact to add. There were two vacancies in the past year, and the Lord Lieutenant had refused to fill them. The Corporation used to have four members upon the Board, and now they had only three; and not only did the Lord Lieutenant refuse to fill up that Corporation vacancy, but he had also refused to fill up the two vacancies that had arisen outside the Corporation, because, if he filled up either of those, the object of refusing to fill up the Corporation vacancy would at once be apparent. Earl Spencer was, therefore, forced to allow the other vacancies to remain unfilled. It was the shallowest pretence to say that because certain Governors lived in the city they might be regarded as representing the city. The citizens' money was paid out of the purse of the Corporation, and the Corporation had a right to elect a fair proportion of the Governors who were to administer the fund. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had made many feeble attempts to defend lame cases during his short period of Office, but never had he excelled the feebleness and lameness of that night.

COLONEL NOLAN pointed out that when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary admitted that the case was anomalous, he was not the first person to use that phrase in this connection, and could not lay claim to originality, because a Predecessor of his in the Office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach)—spoke more strongly still about nine years ago, and said it was "the most anomalous method of appointment he knew anywhere," and that "it ought to be remedied." Well, they had four years of a Conservative Administration after that, and there was no remedy. They had since had five years of a Liberal Administration, and not the slightest shadow of a remedy. Considering that they were now within three or four months of a General Election, he did not think the Liberal Chief Secretary had spoken nearly so strongly as the Conservative Chief Secretary, and not in so favourable a sense, because the Conservative Chief Secretary gave them very strong promises. It was true that those promises were never realized, but still they were very strong; whereas the promises of the present Chief Secretary were very mild indeed. As to the placing of Members of Parliament upon the Asylum Governing Board, the action of the Government was as far as possible the adoption of the local feeling of the aristocracy and county residents. The Sheriffs took the greatest trouble to keep the Home Rule Members of Parliament out of everything. About two years ago there was some arrangement made—some word went round that the Home Rule Members were to be kept off, and there had been a regular systematic attempt, which had increased

of late, to keep the Home Rule Members from everything as far as possible, and that had been done in several cases. In one case in his (Colonel Nolan's) own county they had to keep off his Colleague, who sat on the Government side of the House, because that Colleague must suffer for his (Colonel Nolan's) politics—a most unfortunate matter for the hon. Gentleman he referred to. That, at all events, was the general opinion of the county. As a matter of fact, the Irish Home Rule Members were there to vote the money, and then the English Members and a few of the aristocracy of Ireland administered it. That was a system which was of very little importance so far as the Asylums were concerned; but it was important in the way in which it affected the general system of the administration of Imperial and local funds. In that respect this case of the Asylums was about as strong and fair an illustration of the general system as could be brought forward. Hon. Members were simply brought there to be good boys and vote millions of money. He was very glad that the Irish Members took no part in voting the Credit of £11,000,000 for the preparations against Russia. The fact was that the Leader of the Opposition did not get up at the proper time to exercise his natural functions, and so the Vote was unexpectedly agreed to. The Irish Members objected to the general system under which they were brought there to vote away money the administration of which was to be left entirely to other hands. However, he did not wish to dwell so much upon that point as to draw attention to two or three practical facts. The Irish Members had, at all events, this advantage, that they could make themselves heard in this place. They had no power of administration in their own country, and no power of dictating foreign policy; and they were now getting to this condition, that they did not vote all this money—it was taken from them whether they liked it or not. But though they were not allowed to share in the administration of their country, they could, at all events, talk about it, and he would like to bring one or two facts before the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. In the first place, he rather thought these Votes on Account were too much objected to and abused. They were really an excellent system, for they gave an opportunity two or three times in a Session of bringing the general state of Ireland before the country. The only objection that he had to the present Vote—nearly £3,500,000—was that it was too large. He would rather see it brought forward £1,500,000 at a time, for then it would afford more opportunities for discussion. That was the more important, as the Prime Minister had confiscated all the days on which private Members had the opportunity of bringing questions before the House. It was most important, then, that the Irish Members should use these opportunities when they did arise. There were two or three questions which he wished to bring under the notice of the Committee. The first question related to the Police Act, under which the people had to pay heavily, and that constituted a great grievance in his own county of Galway. He had no objection to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland giving directions for individual protection where it was needed. It had been done in Galway; but in his part of the county he could see no necessity for it. He said that where this individual protection was given it should come from the ordinary Constabulary Force, and be paid for in the ordinary way out of the sums annually voted for that Body by Parliament. He believed that the law of the country, if properly administered, was ample for the protection of the people. The Constabulary Force was managed to a certain extent by the Government, and to a certain extent by local men. If it was said by anyone that there were not enough constables in a county a larger number were sent there, and the poor people in the districts had to pay for them. And it was that which constituted the grievance of which he had to complain. He believed that if there were an Official in that House whose position was dependent upon his pleasing the people, this matter would have been inquired into in order to see how the law was administered, and then he was convinced that it would have been found that the sum at present voted by Parliament was sufficient for the requirements of the country in respect of police protection. Whether the practice he was complaining of was continued for the purpose of keeping open a sore he knew not; but whether it was so or not,

the money was being screwed out of people who could not pay it, and, under the circumstances, he thought it constituted a very proper case to bring forward in that House. The second subject to which he desired to call attention was the extraordinary inaction of the Board of Works so far as arterial drainage was concerned. When the Land Act was passing through Parliament he had suggested that the tenant farmers should be allowed to get small sums for the purpose of draining their land. That was agreed to, and embodied in the Act; but he believed the minimum sum to be advanced was fixed at £50—at any rate, it was fixed at £50 by the Board of Works. He had never contended that the tenant farmers should be able to obtain small loans of £5 or £10, because that would be on the face of it bad and careless legislation; but he did contend that several tenant farmers, having each to do drainage to the value of £10, should be allowed to club together, and by thus making up the required minimum get their small amount of drainage done. But they were not allowed to get the money in this way, as he was informed, owing to the laziness of the officials of the Board of Works in Ireland. He did not expect the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to go into these matters of detail; but he did hope that he would pay some attention to the subject, and that he would not always be looking after the police work of the country. That had been the case with the right hon. Gentleman and his Predecessor, although he would not say that it had been so with the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under the late Conservative Government. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that if he would look into the matters he (Colonel Nolan) was laying before the Committee, and would do something to remedy the grievances complained of, he would make a greater change in the state of Ireland in six months than had been made by the Government in 10 or 15 years. He did not blame the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant for the existing state of things, because he did not consider that the right hon. Gentleman's tenure of Office had been long enough to enable him to understand the question thoroughly; but, as he had stated, his experience of Chief Secretaries during the last 10 years was that they had chiefly occupied themselves in watching the Dublin police who were brought up to take their orders from the Chief Secretary. If the police in Ireland were placed under a more enlightened system the people of the country would, instead of looking upon them as their enemies, regard them as their best friends. The next subject he wished to refer to was the Irish Privy Council, with regard to which he had given Notice of a Motion. It was quite true that he had secured a day for the discussion of that Motion; so he had with regard to other Motions; but the days on which they would have come forward had been confiscated, and it was very likely the same thing would happen with regard to the Motion about the Privy Council, seeing that it related to matters connected with Ireland. He should not be surprised if it were to be confiscated in order to give Her Majesty's Government an opportunity for talking on the Coercion Law. Now, with regard to the Privy Council, Ireland. The late Lord Chancellor was an eminent lawyer, and against his memory he had nothing to say. He had, however, to refer to his action in the case of a railway in his county of Galway, which passed through a district which was doubtless well known to many Members of that House, and which, because of its romantic character, was very much visited. The baronies had voted a large sum of money—as much as 2*s.* 8*d.* in the pound—for that railway, which, although he would not go into the question whether it was a good or a bad railway, he was under the impression was a good and useful one. Now, the railway in question, although it had passed all the other Bodies, was thrown out by the Privy Council. He was not going to say that the Privy Council were extremely wrong in the course they took; but his own opinion was that the railway ought to have been passed. In this matter the Tramway Act had broken down.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Member must not pursue that subject now. He could not anticipate his Notice on this Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he should, of course, obey the ruling of the Chairman, and would branch forth into another matter, which was not altogether without connection with that on which he

had been speaking. He pointed out the inexpediency of voting any money for Privy Councillors or any Judicial Officers on the Treasury Bench. Without saying that they were not good Officers, which was entirely beside the question, he was of opinion that instead of the Privy Council there ought to be some Local Body in Ireland more or less elected by the people. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), although he had not gone into the matter at length, had already spoken upon that proposal. He was satisfied that, if they had in Ireland a body of men constituted in the manner he had described, instead of the Privy Council, to attend to these matters, they might, in a comparatively short time, effect a number of necessary useful and permanent reforms in the country.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Member could not continue to discuss the subject of the Privy Council. There was nothing in the Vote relating to that Body.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he knew that hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House were not very much in favour of the proposal he made with regard to the Privy Council. The Government would not allow Irish Members to have any voice in the spending of the £8,000,000 voted for Ireland, and even when he and his hon. Friends remonstrated in connection with any portion of the money voted they would not listen to them. He said it was more than hard—it was in the nature of tyranny—to extract Irish money from the pockets of the people, take the whole of it, administer the whole of it, and then to refuse to listen to reasonable remonstrances, which had for their object the improvement of the condition of the Irish people. He believed the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was a member of the Privy Council, and there was the Supreme Court of Judicature connected with the Privy Council. He wished to point out that the Privy Council in Ireland was a Body which consisted almost exclusively of paid members. He believed that the Commander-in-Chief in Ireland was a member, and with that exception and one or two others all the members of the Privy Council were paid under the Vote before them.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Member was not in Order in discussing that subject. There was nothing whatever on the Estimate for the Privy Council.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he should take an early opportunity of objecting to the Privy Council in Ireland; and he would now urge some objections against the Vote for the Household of the Lord Lieutenant, and move its reduction by the sum of £1,000.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman would, of course, be in Order in referring to the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; but he would not be in Order in moving the reduction of the Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN asked on what Vote he could discuss the question of the Privy Council?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman would be in Order in discussing it when a Vote for the Privy Council was proposed.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he objected to the item of £50,000, and he did so on the ground of the appointment of the Officers of the Privy Council. In England they did not have Judges on the Privy Council; a few of them were, no doubt, Privy Councillors; but in Ireland the words Judge and Privy Councillor were synonymous, and their salaries were voted in that House. He acknowledged that the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) was a great authority on the subject; and he believed that the hon. Member said they were not paid out of this Vote, but from the Consolidated Fund. He (Colonel Nolan) knew that was the case; but he and his hon. Friends contended that, although they were paid out of the Consolidated Fund, they received a good many extra allowances under these Votes. The three points to which he had called attention were—first, the grievance of the people of Ireland with regard to the Constabulary; secondly, the inefficient action of the Board of Works in relation to drainage in Ireland; and, thirdly, the objectionable constitution of the Irish Privy Council, for which, he contended, another Body ought to be substituted. Those three points, if not cardinal, were, at all events, in the second class, and were well worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland. If the reforms he had indicated were carried out, it would show the people of Ireland that their welfare was a matter of concern to their Governors; and, in that case, he believed that they would have a much greater respect for them than they had at present.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he had not the figures relating to the police with him, and did not wish to quote them from memory; but if the hon. and gallant Member would be good enough to put a Question to him in the House upon the subject, he believed he should be able to give him a satisfactory reply, and one that would show that a very considerable reduction had been made. With regard to the Board of Works, he quite saw the importance of what the hon. and gallant Gentleman had stated; but the matter in no way came under his supervision, and he was, therefore, afraid that he could give no information on the question of loans to tenant farmers. Then with regard to the Privy Council in Ireland, the hon. and gallant Member was well aware that this question of dealing with railway and other schemes was not peculiar to Ireland; it had reference also to England. There had been, he believed, either a Bill or a Motion before the House that Session to constitute a Body in the Provinces—in some parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland—to deal with all those questions. In some respects it was thought that that would be more satisfactory than the existing arrangement. The Privy Council in Ireland was very different from the Privy Council in England—it corresponded to what was in England called the Judicial Committee; but the subject was too large for him either to form an opinion upon or to discuss at that time in the morning (1 A.M.), although it was one well worthy of attention.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [14th May]—

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the tenure of land by Crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and for other purposes relating thereto."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed*.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Mr. Speaker, in presenting such a Bill as this to the House, the first point upon which it may naturally be expected that I should offer some explanation is the ground of necessity or expediency which calls for such a measure; but I think that, in the present case, this is a matter which may be dealt with in a very few words. It is well known to the House that in the month of March, 1883, a Royal Commission was issued to inquire into the condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and into other matters affecting the same or relating thereto. That Commission took a great body of evidence, and visited, I believe, nearly all the localities concerned, and were thus enabled to place before the public an amount of information such as they did not previously possess. Besides the evidence taken there was the Report, with which, I suppose, all who have taken an interest in this matter are familiar; and, without going into the particular conclusions contained in that Report, it is enough for the purposes of this Bill to say that the Commissioners arrived at the result that legislation was essential, or, at least, highly expedient. But perhaps I ought to remind the House of the Resolution which the House arrived at on the 14th of November, 1883, and that without any dissentient voice. It was—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its Report, that 'The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain.'"

Well, Sir, it is only necessary, I think,

to add that the public opinion of the country, as manifested through its ordinary channels, does concur in the demdnd that there should be some legislative provision made with the view of endeavouring to remedy the evils which, I think, are admitted or established to exist. Therefore, upon that point I do not propose to say anything more; and I shall at once proceed to bring under the notice of the House the leading provisions of the measure which Her Majesty's Government have resolved to submit for the judgment of the House, and to explain the reasons for these leading provisions.

Now, in considering what form of legislation should be adopted, I need not assure the House that very careful attention has been given to the suggestions of the Royal Commission contained in their Report, and in particular to those suggestions which had relation to what is the main topic concerned—I mean that of the land. I suppose that hon. Members generally are aware that the leading recommendations on that head were that a local constitution of a *quasi*-corporate character should be given to Highland townships, and that provisions should be made for their conservation, improvement, and extension. Now, these suggestions, although well meant, and indicating a feeling of much sympathy with and a great appreciation of historical facts and associations, did not appear to the Government to afford a basis for satisfactory legislation. While, no doubt, there has been something in the nature of townships in the Highlands of Scotland for probably as long as history records, these have never had anything like a municipal or corporate constitution; and, therefore, to follow the recommendations of the Commission in this matter would have been to create, for the first time, something entirely novel and devoid of any analogy or precedent in the rural economy of Scotland. And, furthermore, the suggestions on that head must have been observed by those who read them to be exceedingly complicated; and anything like complication in matters affecting a simple and primitive people is manifestly undesirable if more obvious and more simple remedies can be applied. I think, therefore, that, without entering upon a detailed criticism of these proposals, it is probably enough to say that the result of the considerations of the Government, concurring, I believe, with the opinion entertained by those who have considered the matter outside the Government, is that that idea of providing for the conservation on a legal basis of existing townships and creating new ones is not one to which it would be proper to ask the House to give legislative sanction.

Well, then, passing from that, the leading proposals that have been made, not so much, perhaps, I should say, in the Report as in the discussions which have arisen out of the Report, may, I think, be classed under four heads—I mean that the demands which have been made either by or on behalf of the Crofters in relation to the essential matter of the land may be conveniently formulated thus:—In the first place, for security of tenure; in the second place, for fair rents ascertained by some impartial authority; in the third place, for compensation for improvements upon a somewhat more liberal and somewhat different scale from that provided by the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883; and lastly, for what is designated by the words "more land"—meaning that there should be some provision made for enlarging existing holdings, and providing land for those who have it not at present.

Now, in regard to these matters, I may say that the Bill which I ask leave now to introduce does make provision for security of tenure in the Crofter districts; and I shall give explanation, by-and-bye, in regard to the definitions which we propose to submit of a "Crofter" and of "Crofter districts," to show how the provisions which we propose will be confined, geographically and otherwise, within the territorial limits in which the conditions exist which seem to require such provisions. In the meantime, I may say that in these districts we propose by this Bill to provide that a Crofter shall not be removed from the holding of which he is tenant except in consequence of the breach of one or more of the specific conditions which are to be termed "statutory conditions." And I may shortly mention what these conditions are:—That the Crofter shall pay his rent at the terms at which it is due and payable; that he shall not execute any deed purporting to assign his tenancy; that he—

"Shall not, to the prejudice of the interest of the landlord, persistently injure the holding by the dilapidations of buildings or, after notice has been given by the landlord to the crofter not to commit or to desist from the particular injury specified in such notice, by the deterioration of the soil;"

and then follows another condition, the importance of which will be obvious to all who are familiar with the evils of sub-division and sub-letting of holdings. It is that—

"The crofter shall not, without the consent of his landlord, in writing, subdivide his holding or sublet the same or any part thereof, or erect or suffer to be erected thereon any dwelling house otherwise than in substitution for those already upon the holding at the time of the passing of this Act."

Then follow provisions relative to bankruptcy, and not establishing houses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the reservation of the usual rights belonging to a landlord over property which is in the hands of a tenant. Now, these are, briefly stated, the provisions proposed to be made with respect to the matter of security of tenure; and I may in that connection read the definition we propose for the word "Crofter," so as to show the class of persons for whom the security of tenure is meant to be provided. A "Crofter" means

"A tenant of a holding from year to year, who habitually resides on his holding, the rent of which does not exceed thirty pounds in money, and which is situated in a crofting parish."

The meaning of a "Crofting parish" I shall afterwards explain. So that the class of persons for whom this security is proposed to be provided are those who are possessed of what is generally known as a holding from year to year, or tenancy at will, which is legally interpreted to be a holding from year to year or for a year. The reasons for distinguishing the circumstances of persons so situated from persons holding a lease will, I think, be obvious. Such being, shortly, the nature of the provisions which we propose with respect to security of tenure, it may naturally be asked what are the reasons for which this security is proposed to be provided for the class of Crofters, and what are the conditions which differentiate their state from that of the rest of the tenantry of Scotland, for whom no such provision is proposed, nor, indeed, suggested? Now, I think that to anyone who is familiar with the essential differences between the tenantry throughout Scotland generally and the small holders of land in Crofting districts, the answer will be very plain. For very many years, throughout the greater part of Scotland, land has been held by tenants under contract, free in the true sense—a contract entered into between intelligent and independent tenants on the one hand, and their landlords on the other, the bargain being generally for a lease for a number of years, such number as they considered for their mutual interest, but most commonly for 19 years. Under that system, agriculture undoubtedly has greatly flourished in Scotland—indeed, to an extent which I suppose is not surpassed in any other country—in those places where the conditions I have just mentioned have prevailed. In these localities, the custom has been for the landlord to equip the farm with buildings and fences, and generally with drainage, and, in short, to bring the farm into a lettable condition, and then to put it into the market as a commercial subject. It is offered for and taken as a commercial subject so equipped; and therefore it is literally as well as technically true that where these conditions exist, and where they have long existed, there is, in the fullest sense, freedom of contract between landlord and tenant. Bargains are made in the manner that best suit the conditions of the contracting parties, and any proposal to interfere with such arrangements made by persons so circumstanced would not meet with the approbation, I should think, either of the House or of the country. But, then, Sir, the condition of the Highlands generally, and particularly of the Crofter districts of the Highlands, because it is to them alone that this Bill applies, is very different not only historically—and by that I mean not only in ancient history, but in recent history—but also very different in actual present fact. Not to go very far back—I mean what would not be very far back in the history of the more settled parts of the country—down to the middle of the last century, as is well known, the Highlanders of Scotland were under the clan system, and, so long as the clan system prevailed, the members of the clan shared the land very much with the Chief; it was practically in their common occupa-

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tion. I suppose that there was nothing in the nature of a very specific bargain or arrangement between them, and whether their being upon the land was due to legal right or to other reasons of family and of clan need not be entered into; the material fact is that, at all events, down to the breaking up of the system in the middle of the last century, the poor tenants and clansmen were in the enjoyment of a practical, if not a legal, security of tenure of the holdings which they occupied. No doubt great changes were made after the clan system was broken up, because there was a gradual, and in some cases a rapid, progress towards treating the land of the Highlands thus peopled by the clans more in a commercial manner. There has been a constant progress in that direction, not always with the full assent of one of the groups of persons concerned—I mean the occupiers of the soil—and I am afraid not without many hardships being suffered by them, particularly in the latter part of the last and the earlier part of this century. But, not to refer to these in any detail —to the clearances, I mean, of the latter part of the last century and the earlier part of this—it is enough to know that there was undoubtedly much hardship at that time, and bitter feelings were, no doubt, then engendered, which I am afraid have never since entirely died out. But, however that may be, there has remained and there still exists in the Highlands and Islands a very large body of small tenants, commonly denominated Crofters, living under conditions which cannot be at all assimilated to those I have just described as prevailing throughout Scotland generally. Amongst the differences between the Highlands and Islands and the rest of Scotland are, in the former, the smallness of the holdings; the fact that usually they are not held under lease; and the fact that they are not generally equipped by the landlord or treated as commercial subjects put upon the market as the Lowland farms are. In short, a whole group of special conditions surrounds the inhabitants, practically indigenous inhabitants, of the Highlands and Islands, and designates them as altogether different, in the essential particulars I have just mentioned, from those of the rest of the country, making provisions not only equitable, but possibly necessary, for them which would be both inappropriate and unnecessary for the tenants of the other parts of Scotland. I do not desire to weary or delay the House, at this hour, by reading much in proof of what I have just stated; but I may read one or two very short passages from documents of authority, and these not very ancient, which bear out what I have just said. Probably there is no Report that carries greater weight than that presented by Sir John M'Neill to the Board of Supervision in 1851 with regard to the then condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In one passage of his Report, Sir John M'Niell describes the existing conditions thus—

"The rent of the croft once fixed remains unchanged, unless in the event of a general increase or reduction of all the rents on the property or part of the property in which it is situated; and in all cases that rent includes the hill grazing, which is almost always attached to it. Once established in his small farm, the crofter's name is entered on the Rent Roll, and so long as he pays his rent he does not expect to be removed, unless as a punishment for delinquency. On some of the old hereditary properties the occupation of the croft has by custom become hereditary—the son, if in a condition to take the croft, succeeding to his father as a matter of course; and this custom has generally been respected by persons who have recently acquired large properties where it was established. But where estates have been much divided, and especially where small properties have been purchased on speculation, or acquired by persons not previously acquainted with the custom, it has not been so generally regarded."

This passage will show that the proposal to give security of tenure to the class of poor tenants generally known as "Crofters" is really nothing more than to confer a legislative sanction upon the custom and the usage prevailing on well and benevolently managed estates. If that is a true representation of the matter, I think the House need not have any difficulty in accepting the proposition. What we propose is simply what good landlords have been in the habit of doing, according to Sir John M'Neill, and no one knew the Highlands better than he did. I will read other two lines from another part of his Report, in which he speaks thus. He says—

"A more secure tenure of the lands they occupy would tend to make industrious and respectable crofters more diligent and successful cultivators."

That, I believe, is a view which will meet with general assent, because, be-

sides the sense of relief from strife and contention, there will be a stimulus to exertion and encouragement to industry arising from that security which is at present absent. Now, although in the Report of the recent Commission the plan was preferred of dealing with Crofter communities in their *quasi*-corporate capacity rather than the scheme of giving security to the individual Crofter, the very eminent and distinguished persons who constituted the Commission did not overlook the importance of considering the individual, and I will read a very few lines from a passage in their Report, in which I think this is very well brought out. They say—

"It would obviously be idle to set apart particular areas of land as an asylum for a particular class of cultivators, and to deny to the individual cultivator those securities which are necessary to the safe and profitable exercise of his industry. In view of the suffering endured in times past by the people through inconsiderate removals, of which they retain a lasting impression, and of the dread they express of similar treatment hereafter, though that may be in some degree unreal, as well as for the purpose of giving an impulse to ameliorations, we are of opinion that special provisions would here be justifiable which would not be requisite among other orders of men more independent, better informed, and more capable of governing their own destinies."

Now, this passage seems strongly to support the propriety—and, indeed, the necessity—of making some such proposal as we now submit for giving security of tenure to these small Crofters. It would enable them to pursue their industry without fear, and with that confidence and those encouragements which are likely to arise from such security. And, if the question be asked whether there is any precedent for, or any example of, the Legislature interfering to give additional security to the occupants of land in Scotland, I would refer to one which is well known in that country—I mean the old Scotch Act of 1449. Prior to that time, a contract of lease was regarded in law as being what it really is in fact, a purely personal contract, and it fell when the land changed hands. That, however, was manifestly so inexpedient, and worked such great hardships, that the Legislature of that day, in its quaint language, enacted this brief Statute—

"It is ordained for the safetie and favour of puir people that labouris the ground, that they and all utheris, that has taken, or sall take, landes in time to come fra Lordes, and has termes and zeires thereof, that suppose the Lordes sell or annaly that land or landes: the takers sall remain with their taikes, unto the ischew of their termes, quhais hands that ever thay landes cum to, for sick like maill, as they took them for."

That was, undoubtedly, an instance in which the Legislature converted into a real right what was merely a personal contract, and thereby gave a measure of security to the poor tenants of the country generally, who, I fear, were not at that time much better circumstanced than many of the Crofters are now; and, therefore, if any precedent were wanted for interference where it appears equitable and necessary, that Act would supply it. Mr. Tytler, the well-known historian, says of the Act, in his *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. page 121—

"A wise and memorable Act in its future consequences on the security of property, the liberty of the great body of the people, and the improvement of the country."

Now, when we find the condition of matters disclosed in the last Report of the Royal Commission on the state of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands, there does seem to be a call for giving them—no doubt in a different measure and kind—that security which is essential, in their own opinion, and in the opinion of those who know most about the subject, to enable them to pursue their calling with prosperity and success. Well, that is the main provision in regard to the question of security of tenure.

But I ought to add, in this connection, that it is not proposed in the Bill to give a power of assigning the right which is thus made secure to the tenant; and it is necessary, in explanation of this, to point out to the House that there is a vital and essential distinction between the view entertained, as I understand, in England and that which prevails in Scotland in regard to the matter of the assignability of leases. I understand in England a lease or a tenancy is presumably assignable. In Scotland the presumption is the other way. A lease of ordinary duration is not assignable, even up to 19 or 21 years; it is only when you get to leases of such long duration that assignation or transfer must have been contemplated that it is permitted—when you get to leases of

37 or 58 years or the like. Now, the tenure we are here dealing with, as I have pointed out, is a tenure from year year, and that is a tenure to which, certainly, the quality of assignability or right of transfer has never been attached by law, or, I believe, by custom, in Scotland. It has never been the custom, apart from the consent of the landlord, in tenancies of that kind and duration to give the right of transfer to another, or, as it is known in the terminology of other systems, "free sale." So that if it were proposed in this Bill to give that right, it would be adding an entirely new quality to the right as it existed before, and to the right which is proposed by this Bill to be made secure. It would, in short, be converting the right with which this Bill deals into a substantially different thing, which would not be regarded as just by those who have other interests in the land. And I may add that I greatly doubt whether that right, if conferred, would be truly for the benefit of the persons for whose advantage this legislation is intended, because there can be no doubt that if such a right were conferred, the effect of it would be to perpetuate small holdings, which it would be very desirable in course of time—not by harsh or rough methods, but by gentle processes, coming about through the lapse of leases, and like—to consolidate into larger, though not into very large, holdings. Accordingly, while we propose by this Bill that the right to the holding or the tenancy shall descend to the heirs of the tenant, we do not propose to give the power of selling or transferring that right to strangers; and I believe those who are familiar not only with the law, but with the customs, of Scotland, will approve of this.

Now, it is only necessary, in conclusion on this part of the matter, to say that it was a topic requiring very careful consideration, particularly in the view of the Report of the Commission, whether the security of tenure should be limited to the tenants in holdings above a particular figure, or whether it should be made universal. There were important considerations, no doubt, both ways; but the decision come to by the Government is that it would not be right to place any restriction upon the extent or scope of the security thus given, but that it should belong to Crofters generally—all who answer the definition which I have now given. Those who have studied the Report of the Commission are aware that some of the beneficial provisions which they suggested were limited to holdings of over £6 in value. They saw what must be obvious to anyone familiar with the subject—namely, that the multitude of small holdings is a great evil, and that anything that tended unduly to perpetuate that would not be politic or expedient. Accordingly, they limited their suggestions to the case of Crofters holding at a rental of not less than £6. But it unfortunately happens that any benefit so limited would reach an exceedingly small number of the persons for whose behoof it it was intended. From the information we have obtained, it would appear that the holdings above £6 vary at some places from a fifth to not more than a tenth in others of all the holdings; and, accordingly, if the security which it is proposed to confer were limited to those above that or any higher figure, it would leave all the rest in the position of insecurity in which they now stand. But as the provision for security, which we propose to confer, is coupled with a refusal to give the power of assignment or sale, there will, in course of time, as families die out or go voluntarily, come about that consolidation of too small holdings which is admittedly desirable, although not brought about by harsh, but gentle and natural methods. Accordingly, we do not propose to place any rental limitation upon the benefits intended to be conferred. I do not know that upon this point I need say anything more, as the Bill will very soon be in the hands of hon. Members. I trust that I have, necessarily with brevity at this hour of the morning, stated what the provisions are with regard to security, and what are the leading reasons for which we propose to give that security.

The next point is what is generally termed "fair rent." It seems to be a necessary corollary of a provision for security of tenure, that you should also enact some method by which the rent is to be fixed if the parties are unable to agree, because any provision for security would plainly be illusory which left

it to the final arbitrament of one of the contracting parties to say what the rent should be. And, accordingly, while it will be left open by this Bill for the parties to fix their rents by agreement—to continue the present rent if it is satisfactory, or to fix a new rent by agreement, if they please—it is also proposed to provide that, in case of their being unable to agree, they may apply to have a fair rent fixed by valuers to be appointed under the Act. And there is a provision that the valuers, after hearing the parties, considering all the circumstances of the case, and particularly after taking into consideration any permanent improvements suitable to the holding, such improvements having been executed or paid for by the Crofter or his predecessors in the same family within 30 years, without their having received any assistance or consideration therefor from the landlord or his predecessors in title, and such improvements not having been executed in virtue of the stipulations of a lease, or in virtue of any agreement or understanding expressed in estate regulations or other writings—may determine what is such fair rent, and pronounce an order accordingly. There is adequate machinery, which I need not weary the House by going over, for the appointment of these valuers—who it is proposed shall be appointed by the Secretary of State—for performing their work, and discharging the various functions which they will have to perform under the Act. I may say also that there is no desire to shut out the parties from voluntarily fixing upon an arbitrator. There is a provision for having recourse to an arbitrator mutually chosen, instead of the valuers, if the parties prefer that mode of determining the rent; so that under the Bill it is proposed to give not only security of tenure, but "fair rents," to persons in the situation of the Crofters, as I have defined them. I may say, in this connection, that it is by no means an unfamiliar thing in the management of estates in Scotland to invoke a valuer to fix the rents—I do not mean a judicial valuer, because, of course, that does not exist at present—but it is a very common thing in well-managed estates, where the landlord and tenant are unable to agree as to the rent, to call in a third person, who is asked to fix the rent. And, therefore, in that matter also, what is here proposed is to give legislative sanction to the custom already by no means uncommon throughout the country.

Now, Sir, the third point, with regard to which we propose to make certain enactments, is that of compensation for improvements. I ought to offer a few words of explanation in regard to that, because the subject of compensation for improvements was so recently before the House—within two years—that any change or any extension of the provisions then made may require some justification. But I hope and believe that, when regard is had to the nature, on the one hand, of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1883, and the large body of subjects with which it deals, and, on the other hand, to the special conditions and circumstances of Crofter holdings, it will be seen that very many of the provisions and safeguards which were requisite and proper in that Act would be inappropriate, and probably oppressive, if applied to Crofter holdings. It will be in the recollection of the House that the antecedent or subsequent consent of the landlord was required to the first class of improvements dealt with under the Act of 1883—I mean such improvements as the making or enlarging of buildings, or any extensive changes calculated to alter the character of the holding, important fences, and the like—and the reasons for these provisions, which satisfied the House at the time, are obvious. The ordinary custom in Scotland, at all events, is for the landlord to provide the buildings. If a tenant had been allowed at his will to change the character of the subject, and to put up any building, however expensive and possibly inappropriate, heavy burdens might have been thrown on the landlord in the way of compensation claims, which he could not be justly asked to bear. But that is not a consideration which has any real validity in the case of the small holdings to which this Bill applies. I have already pointed out for another purpose, and in another connection, that it is not to be permitted to erect dwelling-houses other than in substitution for those already on the holding, the obvious reason for that provision in the place where it is introduced being to prevent squatting, as it is generally called. But it also has a secondary effect in this connec-

tion—namely, to provide against what would not be a danger on the part of the Crofters, the erection of unduly extravagant houses; so that I do not think anyone who is familiar with the conditions of life in the Crofter class would feel that there was any necessity for asking the antecedent consent of the landlord to erecting the modest kinds of houses which, in point of practice, are almost invariably erected by the Crofters themselves. The custom has been, in general cases, for the Crofters to erect their own dwellings and outhouses, instead of, as on the large farms in the Low Country, for the landlord to do so; and it is to be further noted that, in view of the simple manners and customs prevailing in those parts of the country, to ask this antecedent consent would really be to impose a condition which might often be innocently omitted, and which might very frequently be burdensome. The result, therefore, is, as regards such things as buildings, that we do not propose to demand that antecedent or subsequent consent—for both are provided for in the Act of 1883—which, although perfectly fit and perfectly proper to an Act having a universal extension and application to farms of all kinds, would seem not to be necessary, or indeed appropriate, to the simple conditions of tenancy and life in the class with which this Bill deals. All, therefore, that would be required to give rise to a claim for compensation under this Bill is that the buildings shall be suitable to the holding. That, of course, would give ample latitude of judgment to the valuers who would be invoked to assess the compensation. If they thought the buildings were not suitable to the holding, the valuers would not value them, or only value them in so far as they were suitable, and, therefore, no injustice would be done. The same remarks would apply to the matter of drainage. It will be in the recollection of the House that drainage was left in an intermediate condition by the Act of 1883. While the antecedent or subsequent consent of the landlord was not there required, as in the case of permanent buildings, a notice was required. Well, we thought that that would be an unnecessary condition to prescribe in the case of Crofter holdings; it would be very apt to be overlooked. The amount of drainage could not be very extensive, and generally it would be obvious. Therefore, in these and other matters we propose to make more simple and more elastic provisions, appropriate, as we think, to the conditions of the holdings to which they will apply. I need say no more on the three points which I have mentioned — namely, security of tenure, fair rents fixed by an independent authority, and compensation for improvements, because they are all dealt with in the manner I have described, and I hope in a manner which, in the opinion of the House, will be consonant with justice.

The next matter is of a very different kind—I mean the fourth demand commonly put forward, the demand for more land. Now, that is a matter with regard to which, after very full and careful consideration, the Government have not seen that they could propose any legislative compulsory measures, and I think the reasons for this will be very plain. The common form in which this demand is made is for an enlargement by way of tenancy of holdings which are too small, or for the breaking up of holdings which are in the occupation either of the proprietors or of large tacksmen, with a view to dividing them amongst small tenants. It will be observed that that is a kind of proposal for which, so far as I am aware, there is no precedent whatever — I mean putting an obligation upon an owner to let land which he has never himself let, and to let it to persons to whom he may not desire to let it. Therefore, it would require to be justified by very strong and weighty reasons, and none such have occurred to us. Hitherto, it has always been customary, where it was thought necessary in some public interest to take land, to take it, by way of purchase out and out, on payment of a full price. It would therefore seem, unless an entirely new departure is to be made, that any proposal to enlarge the holdings by compulsory enactment must involve the conditions usually attached to such taking of land—I mean taking it by out and out purchase. But who would in such a case be the purchaser? I fear we could not expect the Crofter to be the purchaser, for the very condition of this legislation is that he has not the means, and therefore to expect that he should be the pur-

chaser of the land added to his holding or of land which was not yet in his possession, would be to expect what was impossible from him. Well, could it be the State? That would involve a very large proposal, and one which, down to this time, has not been sanctioned by Parliament—I mean the proposal that the State should acquire large stretches of land and let it off to tenants. I do not suppose that that is a proposal that would be entertained. Well, then, if neither the Crofter nor the State could buy the land, who could? We know there are proposals in the air, proposals deserving of careful consideration, to allow municipal communities to acquire land under certain conditions; but there is no community of that character which could acquire the land which it is proposed to add to existing holdings or to allot as holdings to those who at present have none. Therefore, without delaying the House at this late hour by any elaborate argument on the subject, I may simply repeat that, while fully recognizing the great importance of adding to the extent of the holdings held by the Crofters in Scotland, and of providing holdings for those who have none, we have not seen our way to make a legislative proposal on the subject in this Bill. But it does not follow that means may not be devised, or indeed be ready at hand, for making the requisite extension of the Crofter holdings. It is quite open, of course, to the proprietors of the Highlands and Islands, who have so largely the interests of their poor tenants at heart, to enlarge the holdings, and possibly to break up farms which have previously been in their own occupation, and plant Crofters upon them. It is satisfactory to know that the feeling of the Highland proprietors is entirely favourable to making provisions of that kind. It will probably be in the knowledge of many hon. Members that at a most important meeting held in January last, at Inverness, it was resolved—

"That this meeting, composed of proprietors in the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll, having in view certain complaints as to insufficiency of holdings on the part of crofters which were recently laid before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Crofters and Cotters in the Highlands and Islands, and the recent appeal made to Highland proprietors by the Home Secretary in his place in the House of Commons, Resolve severally to offer to crofters an undertaking to increase the size of their holdings as suitable opportunities offer, and where the crofters are in a position profitably to occupy and stock the same."

It is clear, from this, that there is a disposition on the part of the Highland proprietors to do that which it does not appear to us that we could invite the Legislature to sanction—namely, to extend the size of existing holdings and to provide holdings where there are none. In this Resolution, the words "as suitable opportunities offer" are very properly used. All who are familiar with the condition of the Scotch Highlands at present are aware that suitable opportunities seem to be offering themselves very largely, because it is a fact that the system of large sheep farms, to inaugurate which the clearances already referred to were made, has greatly broken down, or, at all events, is by no means prosperous at this time. Many such farms are coming on the market without any possibility of getting tenants, so that the means of making enlargements of Crofter holdings which are so much required will probably be found ready to the hand of the proprietors who have so laudably manifested their disposition to meet this want. Although we have been unable to propose any compulsory provision for bringing about the enlargement contemplated, we have had it in view that it will probably be made by the proprietors, and have introduced into the Bill a provision for loans from the Public Works Commissioners being advanced to aid the tenants in stocking any additions which may be made to their lands. By Clause 14 the Bill provides that—

"On the application of any landlord stating that he intends to enlarge the holding of a crofter who is his tenant, or whose holding is conterminuous with his property, and that such crofter is unable without assistance to stock the additional land, the Public Works Loan Commissioners may, if they think proper, advance to such landlord, on the security of the estate of which the intended addition to the holding forms part, a sum to enable the crofter to stock such additional land not exceeding *five* years rent of the entire holding of the crofter including such addition. Such sum shall be repayable in such half-yearly instalments as will repay the whole sum with interest at *three and half* per centum per annum in *twenty-five* years."

This provision seems to go as far as we think the Government can go in the matter of aiding the Crofters in obtaining

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that enlargement which the Government cannot undertake to initiate.

Now, it will probably be thought right I should say a word with regard to the case of the Cottars, a class of persons in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland who have no land at all, who are not subject in any way to contract with anyone, who pay no rent to anyone, and who stand in no relation of occupancy to anyone—a class of persons who have come to be there very much by sufferance. It would, of course, be impossible to propose that security of tenure should be given to persons who have, unhappily, no legally recognized tenure at all; but, at the same time, inasmuch as these persons have in very many cases, probably in most cases, been permitted to erect houses upon lands of which they are in the occupancy in fact, it has appeared to the Government that it would be right to extend the provisions for compensation for improvements to them —that is to say, to enact that where a man who is not a tenant has been tacitly permitted to put up a house, if it should be proposed to remove him from that house, its value should be paid to him by the proprietor. That is all we propose to provide with respect to the case of the Cottars.

It may probably be asked by what definitions or in what way do we propose to restrain the operation of this Bill within the territorial limits in which the conditions which have made its proposals necessary exist? I ought to add a few words on that head. I have already explained that the Crofter, within the meaning of the Bill, is a tenant of a holding held from year to year, and who habitually resides on his holding, the rent of which does not exceed £30 in money, and which is situated in a Crofting parish. The definition which we propose of a Crofting parish is this—

"A parish in which there are at the commencement of this Act, or have been, within eighty years prior thereto, holdings consisting of arable land held with a right of pasturage in common with others and in which there still are crofters at the commencement of this Act."

It is well known that one of the notes or marks of the Highland Crofter tenure was the occupancy of a certain portion of arable land with a certain portion of hill grazing. Originally, both were occupied in common; but with regard to arable land, that was so plainly inexpedient that it was abandoned, probably about the beginning of the century, in most cases, if not earlier. But while the arable land previously held in common was thus divided into several holdings, there was, from the nature of the case, no such sub-division of the grazing ground, without which the Crofter cannot profitably carry on his business. The co-existing occupation of arable land with grazing land, either now or within a limited period, seems to afford, coupled with the other parts of the definition, a sufficient indication of what should be a Crofting parish. I shall now only explain, by way of further territorial definition or limitation, that we propose to provide that the Crofter parishes, or districts forming the aggregates of parishes, should be within the counties of Argyll, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithnesss Orkney, and Shetland. These are the counties to which the Act will apply; and as a means of ascertaining which parishes are Crofting parishes in the sense I have just explained, it is proposed that Her Majesty should appoint three Commissioners, who, after due inquiry, should ascertain the facts entering into the definition, should determine which are Crofting parishes or aggregates of Crofting parishes in these counties, and should determine whether the Act should apply to such parishes. There seems to be a practical consensus of opinion that these are the counties to which this remedial legislation should apply. I may remind hon. Members that in a Bill now before this House, a Bill called the Suspension of Evictions Bill, these are the counties which are mentioned; and at the Inverness meeting—that very influential and important meeting—those present were proprietors in the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness and Argyll; so that, on all hands, we seem to have a recognition that the counties here named are the counties in which alone the proposed legislation is necessary. When, besides pointing out the counties, we add the other conditions, and provide the means of ascertaining where the specified conditions exist, it would seem that there is everything that is requisite to determine the particular places in which the necessity exists, and in which, therefore, the propriety exists for this

legislation, marking them off quite distinctly from the rest of the country, where a wholly different state of things exists from that which I have referred to as well known to prevail in the Highlands.

I do not think at this hour (1.50) I should detain the House any further on the subject of land, because they will see the provisions of the Bill very shortly; but I will, in a few sentences, refer to one or two of the matters which are contained by way of recommendation in the Report of the Crofters' Commission, merely for the purpose of showing that they have not been neglected or overlooked by the Government, although they have not dealt with them in this Bill.

The matter second in order and in importance, which was considered in the Report of the Commission, was that of fisheries and communications, and the importance of this matter will be fully recognized by all who know how very largely the future prosperity of the Western Highlands and Islands must be expected to spring from the successful prosecution of the fishing industry. That matter has not been overlooked. The first point involved is that of harbours. Something has been done at one place already—I mean the harbour of Ness. But the larger question of harbours, as bearing upon that part of the country, is involved in the general consideration of the Report of the Commission and the Committee upon Harbours with which the House is familiar. It would be impossible to deal separately with these places—at all events, to make any separate determination with regard to them—while the whole question of harbours is under consideration.

Well, next to harbours, there is probably nothing of greater importance to the successful prosecution of the fishing industry than facility of communication, both postal and telegraphic communication and communication by steamer. If the House will allow me, I will mention, in a few sentences, how very important the additions recently made to and the improvements made upon all those services to the Western Highlands have been. I need not point out how important the telegraph is, as the herring trade is increasing, making it possible for the boats to go where the herrings are, for the vessels that are to take away the catch to come and bring barrels and salt and all the equipments which are necessary for the fishing industry. Anyone who knows what has accrued to Shetland within the last few years from the improvement of the telegraphic communication, and the enormous wealth which has been poured into those Northern Islands from that cause, will readily perceive the importance of this matter. Well, within the last 18 months, in the Western Hebrides, there has been a telegraph station opened at Castlebain, in the Orkneys, at Burray, St. Margaret's Hope, and St. Mary's Holm, in the Shetlands, at Keawick and Walls; and a station is now in the course of being opened at Gutchen in the Shetland Islands. And, further, I may add, that to meet the requirements of business under the 6*d.* tariff, a new telegraph cable is about to be laid between the Shetland Islands and the mainland; so that I think the House will see that that matter has been by no means overlooked by the Government. Then in regard to the essential matter of the Mail Service and Steamer Service, by which communication may be made and the catch of the fish brought to market, there has been also a very marked improvement. The Mail Packet Service between Strome Ferry and Stornoway has been established six days a-week in summer and three in winter, bringing the service direct to the end of the railway. Besides that, there is additional weekly Mail Service to Orkney, and several Post Offices have been established in the Orkney Isles; so that these matters pertaining to the successful prosecution of the fishing industry, though not provided for in this Bill, have been fully kept in view.

There is another matter of importance which is dealt with in the Report, that commonly called the educational grievance—I mean the very heavy tax which had come to be laid on the owners and occupants in the Highlands and Islands from causes well known—the working out of the Education Act of 1872. Well, the Government in that matter, also, displayed their appreciation of what was reported by the Commissioners, and there was despatched last autumn to the Highlands and Islands the very able and accomplished Senior Examiner of the Scotch

Education Department—Mr. Craik—who made a very valuable Report, which was laid on the Table of the House in October, and within the last few weeks there had been laid on the Table a Minute by the Education Department showing how they are prepared to make material improvements in the condition of the grants in these parts of the country, thereby alleviating the burden upon the ratepayers.

There are various other matters, relating to the housing of the poor and the like, into which I do not propose to enter. I will merely say that evidence was taken a few weeks ago in Edinburgh by the Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, comprehending evidence as to the Crofters' district. There are other minor matters upon which I should not feel justified in detaining the House at this late hour. I have endeavoured as shortly as possible to put before the House the leading provisions of the Bill which the Government will submit for its acceptance and the reasons for which these provisions are proposed.

MR. ELTON said, he begged to congratulate the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate on the admirable speech he had just made, and on the admirable motive which had dominated the Bill. As far as he was aware, there were many hon. Members on that side of the House who sympathized with him in this matter, and wished to give some security to the small holders, perhaps rather more than the right hon. and learned Gentleman had seemed to show in his speech. While he congratulated the Lord Advocate on having given up certain proposals, he must say that in his opinion there was neither danger nor difficulty shown, inasmuch as the tenure which he was dealing with was really the English copyhold tenure, which people in England were now proposing to abolish. Therefore, he might say it would be as usual—Scotland 300 or 400 years behind the Sister Country. If the qualities described by the right hon. and learned Gentleman were added together, he thought it would be found that the Lord Advocate was creating what had been for many years a curse in this country—the copyhold system; and he therefore hoped that it would be found possible to amend the proposal by the addition of some modifications in Committee. In describing the Crofters, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had no doubt described a class of people who, under similar circumstances, likewise existed in England. That being the case, it could hardly be doubted that the principles proposed to be laid down in the Bill would radiate into other parts of the Kingdom. It was, he thought, impossible to draw a line and say into which county those principles might not have to be extended. There was one point in the statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman which struck him as calling for some comment; and although he had no wish to detain the House at that hour (2.5 A.M.), he would make one remark upon it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had stated to the House that the Bill, in that portion of it which related to security of tenure, only proposed to make compulsory that which benevolent landlords were voluntarily doing already. It seemed to him that in that case the proposed provision was open to the remark that it had a tendency to dry up the springs of benevolence. There was no reason why everything which a good man did should be made compulsory to be done by law; and, therefore, if this principle were to be extended to other parts of the country, it would be necessary to consider whether they could not obtain the same results by giving greater facilities for the voluntary concessions of landlords.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he wished to congratulate the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate on the Bill which he had asked leave to introduce, and he thought he might also congratulate the Crofters on the large instalment of their demands which the Bill proposed to give them. It did not, perhaps, contain all that they wished for; but he thought it contained as much as could be expected at the present time. He congratulated the farmers of Scotland also on the introduction of the Bill. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Elton) in saying that it would be impossible to confine the advantages proposed by the Bill to particular districts of Scotland; they must, in his opinion, be extended over the whole country, and, he thought, with very great advantage both to landlords and tenants. The proposals with regard to fair rents and security of

tenure were very good indeed; but he considered it, on the other hand, a mistake to introduce compensation into the measure. It would have been, in his judgment, far better to give the tenants free sale. The difficulty of the position would come to an end sooner by free sale than by compensation. He did not know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman was as well acquainted as he (Mr. Barclay) was with the opinions of farmers in Scotland on this subject; but he said that compensation under the existing Act had been tried and proved to be a failure; the expenses were so great that they swallowed up nearly the whole amount awarded as compensation, and in some cases damages had been awarded to the landlords in respect of claims for compensation, which but for the Act would not have been heard of, exceeding the amount of compensation awarded. He therefore thought it desirable that the Government should reconsider this question, and give the tenant at once free sale of the interest in his holding, and so relieve the landlords of any responsibility in the matter. The Lord Advocate had very ingeniously and properly set forth the claim to security of tenure which tenants on the West Coast of Scotland possessed; but he (Mr. Barclay) did not know that there was any difference in the tenure of land there and in other parts of Scotland. The tenure of land had been from time immemorial—that was, from the time of the Clans—the same in Lowlands and Highlands; and he could not recognize that a tenant, who might be turned out at the end of any year, had a greater claim to his holding than a tenant who had certain possession for 19 years. But when they came to land held for generations, as was the case with a good many farmers in the Lowlands of Scotland, the claim was stronger than under a tenure from year to year, as the people had on the West Coast of Scotland. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman set forth that the landlords, as a general rule, had done the whole of the permanent improvements on their estates. Well, he thought there were great differences of opinion on that point. The practice was very different in different parts of Scotland, and in those parts with which he was acquainted he must say that a large proportion of the improvements had been effected by the tenants. He knew of many cases in which tenants had settled on a barren moor and built a house for themselves, reclaimed the land, made it what it was, and, in short, done more for the land than any of the tenants in the West of Scotland. Now, if tenants on the West Coast had by improvements obtained a right to security of tenure, were not tenants on the East Coast entitled to as much? However, that was a matter of which the tenants in Scotland would judge for themselves. Seeing that the rights of the Highland Crofters were recognized, tenants in other parts would doubtless come forward and assert their right to an equal degree of security. While he agreed with the justice of the claims which the Lord Advocate had set forth on behalf of the tenants on the West Coast of Scotland, he thought it unfortunate that those claims had not been recognized until the people themselves had taken strong measures to assert their rights. He was afraid that if the inhabitants on the West Coast of Scotland had not displayed a certain amount of lawlessness, and made it necessary for the Government to send military and naval forces to that quarter, their claims, however just, would not have been recognized by Parliament. That, he repeated, was an unfortunate circumstance, and it offered a very bad example to the tenants in other parts of Scotland, who would no doubt say to themselves that there was nothing to be hoped for by submitting and waiting for Parliament to help them, and that they must take strong measures to assert their rights. Under those circumstances, they might look forward to claims being advanced with greater pressure than they had hitherto been. There remained just one point on which he hoped the Lord Advocate would be able to give some information. It related to evictions; and he would ask whether measures would be taken to protect the interests of tenants in the West of Scotland who were under eviction at the present moment, or of those against whom summonses of eviction had been taken out; or would some provision be made for securing the just interests of those people in the present Bill? That was a matter of the greatest importance to many people, and he hoped

that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to give some assurance that at once the case of the tenants situated as he had mentioned would be taken into the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

DR. CAMERON said, that at that late hour (2 A.M.) he would not attempt to enter on anything like a full criticism of the proposals which had been so lucidly explained to them by the Lord Advocate. He could not, however, forbear from expressing his regret that in framing those proposals Government had not been guided a little more by the Report of the Royal Commission, but had based their intended legislation so largely upon vague discussions which had arisen out of that Report. He regretted it the more because, while the Commissioners had approached the subject with the avowed object of maintaining and increasing the number of Crofter holdings in Scotland, and so bridging over the gap that at present existed in that country between the wealthy and the very poor classes of agriculturists, and of remedying to some extent the evils which had arisen in Scotland out of the concentration of the landed property in the country in a very few hands, the Lord Advocate had stated that, in his opinion, it was desirable gradually to consolidate crofts into large holdings, and had framed his proposals with that object in view. The Lord Advocate had said that the proposals of the Bill which he was about to introduce divided themselves into four; but the fourth head, he explained, related to the extension of holdings, with a view of meeting the demand for more land; and as that proposal, as he had sketched it, was of the feeblest description, he (Dr. Cameron) thought that practically the heads of the Bill might be considered as consisting of but three main provisions—those for security of tenure, those relating to fair rents, and those relating to compensation for improvements. With regard to the latter, he concurred with his hon. Friend (Mr. J. W. Barclay) in the regret which he had expressed that the free sale of the Crofter's interest in his holding was proposed to be forbidden. With regard to the inclusion of the smaller Crofters in the provisions of the Bill, he doubted whether the advantages which they would secure under it would at all compensate them for the loss of those rights of cutting peat and heather and gathering sea-ware which the Commissioners recommended should be conferred upon them without increase of rent. They all knew the important part which common hill pasture played in the crofting system; but the Lord Advocate had said not one word about grazing rights, and any attempt to grapple with the subject without dealing with that question must be eminently unsatisfactory. Then, again, the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in the course of his speech, had said not one word about any amendment of the present laws as to notices to quit, although the Commission reported in favour of such an amendment; nor had he said anything about the subject of arrears, although they all knew the mischiefs which arose out of the present system under which incoming tenants were often obliged to take over the arrears of their predecessors, and the Commissioners had reported in favour of forbidding such a practice. Again, the Commissioners had reported as to the urgent necessity of at once putting a stop to the system of confiscation of Crofters' rights in common grazing lands, which had already swallowed up all such lands as existed on the mainland, but which was still, according to the Commissioners, being actively pursued in some of the Islands. Why was all provision dealing with such a clamant injustice to be omitted from this Land Bill? Again, in this Land Bill, as described by the Lord Advocate, there was not to be the smallest attempt at the establishment of a peasant proprietary. The Royal Commissioners had found the most prosperous of the crofting population of Scotland in the "Lairds of Harray," a class of peasant proprietors whose good husbandry and comfortable independence excited their strongly-expressed admiration. They had recommended steps intended to increase the numbers of the peasant proprietors of Scotland; but, for the first time in connection with all the modern land legislation which had been attempted in that House, all provision bearing on this most important matter was proposed to be omitted in the Scottish Crofting Bill. Again, the whole world was aware of the intimate connection between the extension of deer

forests and the dearth of land so much complained of. Even the Commission, which comprised the proprietors of 1-20th of the entire acreage occupied by deer forests in Scotland, had felt constrained to make certain proposals on that subject in its Report. But not by a single word had the right hon. and learned Gentleman so much as hinted at the existence of this universally admitted evil in Scotland. He (Dr. Cameron) regretted, too, that the Lord Advocate had altogether ignored the special case of the fishing Crofters, and those obligations on the part of proprietors to erect proper fences, which led to so many disputes wherever crofting prevailed. He was quite aware that the Bill before the House did not pretend to deal with the grievances of the Crofting population in any other direction than as regarded the Land Question, pure and simple. But all the instances of omission to deal with the recommendations of the Commissioners which he had enumerated related exclusively to that branch of the subject. He admitted that what was proposed was a considerable step in the right direction; but it fell very far short of what would be needed for a final settlement of the question. He and those who thought with him on the subject would do their best in Committee to enlarge the scope of the measure and improve its usefulness; and if they failed, as it was very probable in the present Parliament they should, such a foundation as that laid down in the Lord Advocate's Bill would afford them a most useful basis from which to start when they came to face the question in the altered conditions of the next Session; and on that foundation they might then fairly hope to raise a legislative edifice which might less unworthily embody the recommendations of the Royal Commission. Finally, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he could give any intimation of the date at which it was proposed to take the second reading of the Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, there was one point in the criticisms which the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had bestowed upon the Bill on which he desired that justice should be done to his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate as against the Commissioners. The hon. Member said that the right hon. and learned Gentleman differed from the Commissioners in his desire to perpetuate small crofts, and that the Bill had been conceived in a spirit adverse to the Commissioners, who desired to stereotype and continue the smallest holdings. But he would point out that Her Majesty's Government had gone a great deal further than the Commissioners had gone. The Commissioners laid down that some of the remedies suggested were not to be applicable to any holdings of under £6 value. His hon. Friend the Member for Inverness (Mr. Mackintosh) had not demurred to that principle at all, but he said he could not agree to the amount named, £6; he did not, he said, wish to perpetuate small holdings, but he desired that the figure might be fixed at £4. The Government, however, proposed no limit at all. By far the larger number of holdings were under £6, and therefore he claimed for the measure of the Government that in this respect it was far more liberal than the proposals of the Commissioners. Now, the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had asked a good many questions as to things which he said were not in the Bill. It was quite true that many of them were not; but at that hour (2.30) it would be too late to enter in a satisfactory manner into the reasons why the Government had not been able to deal with them in this measure. His hon. Friend also asked a pertinent question as to when the second reading of the Bill would be taken; but he was afraid that to that inquiry he could only give a general answer—that was to say, that it would be taken after Whitsuntide. As little time as possible would be allowed to elapse, and in the meantime the people of Scotland would have an opportunity of fully considering the measure. His hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Elton) had said that the Government were creating in Scotland a class of occupiers who very much resembled the copyholders in England. That, he was ready to admit, was an accurate description of the Bill; and although in England copyhold tenure might have become more or less obsolete, he ventured to say that it had been for centuries the tenure

which, more than any other, united the people of England to the soil; and it was the liberality of the Common Law which recognized in men, who were little more than squatters on the soil, rights which were to be respected by Courts of Law, that mitigated the severity of feudal tenure in a manner beneficial to the people of England and the national interest. Therefore, he did not think his hon. and learned Friend could have passed a greater or more just encomium on the proposal of Her Majesty's Government than in saying they were going to give to the people of Scotland those rights which the Common Law of England some centuries ago gave to a similar class of people in this country. That was all Her Majesty's Government thought the Crofters were entitled to, and it was all that they desired to accomplish.

MR. D. CAMERON said, at that hour it was almost impossible to consider the provisions of the Bill, and he should be sorry to commit himself, or any of his hon. Friends, by expressing any opinion on its merits either one way or the other. He thought they all required some time for further consideration. All he would say then was that he trusted the measure would prove to be the lasting settlement of a difficult question which they all desired.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, he trusted that when the second reading of the Bill came forward it would be put down as the first Order of the Day, so that hon. Members might have a full opportunity of discussing this most important question. Perhaps the Lord Advocate could say when the Bill would be in the hands of hon. Members?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): To-morrow morning.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 184.]

PRINCESS BEATRICE'S ANNUITY BILL.

H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, Message from Her Majesty [12th May],—Resolution *reported* and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Mr. GLADSTONE, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. HIBBERT.

HONORARY FREEDOM OF BOROUGHS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 153.]

(*Mr. Norwood.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Norwood.*)

MR. SEXTON said, that before the Speaker left the Chair he should like to ask for an explanation on one point contained in it. Some years ago there was an Act passed for Ireland to allow Corporations, by the vote of a majority of each, to confer the freedom of their towns upon distinguished persons. The present measure was, he understood, to affect the whole of the United Kingdom, and was to make the number necessary to give assent to the bestowal of the freedom of a city or town two-thirds instead of a bare majority. He had not been aware that this Bill was to override the law of Ireland. In Committee he should move an Amendment to dispose of the artificial majority provision, and to require the assent of only a bare majority to the bestowal of a freedom. He considered a bare majority sufficient, seeing that it was by a bare majority that all money was spent by Corporations, and that Mayors, Sheriffs, and other officers were elected. In Committee he should move this Amendment to the 1st clause, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman promoting the Bill would see no objection to it.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Power to admit persons of distinction as honorary freemen of boroughs).

MR. SEXTON said, he wished to move in line 7 of the clause to leave out "not less than two-thirds of their number," in order to insert "a majority of their members." He failed to see why, for this special purpose, two-thirds should be required, while for all other purposes a bare majority sufficed. He hoped the hon. Member in charge of the Bill (Mr. Norwood) would not put hon. Members to further trouble in resisting this proposal.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, lines 7 and 8, to leave out the words "not less than two-thirds of their number," in order to insert the words "a majority of their number."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. NORWOOD said, this was a Bill which had come down from the House of Lords, where it had been carefully considered; and he thought there was considerable force in the argument that two-thirds majority should be required in order to prevent honorary distinctions from being hastily and improperly conferred. The fact of there being a necessity for a majority of two-thirds, he thought, added importance to the honour conferred. He did not think the limitation was an improper one.

MR. MOLLOY said, that as this was a matter affecting the whole of the United Kingdom, and as it was, therefore, desirable that hon. Members belonging to all sections in the House should have an opportunity of considering the point under discussion, he begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

MR. SEXTON asked the hon. Member (Mr. Norwood) whether it would not further his object to accede to the Amendment? Under the Act of 1876 power was given to certain boroughs to confer those honorary distinctions by a majority. The present Prime Minister and the late American Minister had both been presented with the freedom of cities under that Act.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he felt favourably disposed towards the proposal of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton).

MR. NORWOOD said, that under the circumstances he would agree to the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Wednesday.*

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 138.]

(*Viscount Lewisham, Sir Charles Mills, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Boord.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Election of two members instead of one).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have a Motion on the Paper to omit the 1st clause, because to attempt to amend it would be rather a complicated undertaking. I take this opportunity of saying that, so far as I am concerned, I shall not be able to support the proposals of my hon. and learned Colleague (Mr. Firth), which are inconsistent with those I have placed on the Paper. The object of the Bill is to slightly increase the number of Members of the Metropolitan Board of Works. Since the adoption of the Metropolis Management Act, the parishes, or some of them, have increased very considerably in population and wealth, and some which are not represented are now much larger than others which received representation under that Act. In the Amendment I have placed on the Paper, I have proposed to increase the Board only so far as it can be done without injustice to those parishes passed over as not having sufficiently increased, and I have endeavoured to make the arrangement consistent with the scope of the Bill. My hon. and learned Friend and Colleague has proposed to largely increase the numbers. The Metropolitan Board of Works have placed their scheme before Parliament. The Government had hoped to be able to make progress with the London Government Bill; but it is, of course, impossible to do it in the present Parliament. Next Session, should they be again returned to power, they hope to be able to do it; but, in the meantime, they do not desire to see such a revolution take place in the Metropolitan Board of Works as the adoption of the Amendments of my hon. and learned Friend would involve.

MR. FIRTH said, that the first Amendment of his right hon. Colleague which would decide the point now raised would come on in Clause 3; and

it would, therefore, be necessary for him (Mr. Firth) to make the few observations he had to make either then or now. If the Amendment the right hon. Baronet intended to propose to Clause 3 were carried, the Amendments he (Mr. Firth) had on the Paper would not be admissible. Perhaps he ought to explain those Amendments; but at 20 minutes to 3 o'clock in the morning he could not be expected to say much. The Amendments he had put down were those which embodied the Earl of Camperdown's proposal in 1877—the Bill the noble Earl introduced in that year as the result of the long conference which was held on the question. If the Metropolitan Board of Works was to be enlarged effectually, or modified at all, it seemed to him advisable that the work should be fairly well done, and the proposal he made would do it fairly well. His Amendments would not do it completely; but they would give the thing a fair start on an intelligible basis, which, at present, the Metropolitan Board of Works did not rest upon. They would increase the number of members of the Board to 100 from 45, at which number it had remained for so long, notwithstanding that since it was established the work upon it had quadrupled. He proposed, also, to make the Board directly elective, at present no one, as a mere ratepayer, having any control over it. Looking at the limited representation and the amount of money the Board had to spend, no one familiar with the working of the Body would say that it was a fair state of things as the matter stood; and he was of opinion that if anything was to be done, something should be done which was worth doing. With all deference both to the right hon. Baronet and those in charge of the Bill, he wished to say that what they proposed to do was not worth doing. If he were asked as to the proposed separation of Plumstead and Lewisham whether it was not a good thing to do that, he should reply—"Certainly not; I do not think it is worth while patching up a broken-kneed institution in that way, especially at this hour." So far as the right hon. Baronet's Amendments went, no doubt they were excellent; but they went a very little way—they would not amount to more than a bucketful in place of a great ocean of necessity. They could not think of attempting to remodel the government of 4,000,000 of people at that hour of the morning—[*Cries of* "Progess!"]—but he would not enter into that matter at that hour. If Plumstead and Lewisham wished to be united let them be so.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW: I beg to move, Sir, that you report Progress. I think that to begin a discussion at a quarter to 3 o'clock in the morning upon an alteration in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board of Works when the Chairman of that Board is not present is most unreasonable.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: He is a consenting party.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW: I do not think it fair to go on with the Bill now under the circumstances the hon. and learned Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) has described.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Sydney Waterlow.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: With regard to the reference that has been made to the absence of the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, I must say that he has offered no opposition to the Bill.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS: Oh; but the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board offers no opposition to anything.

MR. FIRTH: The organ of the Board expresses a strong approval of the proposal I make.

MR. WARTON said, the two Members for Chelsea differed on matters of fact as well as on matters of policy, for whilst one stated that the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works was in favour of the Bill as the Government proposed to amend it, the other declared that that Gentleman was in favour of his proposal.

MR. FIRTH: I did not say that. I said the organ of the Board, meaning a newspaper representing it, assents to my view of the subject.

MR. WARTON said, he knew that extraordinary things took place in that House very frequently; but it was simply scandalous to attempt to go on with a Bill of that character at such an hour.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Aye 1; Noes 28: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 196.)

And it appearing on the Division that 40 Members were not present in the Committee;

Mr. SPEAKER resumed the Chair:—

House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 19th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) * (123).
Second Reading—Arbitration (85); Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) * (118).
Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Earldom of Mar Restitution (107).
Committee—Lunacy Acts Amendment (60); Registration (Occupation Voters) (111-120); Registration of Voters (Scotland) (112-121); Registration of Voters (Ireland) (116-122).
Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 3).*
Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3) * (84); Barristers Admission (Ireland) * (100); Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) Extension * (101), and *passed*.

LUNACY ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 60.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he proposed to ask their Lordships now to go into Committee *pro formâ* on this Bill, for the purpose of inserting 13 pages of Amendments, of which he had given Notice, after which the Bill would be reprinted. After the Whitsuntide Recess they might take the next stage of the Bill, when the Amendments proposed by various noble Lords could be properly considered and discussed. That, he thought, would be the most convenient course of proceeding, and one which would also save their Lordships a considerable amount of time.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he cordially acceded to the course now proposed by the noble and learned Earl; indeed, he had wished to see the Bill referred to a Select Committee, in order that the whole question involved in it might be dealt with in a more thorough manner than it could be by a Committee of the Whole House. He thought provision should be made for a better system of visitation in respect to those houses in which lunatics were confined; and if the Bill were referred to a Select Committee the matter could be thoroughly considered. But as he knew that the noble and learned Earl had a sincere hope that the measure would become law this Session, and knowing the great anxiety that existed on the part of the public on the subject, he would not press for the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF BRISTOL: I am quite willing to agree to the course proposed by the noble and learned Earl. I merely rise to ask him if it is his intention to move the re-committal of the Bill?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied in the negative.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee; Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* the 8*th of June* next.

ARBITRATION BILL.—(No. 85.)

(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD BRAMWELL, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, that it was not a Bill to alter the existing law, but to codify it after the manner in which the laws relating to bills of exchange had been codified. The Bill had been prepared under the auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª.

EARLDOM OF MAR RESTITUTION BILL.—(No. 107.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, he would offer but a very few obser-

vations, because the subject was one wrapped up in legal forms and technicalities respecting genealogical matters, of which he could not, in any degree, profess to be a master, and therefore would not enter upon minutely. Moreover, it was not necessary to go into those matters then, for the Preamble of the Bill, which would hereafter require to be proved before a Select Committee of the House, or the Committee of Privileges, gave a very clear and succinct narrative as to its object, and he was thus saved the trouble. But he desired, however, to explain the exact position of this Bill relatively to the Government. It was not, in the strict sense of the word, a Government Bill. When it was presented, following the invariable custom on those occasions, it was presented under the signature and on the authority of Her Majesty; and therefore it was deemed only proper that such a Bill should be presented to the consideration of the House by one of Her Majesty's servants. It might also be taken for granted that Her Majesty, in sanctioning the Bill and affixing her signature to it, acted under the advice of Her Ministers and Law Officers. As he had said, he did not feel himself competent to deal minutely with the details of the Bill; but if he were to sum up its object in a single sentence, which would make that object clear to all, he would say it was practically a Bill for clearing up misunderstandings of more than three centuries' standing with regard to the Mar Peerage. Up till 1875, the date at which the decision was given by Her Majesty's Legal Advisers, the general idea was that the ancient title of Mar was almost universally believed to be prehistoric in its nature. But in 1875 a decision was given by the Committee on Privileges altogether opposed to that idea. It established that in 1565 Queen Mary of Scotland had created a new title of Mar, and that that title of Mar was the only one known to be in existence; and it gave the title to the then Earl of Kellie, now the Earl of Mar and Kellie; and, so far as that decision was concerned, this Bill did not affect that decision, nor the position of that noble Earl. But there had been, he thought, and still was, a *primâ facie* case for believing that while the decision of the House of Lords on that occasion was undoubtedly correct, and that the earlier Earldom of Mar was extinct, that did not affect the possibility that the ancient Earldom of Mar might still be in existence also. That there was such an ancient Earldom in existence there did appear to be considerable probability, and there was also considerable probability that it descended to the heirs female as well as to heirs general; and as regarded that latter fact, which was thought to be of great importance, and which would have to be proved by the Select Committee if the second reading was passed by their Lordships, he might cite the circumstances in regard to the conferring of the second title. He would only cite two Scottish Noblemen, the Earl of Douglas and Alexander Stuart, who both assumed the title of Earl of Mar on marrying heirs of the Mar family. He, for one, failed to understand how, except through the heiresses, they had the power or right to assume the title of Earl of Mar. As regarded that point, there was *primâ facie* evidence in support of the Bill; but, at the same time, it would not be considered proved until it had been proved before the Select Committee of this House. The next point to which he had to call their attention was that a Charter was cited in the first part of the Preamble, which was that, in 1404, Isabella, Countess of Mar, executed a Charter conferring the title on her husband and their joint heirs, and this Charter, being confirmed by King Robert III., might be considered as the Charter of the Mar Earldom. There was a previous Charter executed in the same year, and he proposed not to give any opinion as to the greater validity of the one over the other; but there did exist this important difference between them—that whereas this Charter of December was confirmed by a Royal Charter of Robert III., no such confirmation of the earlier Charter of August appeared to have taken place. It was quite true that, some years subsequently, the surviving husband, Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar, executed a renunciation of the title to the then Sovereign of Scotland, and received a new apparent grant to himself and to his legitimate heirs. Without imputing any incorrect motive to the Monarchs of his native country at that time, it might be said that the object prompting that surrender was obvious, and showed

laxity of principle on the part of the Crown. The next point they came to was that from the death of Isabella, Countess of Mar, in 1407, until the creation of the new Peerage of Mar in 1565, the title of Mar appeared to have become dormant. It was quite true that Robert, Lord Erskine, was third heir in the middle of the 15th century to this Isabella, Countess of Mar, and it was also true that he occasionally assumed the title of Earl of Mar; but he did not assume it as a right. The Crown afterwards, more than once, granted the title to members of the House of Stuart; but when they came to 1565, they found that in a Charter which was supposed to convey only the territory of Mar to the then John, Lord Erskine, it was then acknowledged as a fact that John, Lord Erskine, was descended from Isabella, Countess of Mar, was her representative, and had been wrongfully deprived of his hereditary rights. Well, it might fairly be asked, if there was so ample an acknowledgment of the wrongful ousting of the Earl of Mar from this ancient Earldom, why was the ancient title of Earl of Mar not conferred on him? He (the Earl of Rosebery) confessed that, at first sight, this seemed a considerable obstacle to the prosecution of the present claim; but when they considered the course taken up to that time, nothing appeared to him more reasonable. What would have happened had Queen Mary conferred on John, Lord Erskine, the immemorial title of Earl of Mar? She would have confessed that all her Predecessors had been guilty of the grossest possible act of spoliation and injustice. She, no doubt, considered that in giving the territory of the Earl of Mar with a very high precedence, she was doing as much as she could to benefit the claimant to the title, without impugning in the most direct manner her Predecessors. But it was more than that; it was a personal matter. Queen Mary had, three or four years before, given the title to her half-brother, the Regent Moray; and if, after four years, she had conferred this title on John, Lord Erskine, she would be impugning her own honour, dignity, and fair dealing. He would say, then, on these three points, which seemed to him the main points of the Preamble, there was a *primâ facie* case for the measure he had now the honour to lay before their Lordships. But, in dealing with the matter, not of evidence or proof, but of the desirability of settling a question which had assumed a range much larger than ordinary Peerage questions, they must have some regard to what had formerly been done in the matter. He would not lay one iota of stress on popular feeling as constituting evidence; but it did make it most desirable that they should have a final and definite settlement of this question. Only in the course of last year no less than 106 Peers in their Lordships' House sent a Petition to the Queen, asking Her Majesty to restore, if he remembered right, this ancient Peerage of Mar. When so very large a section of their Lordships' House determined that there was an act of justice to be done and a title to be restored, surely it was a matter for inquiry by their Lordships. But he would cite a much graver proof than that of the possibility of doing something in this matter, and even of passing the second reading of the Bill. Their Lordships had recently lost from among their midst a great man, whose reputation was not confined to either side of the House, but was the common property of the House—he meant the late Earl Cairns—who had been a Member of that Committee of Privileges which adjudicated on this point. The Government had been so fortunate as to have been able to submit this Bill to Earl Cairns not long before his death; and they received assurances, which he (the Earl of Rosebery) was at liberty to make use of, of the willing and learned support which he would have given to this Bill. That would, no doubt, outweigh any considerations which he could himself advance, and with the countenance and support of that great authority he would ask their Lordships to read the Bill a second time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

Lord DENMAN, in expressing his approval of the Bill, said, he was amused by the consideration that the plural of Mar made one Heathen God—Mars—whose attributes were popular with some and distasteful to others; and he thought a good deal of confusion would be avoided if the two Peers having the same name were to have double

designations to distinguish them, as in the case of Lord Napier of Ettrick and Lord Napier of Magdala, whom he had been pleased to see sitting next to each other on the Cross Benches a short time ago.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he had pleasure in congratulating the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) on the knowledge he had displayed in dealing with the minutiæ of this case. The noble Earl had made a clear and lucid statement as to the reasons for bringing forward this Bill. He thought he might say, on behalf of the Peers of Scotland, who were most interested in this case, that it was not their intention to oppose the second reading. The noble Earl said that the Bill had been introduced in accordance with the practice in such cases. 60 years ago there was a case, which, however, was not quite parallel, because its object was to reverse the attainders of three titles. In his opinion the Bill, as now introduced, was quite unprecedented. On a former occasion he had opposed a Motion upon this question; but, although he had done so, he would have been glad to see the historical title of the Earldom of Mar restored, if it was done in a proper and definite manner, and he was of that opinion still. In any action which he had taken on this question, whether in the House or elsewhere, he had had but one object—namely, the maintenance of order at the elections of Representative Peers at Holyrood, the maintenance of the Prerogatives of their Lordships, and also of what he considered to be indirectly the Prerogative of the Crown. He thought that some of the procedure adopted by those who were anxious to see this ancient title restored had, to some extent, affected all three of those conditions; but he would make no objection whatever to the second reading of the Bill, with one reservation—namely, that the Bill be referred to a full and impartial Committee for proof of the Preamble. The Bill was chiefly Preamble, and in the interests of the nobility of Scotland—the old nobility of Scotland—all he asked, and all he thought any Peer of Scotland could ask, was that that Preamble should be proved in all its details. A Committee capable of going into all those details—technical, genealogical, and historical—should be appointed; and if those details, as contained in the Bill, were proved to the satisfaction of such a Committee, he was sure the House would approve of the Bill. He would hail, with much gratification, any measure of this kind which would put a stop to an agitation which had not been conducted without raising strong feeling on both sides.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY said, he and those who had acted with him in this matter had never doubted the decision of the Committee. What they had objected to was the attempt to put a new Peerage in the place of an old Peerage. He quite agreed with the observations of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian), except as to his remark that the Committee ought to see the Preamble of this Bill proved. It would not be possible to exactly prove every historical point in this case. In many instances Scottish Peers had no Charters to show. They must, therefore, deal to a great extent with contemporaneous documents, and with the historical literature of the past. What they wished was, that a Committee should take evidence on the subject and report to their Lordships. He hoped, however, to see the Bill passed, as he believed it would settle a long-standing grievance, and the differences which had existed on what was really, in his opinion, a legal point. It would restore to a Scottish Peer an honour which was his due; and he was convinced that Her Majesty would have no more loyal subject than he who should receive back the title of the unfortunate Nobleman who raised the standard of rebellion on the braes of Mar.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was glad to perceive the unanimity which appeared to prevail among their Lordships as to this measure. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that since the decision of the Committee of Privileges in the case of the Earldom of Mar and Kellie he had uniformly supported the decision of that Committee. He had deemed it his duty, without any reference to any individual opinion he might have entertained on the legal questions which were before that Committee, to support to the best of his power the authority of their Lordships' House and the decision arrived at by a competent and impartial legal tribunal. He feared that the course he had thought it his duty to take on some occasions with reference to this

matter might have been misinterpreted, as if he were unfriendly to the noble person—for so he might now call him—who was the claimant. He could assure their Lordships that at no time had he been actuated by any feeling but that of strong personal sympathy for that gentleman in the position in which he was placed; but he thought it was his duty, and their Lordships' duty, to uphold the decision arrived at by a Committee composed of men than whom none were more competent—men of unquestioned uprightness, against whom there could not be the slightest suspicion of partiality. When he mentioned that the late Lord Chelmsford, Earl Cairns, and his noble Friend at the Table (the Earl of Redesdale) concurred in that decision, he had said all that was necessary—if, indeed, it was necessary to say anything—to show that it was a Committee whose decision was entitled to the utmost respect. This Bill proceeded on the assumption of the validity of that Committee's decision, and reserved the rights of the Earl of Mar and Kellie; and therefore it was that he was able to approve it, and to advise that it was a Bill that could properly be presented to that House on the authority of Her Majesty's Government. He thought those who had studied the question would agree with him that the reason why this restitution had not long since been made in due course of law was probably this—that the effect of what was done in 1565 had been but imperfectly understood, and it was believed that, in point of fact, the old Earldom still continued to be in existence. Great authorities had continually placed on record their belief that it was not extinct; and Sir Robert Peel, in 1824, when he moved in the House of Commons the second reading of the Bill for its restitution, expressly spoke of the Earldom he was then restoring as by common consent one of the most ancient in Scotland. All the circumstances carried on the belief that the Earldom existed until the death of the Earl, on whose death the controversy arose. Then there arose the question as to whether the male or the female line should be preferred, and that was the only point on which Earl Cairns appeared to have any doubt. But he waived that doubt on considering an opinion expressed by the lawyers of the last century—that the presumption as to Scotch Peerages was in favour of the male line. He considered that the circumstances of this case were peculiar, and that the restitution proposed by the Bill was fully justified; and he therefore supported the Bill.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he would venture to address a few remarks to the House on this Bill, because he did not consider it to be a question which was entirely free from very grave doubt. He did not believe there ever had been a proposition before to restore a title by Act of Parliament when a question arose as to the existence of that title, except in the case of a reversion of attainder. He believed that restitution hitherto had always been effected on an unquestioned title; whereas the Bill before the House actually stated that a certain amount of doubt existed. He thought there was considerable danger in establishing a precedent and bringing in an Act of Parliament to determine and settle a title; and, so far as he was aware, it had never been done before, as it was contrary to the whole principle of the Peerage.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he thought that, considering the fact that he had frequently brought this matter before the House, his thanks were due to the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, for having advised Her Majesty to give her special direction that this Bill should be brought to their Lordships' notice and favourable consideration. His noble Friend the Chairman of Committees (the Earl of Redesdale) and he (the Earl of Galloway) had had a very long correspondence some years ago on this subject, and he was afraid that neither of them had changed his opinion. His noble Friend would make this one very great mistake. He would confuse two Charters; and the difference between these two Charters was simply this—that the Charter dated August was utterly invalid, because it did not receive the confirmation of the Sovereign of Scotland at the time; whereas the Charter of the following December did receive that confirmation, and was consequently valid. He thought the proposal to refer the question to a Select Committee was a remarkably wise and prudent one, and he was sure their Lordships would have great satisfaction in performing this act of justice.

The Lord Chancellor

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he was glad to be able to give expression to the feeling of satisfaction he experienced when he heard that a Bill dealing with this matter had been brought in. It appeared to him that an unintentional injustice had been done to a Peer of Scotland, and to the Peerage of Scotland, and he was glad to see that the matter was about to be set right. He hoped that it would be read a second time, that it would pass successfully through Committee, and that a third reading would be taken.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *referred* to a Select Committee.

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL.—(No. 111.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

On Clause 13 (As to constitution of polling districts).

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in moving, as an Amendment, in page 9, line 13, to leave out from the word "districts" to end of Sub-section 2, said, that, by the part of the clause in question, it was proposed to deprive magistrates in Quarter Sessions of the power of fixing the polling districts for the whole of a county. They enjoyed this power by the present law, and he wished them to continue in the enjoyment of the power, as he did not approve the provision in the clause that the magistrates in Quarter Sessions should appoint for each division of a county a special committee of justices resident in the division to fix the polling districts in it. This proposal was not in the original draft of the Bill, but was introduced in Committee in the other House without much discussion; and it was a change in the law which, in his opinion, might tend to great inconvenience. Further than that, it was totally uncalled for, and must lead to considerable delay. Polling districts were now, in many counties, fixed by committees, to whom the magistrates, as a body, delegated the duty. Many such committees were already at work, and their labours would be rendered fruitless if the clause were not amended. To reject his proposal would be tantamount to suspending the power of fixing polling districts until the end of June. Such a postponement was very undesirable, seeing that everybody was most anxious that the machinery of registration should be got into order as soon as possible. A better course would be to revert to the existing law by which the polling districts were fixed by magistrates in Quarter Sessions. Moreover, supposing, after the committee had been named, one of the members changed his residence, and left the division, he apprehended there would be considerable doubt whether all the proceedings of the committee would not be vitiated by that fact.

Amendment *moved*, in page 9, line 13, to leave out from ("districts") to end of Sub-section (2).—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought that the loss of time to which the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had referred would not be so serious as he imagined, and that in a great degree it would be obviated by the other provisions of the Bill. For instance, the clause would not deprive the justices in Quarter Sessions of the jurisdiction which they now possessed with reference to polling districts; for the printed reports of the committee would have to go before the magistrates for consideration; and now that counties were to be divided, it was surely desirable that the duty of fixing the polling districts in each division should be imposed, in the first instance, upon persons intimately acquainted with the locality. If the Committee left out that portion of the subsection, as it stood, he thought it would be necessary to introduce an Amendment which had been moved by Mr. Stanhope in the other House with regard to county divisions extending over more than one area.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he thought that suggestion reasonable. But with regard to the other matter, as he understood it, the Court of Quarter Sessions was to appoint a committee, and it could only do so when it met at the end of June. Then the committee had to report, and it could only report

when the Court of Quarter Sessions met again in October. There was no Court of Quarter Sessions in the country which did not act on the principle of appointing to perform a duty those magistrates who were most conversant with the subject. He was not sure that in Lancashire there were magistrates resident in all the Parliamentary divisions; and, further than that, there might be only one magistrate in the division, who would thus be the committee under the clause.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, that the Court of Quarter Sessions was to take this matter into consideration not later than one month after the passing of the Act, and it was expected that the Bill would be passed in a day or two; therefore, there would not be the delay which the noble Marquess opposite anticipated. It must be desired by noble Lords on both sides that the polling places should be as convenient as possible; and, therefore, it would be necessary to have local inquiries as to the most convenient places.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the justices might do these things at any time, at a special Sessions held for the purpose; and need not act in Quarter Sessions, properly so called.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that already the county divisions had ample opportunities of making their wants known, for there were officers who were acquainted with every district; and to have travelling committees, going about making inquiries in different districts, would not be required. It was much better to leave the law as it was, and to throw the responsibility on the Court of Quarter Sessions.

EARL STANHOPE said, that the magistrates assembled in General or Quarter Sessions were fully cognizant of local requirements, and quite competent to determine what the polling places for the county should be. They possessed all the knowledge required for the purpose of arranging the districts to suit the geographical convenience of the county. In his own county of Kent the polling places had been already arranged, and were to be finally adopted at Sessions on June 25. If such an Amendment as proposed were carried, it would lead to great loss of valuable time, and the work would not be done as well. At present only the convenience of the new voters was considered, with the concurrence of both political Parties, in determining the necessary polling places.

On Question ? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

Amendment *agreed to*.

On the Motion of The LORD CHANCELLOR, Amendment made by inserting at end of clause—

"Provided that in divisions of counties which extend over more than one area, the authority having power to fix polling stations shall be at liberty to combine with justices of the other area for that purpose."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 14 (As to expenses in case of divided county jurisdiction), *agreed to*.

Clause 15 (Repeal of s. 78 of 2 Will. c. 4).

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that in the Reform Act of 1832, by an anomaly of a strange character which it was not easy to understand, the University buildings of Oxford and Cambridge had been excluded from the right of furnishing an occupation qualification in the borough in which they were situated. That anomaly had remained undisturbed to this day, and it had only been called into prominence now because there had been an attempt made to produce an equality in this respect between the two Kingdoms, and to extend the same disqualification to Dublin. The extreme absurdity of the matter had then been brought to light, and the view was adopted that not only Dublin University, but Oxford and Cambridge also, should have an occupation franchise for University buildings like any other buildings. The obvious common-sense arrangement was adopted that no matter what station a man occupied he should be entitled to the occupation franchise; but at a later stage, by a small majority, that decision had been reversed, and the curious disqualification had been put into the Bill that persons of 21, who were occupiers of buildings in the boroughs of Oxford or Cambridge, should be disfranchised if it happened to be the case that they had not taken a certain degree in the University of Oxford or Cambridge. At a time when they were admitting almost to manhood suffrage many uneducated labourers in all parts of the country, and when they had made the suffrage so wide that it

was difficult to see how it could be made wider, at this time they were laying down this exception—that the only people who were not capable citizens were persons at Oxford and Cambridge who had not passed a certain educational examination.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: It is a fancy franchise.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, his noble Friend beside him (Viscount Cranbrook) suggested that it was a "fancy franchise"—in his own opinion it was worse than a fancy franchise, it was a fancy disfranchisement. It was difficult to conceive what could have induced the other House to accept it. He knew that certain dignitaries at the Universities had objected to the extension of the franchise to undergraduates, on the ground that it would interfere with the discipline of the University; but that was a matter for those excellent dignitaries themselves to take care of. A more extraordinary argument had never been submitted to them before than that Parliament should be asked to refuse a right, and to disfranchise people who were as capable citizens as any, because it would interfere with the dignified persons who managed the discipline of the two Universities. Nor was this opinion universal on the part of the rulers of the Universities. He had received a memorial from Queen's College, most earnestly deprecating the setting aside of the franchise upon grounds of this description. He had very little doubt that the House would remove this unmerited stigma from the undergraduates. The Amendment which he would propose would remove not only the action of the Reform Act, but also that of certain local Acts, which, travelling on the lines of that Act, had renewed the disqualification. He would, therefore, move a provision that no person should be excluded by the operation of any Act of Parliament from the Register of voters in respect of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford or Cambridge. This provision would affect not only undergraduates, but all others.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 11, line 5, to leave out ("entitled to be,") and insert ("prevented by any other Act from being.")—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had maintained that it was impossible that any argument could be brought against the arrangement which he had proposed, and that the anomaly of the existing system was utterly absurd. It seemed to him (the Lord Chancellor), however, that there were reasons which might induce their Lordships to think that it was not so entirely anomalous and absurd as the noble Marquess would lead their Lordships to believe. The noble Marquess had spoken of a fancy disfranchisement. If he (the Lord Chancellor) had himself thought that these undergraduates were disfranchised because they were supposed to be less capable citizens than any others, he would not have had one word to say for the clause; but it appeared to him to be practically consistent with the full recognition of their capacity. They must bear in mind the University franchise, which enabled the Universities to return two Members each to the House of Commons. These young men were there, not because they were inhabitants of, or in any natural or permanent way connected with the town, but because they belonged to the University. For his own part, he rejoiced that the separate representation of the Universities had been maintained; but he thought that, when it was retained, their Lordships ought to be very careful how they mixed up these young men *in statu pupillari* with the town or borough franchise. It might be a serious grievance to the electors of the town or borough of Oxford or Cambridge if they were swamped by these young men coming upon the Register. Again, it was of the greatest importance that there should be no ill-blood or ill-feeling between the town and the University. The elder members of the University might be trusted to behave themselves in such a manner as to avoid any chance of exciting such feelings; but he felt certain that the interference of 3,000 persons *in statu pupillari*, comprising an addition of a really and substantially extraneous body to the town constituency, was a thing that would be resented as an injury, and would interrupt the harmony which it was so important to preserve between the University and all its members on the one hand and the town on the other.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he would point out that graduates as lodgers in the boroughs would be entitled to vote. Not only that; but he thought that it was an extraordinary thing that the Government, after assenting to the students of Trinity College, Dublin, having votes, should object to students under similar circumstances at Oxford or Cambridge being enfranchised. The noble and learned Earl had brought forward as an argument against it the fear that the undergraduates would conduct themselves badly. In the first place, it would not be the case that all these 3,000 students would have votes; in fact, very few would have votes. Then, again, those that would have them were educated young men, and Ministers of the Crown did not scruple to stimulate them to be enthusiastic in political affairs. What else, he would like to know, could be the meaning of the Prime Minister and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) going down to the Palmerston Club at Oxford and enforcing upon its members the high importance of their giving vent to their political opinions? Now, however, the very first opportunity they had of giving those gentlemen the franchise, the Government turned round upon their young *protégés*, and said that these highly educated Liberals were not to be entitled to vote. He trusted that their Lordships would not be led away by the arguments which had been brought forward. It was proposed practically to impose a fancy franchise, by only allowing those to have a vote who had taken a degree—a course which had been so strongly condemned by the present Government. The fact was that when they had gone that length it was quite absurd to shut out those young men. It would be a most unseemly exclusion, and he hoped that their Lordships would scout it.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, this was not a Party question, and, on the whole, although he saw some objection to undergraduates being allowed to vote, yet he thought the arguments against disfranchisement prevailed, and he would vote for the Amendment.

LORD BALFOUR said, he wished to put the case that, under the Amendment, a Peer, who was an undergraduate, might be entitled to vote.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY thought the chance of that occurring was small.

LORD DENMAN said, that the right of a Peer to vote at elections for Members of Parliament had often been claimed by the late Duke of Buccleuch; and his (Lord Denman's) noble Predecessor had always maintained that Peers had the right to vote, being only illegally prevented by a Resolution of the House of Commons, and it was quite clear the right of a Peer to vote was intact. He trusted they would not allow themselves to be bullied by one-sided Resolutions from either House of Parliament. With regard to students at all Universities, if of age, they should be allowed to vote. At the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow even minors, who attended classes, voted for the Lord Rector, as they had happily done in the candidature of Sir Stafford Northcote.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that after the discussion which had taken place, seeing they were divided amongst themselves, he would not put the House to the trouble of dividing.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Marquess of SALISBURY, further Amendment made:—In page 11, line 8, by leaving out from ("Cambridge") to end of clause.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 16 (Repeal of enactments).

LORD BALFOUR, in rising to move the omission of the clause, said, it would make the first inroad upon what he thought was a most important principle. That principle was that the acceptance of Poor Law relief should entail such a dependence as to disqualify a man for the exercise of the franchise; and he hoped that Parliament would be very careful before it broke down that principle. At least, the onus of proving that it was desirable rested upon those who wished to make that very great change. It had been attempted to argue that the acceptance of medical relief from the rates was quite different in its essence from the acceptance of other parochial relief. He could not admit that to be so; and, moreover, he knew that the acceptance of medical relief was very often the commencement of the acceptance of poor relief upon a much

larger scale. It was therefore most important, as far as they could, to keep up the idea that the acceptance of that relief did degrade a man, and made him dependent on others in a way which unfitted him for the franchise. If that clause were allowed to stand in the Bill, there would grow up in the country a feeling that the acceptance of parochial medical relief did not imply the same degradation as the acceptance of other forms of parish relief, and Boards of Guardians would be led into giving that kind of relief where it ought not to be given. It was said that it was very hard if a man, on account of the illness of his child, or of his wife, or through meeting with an accident, took medical relief, and found himself disfranchised in consequence. But, on the other hand, it was very undesirable that Parliament should give any colour to the idea that men were not to make provision for such emergencies, whether by means of friendly societies, clubs, or provident institutions; and he was assured that, if that clause were allowed to remain in the Bill, great damage would be done to that kind of society in many parts of the country. In some of the lower class of benefit clubs, there was a rule that no assistance should be given until a man had done all he could to get something out of the rates; and if that clause were passed there would be an additional premium offered to societies to adopt rules of that kind. As to the alleged hardship of disqualifying a man who had accepted medical relief, it should be remembered that the man might afterwards recover his independence, and that the disqualification would only attach to him for one year, and he would be in no worse position than if he had changed his place of residence from one part of the country to another. That clause was not in the Bill when the measure was first introduced by the Government. It was proposed in Committee in the other House on May 6, and after considerable debate, in a full House, it was rejected by 170 to 102 votes. Only six days later, at a subsequent stage, the proposal was renewed in a much smaller House, and almost by surprise during the dinner hour, with the result that the clause was inserted by 87 against 50. The division comparatively was a very small one, and, he considered, afforded no test of the real feeling of the House of Commons; and he claimed the support of the Government to his Amendment on the ground that in both the divisions in the other House the only Cabinet Minister present, Sir Charles Dilke, voted against the clause, as also did the Attorney General and various subordinate Members of the Government. He would also point out that no such proposal as this was made for Scotland; and, judging from what he knew of the nature of the Poor Law in that country, he did not think it was possible for such a proposal to be made. He knew that he would be told that it was dangerous for their Lordships to take away with the one hand what was given with the other; but he ventured to say, from what he knew of the working classes chiefly affected by the Bill, especially in Scotland, that they were the last people who would desire to see persons enfranchised who accepted aid out of the rates. He maintained that a provision of that kind constituted a great breach of the principle which had always been adhered to by Parliament up to that time, and he believed no material hardship would be inflicted if his proposal was agreed to. The history of the clause gave it no title whatever to any great consideration at the hands of their Lordships, and he hoped they would agree to the omission of the clause.

Moved, "To leave out Clause 16."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 16 stand part of the Bill?"

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that inasmuch as the Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill contained a similar clause, and he was sure it would lead to great abuse in Ireland, and inasmuch as the retention of that clause would be governed by the decision of the House with regard to the English Bill, he should support the Motion.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in opposing the Amendment, said, that the Government were influenced in the course they had taken in the other House by a desire to keep out of the Bill contentious matter, especially where it related to questions not germane to the principle of the measure. Though he would not say that the Government would not take a division on the clause, they preferred to leave the question to be determined on its merits, and he

thought they were acting quite consistently in not making themselves parties to its omission. The clause had not been maintained in the Bill exclusively by votes of adherents of the Government; the assistance of Conservatives as well as others had been given in favour of the provision. He had no disposition, however, to conceal from their Lordships the fact that there were arguments to be brought forward on both sides of the question. The general argument urged by the noble Lord who moved the omission of the clause (Lord Balfour) was entitled to considerable weight—that was, the sound and general principle that persons who came on the poor rates should not exercise the franchise. But the question really was whether that was, in principle, a material departure from that sound and general principle; and whether there were not reasons which tended to show that that was a case in which an exception might be made. An important consideration in favour of the clause was that, by the Franchise Act, they placed the householders of the county in the same position as the poorer householders in the borough. In boroughs and cities it happened, certainly not universally, but, at all events, so frequently as almost to be the general rule, that there were hospitals or dispensaries, easily accessible to persons in need of medical relief, where they could, and did, obtain that medical aid with reasonable and proper facilities, and who were not disfranchised for obtaining relief of that kind. In counties similar institutions were not so easily accessible; and if they struck out the clause they would place the poorer householders of the rural districts at a disadvantage in comparison with the poorer householders of the boroughs, who would be enabled to go to the dispensaries or the hospitals, and there obtain what in rural districts could only be obtained by means of the Poor Law medical officers.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON supported the omission of the clause. He could not altogether agree with the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack that the poor electors in towns would be placed in a better position than the poor householders in the rural districts, inasmuch as in the towns there were dispensaries and other modes of obtaining medical relief which were not accessible in the same way to the poor inhabitants of the rural districts. He objected to the clause, because it gave a wrong impression as to what would be its effect. It provided that—

> "Medical or surgical assistance, or the giving of medicine, shall not be deemed to constitute parochial relief within the meaning of the Representation of the People Acts."

He wished to know, however, whether the noble and learned Earl was aware of the fact that in almost every case in which a poor person, either for himself, or wife, or child, received medical relief it was almost invariably connected with the receipt of wine and meat on behalf of the person who was unwell? They could not lose sight of the fact that in most cases the doctor prescribed not medicine alone, but wine and mutton chops and other medical comforts. The result would be that, in rural districts, whereas one labourer receiving medical assistance only would retain his right to vote, another, living next door, if ordered in addition meat and wine, would, under the clause, be disfranchised. In trying to evade it there could be little doubt great abuses would arise.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was quite ready to admit that persons receiving what the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) termed "medical comforts" would not come within the benefit of this clause, and that they would consequently be disfranchised; but it would be very hard if, because a man broke his leg and obtained surgical assistance, he should be disfranchised.

LORD DENMAN said, that the noble Duke the late Lord President of the Council (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), on a former occasion, had stated that Poor Law relief, being contrary to the principle of the Poor Law, must be a disqualification; but he (Lord Denman) thought that in a measure of enfranchisement it ought not to deprive householders of their votes.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that both the clause under notice and the statement of the noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack fully illustrated the extreme inconvenience of the course taken by the Government. If a

change in the law was to be made on an important point like that, it ought to be made by the Government themselves, carefully drafting a clause. Instead of that, the Government, after resisting, apparently ineffectively, a clause proposed by a private Member in the House of Commons, when it came to their Lordships' House, at once turned round and insisted that that House should also adopt it. Even if their Lordships passed the clause, the difficulty complained of by his noble Friend (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) would not be removed, as "medical comforts" would still disqualify a man; and, as a matter of fact, there seldom was a case in which a person who met with an accident and received surgical assistance did not receive medical comforts in the form of wine and other things, as well as medicine. And since, as the noble and learned Earl opposite said, the receipt of such things would disqualify a voter, that clause was a mere mockery, for it would seem to enfranchise where it really would not, for that which was only a portion of the treatment of a case would disqualify a man. If they meant that medical relief should not disqualify from the franchise, they should, at least, go so far as to say that all that was necessary to the cure should be included in the enfranchising clause. This was a half-measure, which would merely disappoint people; and, though calling in question an important principle, would practically enfranchise no human being. It seemed to him to be a very unwise proposition to put into an Act of Parliament.

LORD FITZGERALD strongly opposed the Amendment.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON desired to point out again that the effect of the clause would be this—that one man who received medical assistance and medicine would get a vote; while his neighbour, because his illness had been more severe, and he had received wine and other medical comforts, would be disfranchised.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the arguments of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) only went to show that the clause would not enfranchise so many persons as was at first sight supposed. He agreed that the clause would not cover medical comforts.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 47; Not-Contents 72: Majority 25.

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Aberdare, L.
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Talbot de Malahide, L.
Tollemache, L.
Ventry, L.
Watson, L.
Wimborne, L.
Winmarleigh L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

Resolved in the *negative;* Clause *left out* of the Bill.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Schedules *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 120.)

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—(No. 112.)

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

LORD WATSON said, he wished to point out to the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (the Earl of Rosebery) that, in the case of England, there was a series of rules and instructions in the Schedules for the guidance of overseers and assessors; but that was not the case with regard to Scotland, the Scotch assessors being left to discover, from a variety of Statutes, what were the proper rules for their own guidance. He, therefore, thought it would be both a desirable and a useful thing if a similar set of rules were prepared in the case of Scotland. To obviate the necessity of moving any Amendment, if the noble Earl would give an assurance that he would cause instructions to be prepared and sent to the assessors to guide them in these matters, that would meet the object he had in view; and he thought it could easily be done through the instrumentality of the Lord Advocate.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he could not give any promise on the subject without communicating with the Lord Advocate. While he thanked the noble and learned Lord for his suggestion, he would see the right hon. and learned Gentleman as soon as possible on the matter.

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 11, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Special valuation to be made by assessor of railways and canals in police burghs).

LORD WATSON, in moving to omit the clause, said, in justification of the Motion, that it was unnecessary to say more than that the clause had no relation whatever to the subject-matter of the Bill. This was a rating clause, dealing with the valuation of railways in burghs. He quite conceived that this might be a matter in regard to which legislation was required; but it was a matter involving a great many interests, and requiring careful consideration, and it ought not, therefore, to be dealt with in a Registration Bill. There was no necessity for such a clause. It would be a very unusual and inexpedient mode of legislation to introduce a rating clause into the body of a Bill for the purpose of registration. He, therefore, moved the rejection of the clause.

Moved, "To leave out Clause 12."—(*The Lord Watson.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he quite admitted that the clause, as the noble and learned Lord had said, had no great relation to the Bill. At the same time, he should say that it had been introduced into the Bill in order to remedy a very great inconvenience, which he thought the noble and learned Lord would acknowledge did exist in Scotland. As the Valuation Act of 1854 was included in the scope of the Registration Bill, there was nothing very wrong in including a clause on the point in the Bill; and no objection was raised to the clause in the other House, either on the second reading or in Committee.

Motion *agreed to;* Clause *left out* accordingly.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendment to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order

No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 122.)

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 116.)

(*The Lord President.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to order).

Clauses 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Dispensary relief not to disqualify).

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, he had intended to move the omission of the clause, which provided that the receipt of medical relief should not be a disqualification for the franchise; but as he understood, with regret, that he should not be supported in that course by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) he would not persist in that course, and would not, therefore, trouble their Lordships to go to a division. It appeared to him, however, that the division just taken on the English Bill affirmed a very important principle; and he only regretted that their Lordships would not apply it uniformly to the Three Kingdoms.

LORD CARLINGFORD (Lord PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he had been about to point out to their Lordships that the Bill contained a clause similar to that which had just been struck out of the English Bill, in regard to not disqualifying on account of the receipt of medical relief; and he was glad to see that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Belmore) had now withdrawn his opposition to it. He (Lord Carlingford) greatly regretted the decision to which the House had come on the English Bill; but even if he had voted against the exemption in the case of England he should still wish to see this clause retained in the Irish Bill. The noble Earl had spoken of a uniformity of practice; but the fact was that there was no uniformity in the practice of the two countries. The clause had been inserted in the Irish Bill as a matter of precaution, and to remove all doubts; but the fact was that medical relief had never been treated in Ireland as a disqualification, and it was given so widely that if it were now, for the first time, made a cause of disqualification, the change would affect a large number of the existing electors. It should be borne in mind that medical relief in Ireland was given upon quite a different system from that which prevailed in England, and not by the Guardians, but by Dispensary Committees. He, therefore, hoped the Committee would not adopt the course they had taken on the English Bill, seeing that the two countries were differently situated in regard to this matter, and would accept the clause providing that dispensary relief should not be held to constitute such Poor Law relief as would disqualify for the franchise.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he had taken much trouble to ascertain the views of different Irish Peers on this matter, and he was bound to say that the most authoritative among them entirely concurred with the view of the Lord opposite (Lord Carlingford)—namely, that the system of medical relief in the two countries was in no degree analogous, and that it could not be said that they would be admitting the principle of enfranchising those who had received Poor Law relief by passing this clause. In the English Bill they had been trying to set up a system that had never been acted upon before, and which would have been difficult to work; but in Ireland the system had existed for a long time, and it seemed that by striking out the clause in this Bill they would be inflicting a great hardship on a vast number of people, and setting up a principle which had never existed before in the administration of Ireland.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, he entirely concurred with the noble Marquess as to the feeling in Ireland, and admitted that it would be a hard thing to omit the clause. He was, therefore, very glad that a proposal was not to be made to exclude recipients of medical relief in Ireland from the franchise.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 and 7 *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Appeal where Chairman or Revising Barrister refuses to state a case).

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving the omission of the provision requiring County Court Judges in Ireland, at the instance of a Superior Court, to pay

costs in cases where they had made mistakes in the revision of the list of voters, said, he maintained that this would be very hard upon the County Court Judges who were not in the same position as the Revising Barristers in England. In the case of the latter officials, they would accept the work imposed upon them with their eyes open; but in the case of the Irish Judges the new work would be thrown upon them against their will.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 3, line 14, after ("with,") insert ("costs against the party obtaining such rule.") —(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the object with which the clause had been inserted had been to make the law of Ireland the same as that of England. If, however, the position of the Revising Barristers, were, as described, different to that of the County Court Judges in Ireland, the provision might be omitted.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Earl of MILLTOWN, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 15, leave out ("payment of.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 9 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Publication of register, &c.)

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving, as an Amendment, to omit the provision requiring registration notices to be affixed to the doors of churches in Ireland, said, he would call their Lordships' attention to the fact that the Protestant Church had been disestablished in Ireland, and that the churches were now private property, upon which it would be an unwarrantable liberty to affix these notices against the will of the clergy. Numerous representations had been made to him by Protestant clergymen in Ireland strongly complaining of the provision in the clause, and intimating that, even if the clause were passed, they would not submit to it. He understood also that the Roman Catholic clergy were opposed to the proposal.

Amendment *moved*, in page 7, line 13, leave out from ("position") to ("outside") in line 15.—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he would accept the Amendment, especially seeing that it had never been habitual in Ireland to affix these notices on the church doors, as it had been in England.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Schedules *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with: Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 122.)

EGYPT—RETURN OF EXPENDITURE.

ADDRESS FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF JERSEY moved for a

"Return of the total sums spent by the Imperial and Indian Governments on naval and military operations in or connected with Egypt, on its civil administration, and on any other matters relating to that country since 1st January 1882 up to the present time; Also, for a Return of the officers and men who have lost their lives and of the number invalided home in consequence of our operations in Egypt between the above-mentioned dates."

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he would consent to the Return, with the addition of the words "so far as may be."

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN hoped that the number of Arabs who had lost their lives would be stated.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, the Return to be complete should also include the number of Egyptian troops killed, including those garrisons which had been massacred; and the number of Egyptians and Arabs who had been sold into slavery during our military operations in the country.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that in answer to a recent inquiry the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War (the Earl of Morley) assured the House that the troops in Egypt were amply supplied; and he had since shown him (the Earl of Longford) a Return giving the exact quantity of Commissariat stores at the different stations. Nevertheless, they heard through the Press and from various private reports

that the troops at many different stations were on short allowance, and many of them almost in rags. He did not mean, or wish in the least, to make a charge against the War Office. He knew that abundant supplies had been sent out; but the question was whether they had reached the troops, and on that point he could not help thinking that the troops were the best judges. The noble Earl had received Commissariat Reports. He would suggest that he should ask for more specific Reports from the Military Authorities.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the information given to the noble Earl (the Earl of Longford) was entirely wrong. That Return he had shown the noble Earl was not a Commissariat Return at all. He should be glad to receive any information which the noble Earl might give, and to investigate the matter; but the noble Earl had not specified a single point. If he would make a specific complaint inquiries should be made; but he (the Earl of Morley) could not undertake to telegraph inquiries as to all rumours which were circulated. He did not say that in the course of transport up and down the river cases of inconvenience might not have occurred; but this he did say—that the Reports of Military Authorities on the Nile showed that there was no deficiency in the supplies which had been forwarded.

Motion amended, by the addition of the words ("so far it can be given,") and *agreed to.*

Address for—

"Return, so far as it can be given, of the total sums spent by the Imperial and Indian Governments on naval and military operations in or connected with Egypt, on its civil administration, and on any other matters relating to that country since 1st January 1882 up to the present time: Also, Return of the officers and men who have lost their lives and of the number invalided home in consequence of our operations in Egypt between the above-mentioned dates."—(*The Earl of Jersey.*)

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 19th May, 1885.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE BILLS (*by Order*) — *Third Reading* — Barrington's Hospital; North Wales Narrow Gauge Railways (Extensions, &c.), * and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Metropolitan Board of Works; North British Railway; South Eastern Railway (Various Powers).*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4)* [185]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5)* [186].

First Reading—Princess Beatrice's Annuity * [187].

Second Reading—Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * [175]; Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * [174]; Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * [173]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2)* [166]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3)* [167].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BARRINGTON'S HOSPITAL BILL (*by Order*).

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

MR. BIGGAR, in moving—

"That the Bill be re-committed, in order that provision may be made that the two additional Governors of the Hospital shall be nominated from time to time by the Corporation of the City of Limerick,"

said, that the sole object of the Bill was to amend an Act passed in the 11th year of the Reign of George IV., entitled—"An Act for the management and direction of the Hospital founded by Joseph Barrington and his Sons in the City of Limerick," by constituting for all future time the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's, Limerick, the two additional Governors of the Hospital which the Bill proposed to create. Of course, he would have no fault to find with this provision of the Bill under ordinary circumstances, because he presumed that the Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's would be gentlemen who would take a proper interest in the due admi-

nistration of the charity; but it might so happen that from old age or ill-health those gentlemen would find themselves unable to discharge the duties of the office. The position of Bishop, like that of parish priest, was of a practically permanent character; and if either of these became infirm, or had no time to spare from the performance of their own clerical duties for the discharge of the duties attaching to the Governors of this Charity, there would be no power to replace them, and the interests of the hospital would suffer in consequence. He, therefore, proposed that the Bill should be re-committed, in order that the nomination of the two Governors should be placed in the hands of the Corporation of Limerick. In his opinion, the Corporation of Limerick were the most desirable body to entrust with the appointment, and he might add that he proposed the re-committal of the Bill on behalf of that body. If this power were given to the Corporation they would from time to time select gentlemen in the prime of life who took a special interest in institutions of this kind, and who would undoubtedly be more active and efficient members of the Board of Governors than the Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's could possibly be. He hoped it would be understood that he had not the slightest objection to the present Bishop and parish priest. On the contrary, he believed them to be two gentlemen who were perfectly competent to fulfil all the duties of the office, and to fill them to the satisfaction of everybody concerned; but there was no certainty as to who the successors of those gentlemen would be, or whether they would take the slightest interest in the administration of the affairs of the hospital. It was also probable that, in the nature of things, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's, as time passed away, from old age or infirmity, or a pressure of their own religious duties, would become year by year less able to look after the interests of the charity; whereas if such a thing occurred in reference to the nominees of the Corporation, there would be power to replace them by younger and more active men. He, therefore, moved the re-committal of the Bill for the purpose of making provision for the nomination of the two additional Governors by the Corporation of the City of Limerick.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "be," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "re-committed, in order that provision may be made that the two additional Governors of the Hospital shall be nominated from time to time by the Corporation of the City of Limerick,"—(*Mr. Biggar,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'now read the third time' stand part of the Question."

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR said, he desired to support the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), and in doing so he wished it to be clearly understood that he meant no disrespect whatever to the Bishop of Limerick, or the priest whom it was intended to associate with him in carrying out the important objects of this institution. He had no doubt, as his hon. Friend had stated, that the administration of the hospital would be in very good hands indeed if the Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's were appointed; but he felt that the time had passed when institutions of this nature could be well administered by clerical gentlemen. He believed the time had passed when high dignitaries of the Church and clergymen would care to be so intimately associated with these institutions as they had been in the past; and the time had arrived when it was necessary that corporate bodies should guard with a jealous eye their management and administration of all institutions that had been established for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of the people, and attending to the wants of the poor. From time to time it would become necessary for the Corporations of Ireland to institute inquiries into the management of the hospitals which existed in that country; and it had been found, owing to the onerous nature of the duties which the Roman Catholic Bishops and priests, and the clergy of other denominations, and the scanty supervision they were in consequence able to exercise, that many irregularities had crept into the management of these institutions. But if the Corporation of Ireland were allowed to supervise the administration, the judicial and business aptitude of the new members who joined these Corporations

from time to time could be utilized, and their energy and knowledge of public affairs would be brought to bear upon the fulfilment of these duties, so that they would be able to inquire into any irregularities which might be committed, and to remedy any abuses that might have crept in from time to time, owing to the inattention of the other Governors to the discharge of their duties. It was upon these grounds that he felt it his duty to back up and endorse the representations which had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan; and he trusted that those representations would not only be met in the spirit in which they had been offered, but that the House would endorse and carry the Motion of his hon. Friend, and vest the appointment of the two additional Governors which the Bill proposed to create in the hands of the Corporation of the City of Limerick.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he knew nothing about the present Bill, nor of the hospital to which it related; and his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan was generally so enlightened in his views, and so accurate in the objections he took, that it was with a good deal of hesitation he (Colonel Nolan) ventured to point out a course which he thought would be much more satisfactory than the one which his hon. Friend was now taking—namely, to allow the Bill to pass in its present form, and then to bring in a new Bill giving the power of nominating two additional Governors to the Corporation of the City of Limerick. His own opinion was that it would be most useful to have the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese, in association with the parish priest, upon the Board of Governors; and it would also be useful hereafter to have upon the same Board the business experience and knowledge which would be possessed by two members of the Corporation of Limerick. He was able to speak from personal experience of the great advantage of having a Bishop connected with the management and administration of charities of this kind. He might mention a case in which the Archbishop of Tuam had rendered extremely valuable service as one of the Governors of the Asylum at Westport, in the county of Mayo. He had heard from several persons that the Archbishop had been of considerable value in the management of the Asylum. He certainly differed from his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan in the opinion that the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland were too old or too infirm to do the work that would be required of them. He had known of very few cases indeed in Ireland where the Archbishops or Bishops had been found, at any time, in consequence of old age or infirmity, unfit to do the work entrusted to them. One of the oldest men upon the Roman Catholic Episcopal Bench in Ireland was the late Archbishop of Tuam; but until within six months of his death—and the Archbishop lived until the age of 90—the right reverend Prelate was active and vigorous. He did not think, therefore, that the argument of his hon. Friend carried much weight with it; and, so far as the parish priest of St. Mary's was concerned, the value of having a parish priest upon the managing Board of a hospital of this kind would be self-evident. As he had stated, he knew nothing of the Bill; but, taking the sketch of it which had been given by his hon. Friend, he thought it was a most valuable measure, and he should certainly support it. At the same time, he thought it would be useful if some Representative of the Government would state whether they would feel inclined to give facilities for the introduction and passing of a new Bill. In that case, he had no doubt his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), and his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. John O'Connor), would undertake to bring in a Bill for the purpose of empowering the Corporation of the City of Limerick to nominate two members of the Governing Body. But he felt that he could not oppose the present Bill for placing on the Board the Bishop of the diocese and the parish priest of St. Mary's.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he was not in a position to express an opinion upon the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan), as to whether it was desirable to afford facilities for the introduction of a new Bill. It was no part of his duty to pronounce an opinion upon that point; but, in regard to the present Bill, the question for the consideration of the House seemed to him to be a very simple one. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) proposed that the

Bill which now came before the House for a third reading should be re-committed, in order that two members of the Limerick Corporation should be nominated as Governors of this Charity. Before the House consented to take the unusual course of re-committing a Bill on the third reading, in order that two other Governors of the Hospital should be substituted for those now proposed by the Bill, it was incumbent upon the hon. Member to show that the present Governors were either insufficient in number, or in some way disqualified to perform the duties of the office. In a few words, he would explain to the House exactly how the matter stood. This hospital was founded by Sir Joseph Barrington, and it was at present managed and directed under an Act passed in the 11th year of the Reign of George IV. The Governing Body, as constituted by that Act, consisted of the Bishop of the diocese of Limerick, the Rector of the parish in which the hospital was situated, the Mayor of the City of Limerick, the Representative of the City in Parliament, and the President of the Limerick Chamber of Commerce, and the Right Rev. Dr. John Ryan, D.D., who, he presumed, was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick at the time. The Governing Body also included every donor of 20 guineas in one sum, and every annual subscriber of three guineas. It, therefore, seemed to him that the Institution possessed a very large Governing Body, and one that was of a very representative character, seeing that any person who was minded to subscribe three guineas a-year or to give a donation of 20 guineas at once became a Governor. It appeared to him that the Bill was of a very proper character; it contained one simple provision adding to the Governing Body the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's for the time being, and when the Bill came before him he had no hesitation in giving his assent to it. It simply added two well-qualified persons to the existing Governing Body—a numerous Governing Body, no doubt, with some of them well qualified, and all of them qualified in some way or other. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) objected to the addition of the Roman Catholic Bishop and parish priest, on the ground that those gentlemen might grow old or possibly infirm. But that was not an infirmity confined to Roman Catholic clergymen; it extended to others just as well; but he presumed that when a Roman Catholic Bishop became old or infirm it was customary to appoint a coadjutor, who would be able to perform all the duties and undertake all the work of the Bishop. Under the circumstances, he could really see no reason for the suggestion which had been made by the hon. Member for Cavan. He (Sir Arthur Otway) had shown that there was already a very numerous Board of Governors; that it contained upon it certain persons who were very well qualified to act as Governors, and if to these were added the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick and the parish priest of St. Mary's he certainly did not see any possible reason why the Bill should be re-committed in order to add two members from the Corporation of Limerick, or to substitute two members of the Corporation for the two members proposed by the Bill.

Mr. SEXTON expressed a hope that, after the explanation which had been given by the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, his hon. Friend the Member for Cavan would not press the Motion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member withdraw the Motion?

Mr. BIGGAR said, that, after the recommendation he had received from his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), he would not put the House to the trouble of a division.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. BRYCE, in moving to insert the following new clause after Clause 12:—

"The Board shall, under the powers conferred upon them by this Act, acquire the whole of the piece of land in the parish of All Saints, Poplar, numbered 2 on the deposited plans (Greenwich Ferry, Plan No. 4), and in the book of reference, page 68, and shall lay out or cause to be laid out as a public garden or recreation ground so much of the said piece of land as shall not be required for the purposes of

the Ferry between Greenwich Pier and Bayne Street, Poplar, and the purposes mentioned in Clause 12 of this Act,"

said, this was the first of two new clauses which he proposed to insert in the Bill. It would, however, require two small verbal corrections. "Clause 12" ought to be "Clause 14," and "Bayne Street" was a misprint for "Barque Street." The Bill proposed to confer various powers upon the Metropolitan Board of Works, and, among other things, to establish and regulate a ferry across the River Thames from Greenwich to Millwall in the parish of Poplar. This was a public work which would, no doubt, be of much utility; and for the purpose of establishing the ferry the Metropolitan Board proposed to acquire a piece of land one and a-half acres in extent on the Poplar side of the river, in what was called the Isle of Dogs, immediately opposite Greenwich Hospital. This piece of land was at present laid out as a garden—in fact, it was an old garden with some trees and a grass plot. It would be a particularly good place to use as a recreation ground, because it was very well situated on the bank of the river, commanding a view of all the ships which passed up and down, and it was immediately opposite Greenwich and to various interesting objects in the locality, such as the Hospital, the Park, and the Observatory. It might, therefore, be converted into a very pleasant spot for the people of this populous and poor district to resort to for the purpose of recreation, and for a playground for the children. As many persons would have to be constantly waiting for the arrival of the ferry boats, it would be an additional advantage to have some place where they could sit beneath the trees while waiting, rather than be tempted to while away the time in the neighbouring public-houses. He might add that there was no recreation ground in the whole of this district, crowded as it was and poor as the population was. Indeed, he did not believe that there was within two miles any piece of ground that was available for the enjoyment and recreation of the people or for the games of children. He had already presented to the House a Petition, signed by 556 residents in the neighbourhood of the ferry, urgently requesting the House to accept this proposition; and those who had first asked him to call attention to the subject (the Metropolitan Public Garden Association) had intimated their willingness to undertake the expense of laying out the ground for the benefit of the public. Some 10 or 11 days ago, a communication had been addressed from the Association in question to the Metropolitan Board of Works, laying before the Board the desirability of devoting the land to public purposes, and requesting them to express their views upon the subject, and also upon the clauses which he now proposed to insert in the Bill. The Board were invited to say whether there was anything wrong in these clauses, in point of form; and as no answer had been returned he was emboldened to believe that, so far as the form of the clauses was concerned, they were perfectly regular. He did not know whether his hon. Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) was disposed to accept these clauses on behalf of the promoters of the Bill. He trusted that he was, because the burden which their adoption would entail upon the ratepayers of London generally was extremely slight. The land was of very small pecuniary value, and, as it had already been scheduled by the Metropolitan Board, it would not be necessary to give any additional notice, and the House would have nothing more to do than to express its wish that the surplus land not required for the purpose of the ferry and its approaches should be utilized for the enjoyment of the public. He thought it was in the power of the Board of Works, and it would certainly be an act of grace which would be fully appreciated by the people if they would assent to this proposition, and not put the House to the necessity of dividing upon it. He would remind the House and his hon. Friend, whose feelings in these matters he knew to be liberal, that it would not only be an act of grace, but also in reality an act of justice, because while the West End of London was plentifully provided with recreation grounds, and the banks of the river between Westminster Bridge and the Temple were adorned with garden grounds thrown open to the public, in the East End of London nothing of the kind could be found. Hon. Members must be fully aware how much beauty was added to this part of London and

how much enjoyment was given to the people by the strips of garden which existed between the Houses of Parliament and Charing Cross. It was not too much, therefore, to ask that something of the same kind should be done for the East End of London also, for people whose lives were carried on under conditions far less favourable than those which existed in Westminster and the West End. He trusted that, under all the circumstances, the House would assent to the first of the clauses he intended to propose, and which provided that the Metropolitan Board of Works should lay out a piece of land in All Saints, Poplar, as a recreation ground.

New Clause (Board to lay out piece of land in All Saints, Poplar, as a recreation ground,)—(*Mr. Bryce,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he was sorry that he could not accede to the request which had been made to him by his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) to adopt these clauses. He might say that during the time he had had the honour to be Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works a great number of Bills had been introduced by the Board for the purpose of improving various parts of the Metropolis; and he had never known a single case in which the House had intervened and said that the Metropolitan Board or any other corporate body, so far as he was aware, should turn certain pieces of land which came within the limits of the line of deviation of their works into recreation ground or any other purpose for the use of the general public. In the present Bill the Metropolitan Board proposed to carry out important works for the advantage of the public; and in regard to the special improvement for which this land had been acquired, it was for the Metropolitan Board, and not for the House, to say how any surplus which might be left should be disposed of. The land in All Saints, Poplar, had been scheduled for the express purpose of the present Bill, to be applied towards recouping to some extent the ratepayers of the Metropolis for the expense they would have to incur in carrying out these public improvements. With regard to this particular plot of land, of which his hon. Friend had spoken in such glowing terms, he wished to inform the House that the whole of it amounted to one and a-quarter acres, and out of that a considerable portion would have to be used for the approaches to the ferry. As a matter of fact, only about half an acre on either side of the ferry approach would be available for a garden or recreation ground; and if the Metropolitan Board were to study economy, in the interests of the ratepayers, it was necessary to dispose of the surplus land for building purposes, so that some portion of the cost of the ferry might be provided out of it. If the House of Commons were now to step in and were to say that the Metropolitan Board were to acquire the whole of the land within the line of deviation, what would be the result? Why, that they would have to pay a very large price indeed for this public improvement. In regard to the question of cost, he might say that about a fortnight ago he went down to Poplar, to the Isle of Dogs, for the purpose of opening the East and West Ferry Roads for the benefit of the inhabitants at large; and he was glad to find that the inhabitants fully appreciated what the Metropolitan Board were doing for them. As to these pieces of land of half an acre on each side of the approaches, he might point out, as a question of justice to the ratepayers generally, that the Metropolitan Board were proposing to establish, at a very large cost, free ferries for the inhabitants of Poplar; and there was certainly one question which he would like to put to any intelligent man who understood the matter. What would any person who lived in Poplar or the Isle of Dogs like to do? Would he wish to have this plot of ground, less than one and a-quarter acres in extent, laid out as a recreation ground, or would he prefer to get across the river to Greenwich Park, where, at no cost whatever, he would be able to enjoy the beauties and enchantment of that famous popular resort? It was altogether out of the question that this piece of land could be of real advantage to the public for purposes of recreation. It would involve, in his opinion, a useless expenditure of public money, and it would be most unusual for the House of Com-

mons to insert such a clause in a measure proposed by a Corporation or any other body representing the ratepayers. In point of fact, the Metropolitan Board of Works had already issued their notices, and they had no power to do what they were asked to do. In compliance with the Standing Orders of the House, they had simply asked for power to acquire this land for the purpose of utilizing it in constructing the approaches to the ferry. They had never thought of providing any recreation ground whatever; and so far as the land itself was concerned, instead of being suitable for such an object, as his hon. Friend asserted, it was most unsuitable, independently of the fact that, in compelling the Metropolitan Board to devote it to purposes of public recreation and enjoyment, the House would be casting aside every principle of fair play which had hitherto guided them in regard to Bills introduced into the House of Commons by the Metropolitan Board or any other corporate body. It was preposterous to direct the Metropolitan Board, in this or any other instance, to use the land acquired for a particular object for the purposes of a recreation ground, whether they liked it or not. He believed he might fairly claim for the Metropolitan Board that they had never been backward in doing the best they could for the interests of the people. Already they had been instrumental in securing nearly 2,000 acres of open land around the Metropolis, and throwing it open for the free use of the general public. In the very Bill which he held in his hand, they proposed to lay out 72 acres of land in Dulwich for the purposes of a public park, and there were provisions in the Bill enabling them to negotiate with the Governors of Dulwich College for that purpose. They were also endeavouring to convert Highbury Fields at Islington into an open space, for the enjoyment of the public hereafter, and were proposing to establish streets which would form a direct communication between this open space and Islington. The body of which his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) was the mouthpiece were very anxious that the Metropolitan Board should now throw open a valuable piece of land which they desired to make use of in order to recoup the ratepayers, to some extent, for the large expenditure which these public improvements would involve; and it was suggested that this land, very little larger than the Chamber in which they were assembled, should be converted into a recreation ground. Now-a-days, certain persons seemed to think that everything ought to be turned into a public recreation ground. He, for one, certainly did not entertain that opinion. Parliament had imposed upon the Metropolitan Board very onerous duties and conditions, and the result was that they were required to pay very large sums of money—very much larger than they had any right to anticipate—both in regard to compensation and other expenses. Under all the circumstances, he thought the Metropolitan Board were justified in paying some attention to the interests of the ratepayers, and in trying to keep within reasonable bounds in regard to the public improvements which they carried out from time to time. He therefore felt himself called upon to ask the House to reject the clauses which his hon. Friend had placed upon the Paper.

MR. ONSLOW said, that although upon most occasions he had supported his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) in any matter connected with the Metropolitan Board of Works, still upon this occasion he was sorry to say that he should not be found in the same Lobby as his hon. Friend. During the last few weeks he had had many opportunities of visiting the East End of London; and the experience he had recently gained convinced him of the strong feeling there was among the working classes of the district to obtain possession of this small piece of land for a recreation ground. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), in proposing these clauses, pleaded on behalf of a particular society. Now, he (Mr. Onslow) did not in the slightest degree speak on behalf of that society, although he did not deny that it might have done a certain amount of good; but, at the same time, he believed that the members of it held somewhat fanatical views about the acquisition of land in the Metropolis for recreation grounds. Therefore, he did not appear before the House on that occasion to speak on behalf of that society; but he supported the proposal of the hon. Member opposite because he knew from the knowledge he had recently

acquired that a very large number of the working classes and others of Poplar were extremely desirous that this piece of land should be converted into a recreation ground. His hon. Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board said the proposal would involve the waste of a large sum of money, which ought to be utilized for the benefit of the ratepayers of the Metropolis generally. His (Mr. Onslow's) opinion was that it would not involve the waste of a large sum of money. If it entailed an addition to the rates of the Metropolis to any objectionable extent, he certainly would not vote for it; but it appeared to him that these 1½ acres might be laid out very easily indeed, at a comparatively small cost. He thought if his hon. and gallant Friend went a little more into detail, he would find that he took an exaggerated view of the cost, and that the Metropolitan Board would in reality sacrifice very little in handing over this land to the public. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets said that this would be a good place for children and nursery maids to resort to; and almost in the same breath the hon. Member said it was much better that they should go there rather than while away their time in the public-house. He (Mr. Onslow) regretted that the public-house should be so constantly lugged in, in connection with this question of providing recreation grounds. The argument of the hon. Member was that the public, whenever they had the opportunity, would rather visit a recreation ground than the public-house. The publican was always held up by hon. Gentlemen who held the views of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets as the great sinner in the Metropolis in these respects. Perhaps it was scarcely necessary that he (Mr. Onslow) should say it was not because he believed that people would while away their time in the public-house that he supported the proposal of the hon. Member. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) said the Metropolitan Board did not like to be dictated to, and that they objected to be forced to do this or that, even by the House of Commons. He was not one of those who in any way desired to dictate to the Metropolitan Board. He knew the enormous amount of good that Board had accomplished under the presidency of his hon. Friend; and having sat on various Committees in which the work of the Board had been concerned, he knew very well that whenever they had the opportunity the Metropolitan Board were unceasing in their endeavours to do good for the working classes of the Metropolis. But the question involved in the present Bill was a very small matter indeed. He thought the plot of land to which the Motion applied was required for a recreation ground for the general public of the East End of London; and he hoped the House would come to the conclusion that it would be right to grant to the East End this small boon, which would not entail an excessive amount of expenditure, and would be greatly appreciated by the residents in the locality.

Mr. W. H. JAMES said, that as he had long taken an interest in the preservation of open spaces in the Metropolis, and had also been a Member of the Committee which considered the present Bill, he wished to say a word upon the question which had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce). The proposal to which the Motion related was contained in that part of the Bill which dealt with the establishment of free ferries across the Thames between Greenwich and Poplar. There were some divisions in the Committee upon the subject, some Members objecting, generally, to the principle of establishing free ferries. If there was to be a free ferry, why should there not be a free train, and a free omnibus? The general tenour of the evidence before the Committee was that so much had been done to open up and free the communications across the river above London Bridge that it was necessary to improve and facilitate the means of communication below London Bridge. As a matter of fact, this free ferry would really be nothing else than a large floating bridge. The money which would be required for the purpose of establishing and keeping up this ferry would be levied upon the whole of the Metropolitan area, and it would have an immediate effect in increasing the value of the land which happened to be contiguous. There could not be the slightest doubt that the value of this plot of land would be enormously increased as soon as the ferry was established, and that the Metropolitan Board would in all

probability be able to utilize that portion of it which would be left vacant for building purposes as a commercial speculation, which would be the means of recouping themselves to a certain extent for the rates it would be necessary, in the first instance, to raise over the whole of the Metropolitan area. In the discussion of the proceedings before Private Bill Committees he had often thought that the interests of the general public in the presence of the interests of powerful individuals or associations were frequently neglected. He thought it was not only right, but fair and equitable, that Parliament and its Committees should keep in view the interests of the public generally. If it was right that the people of this locality should have a special advantage in the nature of a free ferry at the expense of other Londoners, it was also right that the Metropolitan Board should not make the opportunity one for commercial speculations, and the money now to be invested should be laid out in a manner most advantageous for the general public who might use the ferry. Under these circumstances, he strongly supported his hon. Friend's clause.

MR. WARTON said, he did not propose to address the House upon the question before it. He had simply risen for the purpose of calling the attention of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) to an informality in the form of his proposal. In the last line he spoke of "Clause 14;" but if it were added to the Bill it would become a "section," and not a "clause." He trusted that the hon. Member, if the Motion were carried, would amend it in that respect.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 136; Noes 56: Majority 80.—(Div. List, No. 197.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."

MR. WARTON said, he wished again to call the attention of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets to the point he had referred to before the division took place—namely, that the term used in the last line of the new clause should be "section," and not "clause."

MR. BRYCE said, he had no objection to amend the clause as suggested.

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was too late. The proper time to have moved an Amendment was when the Question was put.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member move the 2nd clause?

MR. BRYCE said, he did. He begged to move a further clause to provide that—

"All powers and authorities vested in the Board by sections two to eleven, inclusive, of 'The Metropolitan Board of Works Act, 1877,' shall, upon the passing of this Act, apply to the said piece of land in the parish of All Saints, Poplar, and to every part thereof when the same has been so laid out as a public garden, as aforesaid, as if the same had been included in the Schedule of 'Parks' to the said Metropolitan Board of Works Act, 1877."

New Clause—(Powers of Metropolitan Board of Works Act, 1877, to apply to recreation ground at Poplar,)—(*Mr. Bryce,*)—*brought up*, and read the first and second time, and *added*.

Bill to be read the third time.

NORTH BRITISH RAILWAY BILL

(by Order.)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

MR. WARTON said, he rose for the purpose of moving the following Amendment in the Preamble of the Bill, page 5, line 19, to leave out the words:—

"And that power should be conferred upon the Company to remodel and improve their hotel adjoining the Waverley Station at Edinburgh (known as the 'North British Station Hotel')."

If this Amendment were agreed to, he proposed to move the omission from Clause 33, page 27, line 6, of the following words:—

"The Company may alter, enlarge, remodel, and improve their hotel and other property fronting Princes Street, in the city of Edinburgh, and raise the back portion thereof to the same height as the front portion, so as to form an uniform block."

The Bill had passed through its preliminary stages, and had been considered and reported by a Committee upstairs. Under those circumstances he should not, as a general rule, feel disposed to interfere with the decision of a Committee, and he should not do so in the present instance if he were not of opinion that a great principle was involved. The question which he desired to bring

before the House was a most important one, the principle involved in it being whether a Railway Company ought to be allowed to interfere with the legitimate business of the hotel-keepers by starting an hotel of their own. This might appear to be a somewhat startling proposition, because it was well known that a considerable number of Railway Companies did, at the present moment, possess hotels in connection with their principal stations. He knew that fact perfectly well; but there had never been an occasion before in which the question of the right of a Railway Company to keep an hotel had been objected to, and he believed that statement was fully borne out by the evidence not only of the opponents, but by those who gave evidence in support of the Bill. Not only had opposition to this part of the Bill of the North British Railway been offered before the Committee, but it had been determined to continue it in the House itself. The principal witness on behalf of the Bill before the Committee was Mr. John Walker, the general manager of the Company, who was compelled, on cross examination, to admit that he did not know of any hotel power having previously been opposed before a Parliamentary Committee. Therefore, he (Mr. Warton) thought that a new question had been raised which he was fairly entitled to bring before the House. He did not pretend to say that it was at all a new fact that Railway Companies had occasionally established hotels in connection with their stations; but it was a new question whether the principle, now that it had been opposed, was or was not to receive the solemn sanction of the House of Commons. The reason why, in this case, the North British Railway Company ought not to be allowed to build an hotel in Edinburgh was because, in the first place, it had been abundantly proved, by evidence, that the City of Edinburgh was very well supplied with hotels already. To prove that assertion he would take it out of the mouth of the Company's own witness—Mr. Walker, the general manager, who was obliged to make the following admission to the Committee:—

"I do not dispute the fact that the City of Edinburgh has for many years been exceptionally well supplied with hotel accommodation."

And what was the history of this hotel which the Railway Company proposed to alter, enlarge, remodel, and improve? The land upon which the existing hotel stood was purchased many years ago by the Company nominally for the purposes of the railway. Under Standing Order No. 156 of the House of Commons no Railway Company was to be allowed to carry on any other business except that of a Railway Company without the sanction of Parliament through a Select Committee. In this case how had that assent been given? It was stated in the Report of a Committee presided over by the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) that the Company purchased the ground on which the hotel stood many years ago, and that until lately it had been let by the Company for the purposes of an hotel. It was now untenanted owing to the want of certain improvements. Why was it that the hotel was untenanted? It was for this reason—that two separate tenants had successively occupied the hotel under the Railway Company, and both had failed to make it profitable. Now, if other hotel-keepers in other parts of the City of Edinburgh tried to establish a business and failed the result was a loss to themselves; but the grievance in this case was that the Railway Company would be able to carry on the business of hotel-keepers at a loss, as far as the mere hotel itself was concerned, and therefore it was instituting an unfair competition to require traders who had to find their own capital to compete with a great Railway Company with an immense capital, subscribed by the general public, behind them. It was self-evident that a Railway Company would be able, out of the general profits of the railway, to carry on the business of an hotel at a loss. There were other ways in which they were able to compete, with exceptional advantages, with an ordinary trader who had to carry on a business by his own industry, and out of his own capital. A Railway Company could employ its own officers in touting for custom; it offered to the travelling public the privilege of forwarding telegrams along the railway free of expense, and there were other advantages which the ordinary hotel-keeper was unable to provide. No other hotel-keeper, for instance, could send telegrams free of expense; they could

not have Hansom cabs constantly upon their premises, with the names of their hotel painted on them; and they were prevented from touting for custom at the railway stations, although that was a process which was carried on constantly by the railway servants in connection with the railway hotels. The Chairman of the Committee, in the Report presented to the House with regard to the Bill, further stated that for the purposes of the railway this hotel was very conveniently situated for the public accommodation. Of course, hon. Members knew all that very well. An hotel at a railway station was, no doubt, very convenient for those passengers who arrived at the station by night, and wished to stay at an hotel. That, however, was not the point; the point was, that a Railway Company carrying on the business of an hotel-keeper were able to conduct an unfair trade against those with whom they were brought into competition. He desired to call the attention of the House to the unfair manner in which the opposition to his proposal, as far as the present Bill was concerned, had been got up. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] He trusted that the House was in a judicial mood. He simply wished to call the attention of the House to the way in which the opposition to this point on the part of the Railway Company had been got up. He held in his hand a paper which had been circulated by this unscrupulous Railway Company. The first sentence contained in it was as follows:—"Mr. Warton has given Notice on behalf of an opponent." He would assure the House that that was not the case—and he thought he knew better than anybody else for what reason he had given Notice of opposition; and he simply stated that he had not given Notice on behalf of any opponent of the Bill, but on behalf of a general principle, and on behalf of all the hotel-keepers of the City of Edinburgh. No doubt, this statement was subsequently qualified, because the circular said—"The gentleman on whose behalf it is understood to be moved." After the bold statement that he appeared there on behalf of an opponent of the Bill, the Company qualified it by the statement that—"The gentleman on whose behalf he was understood to appear" had done so and so. No doubt, the gentleman referred to did all he could to serve his own interests and to protect his own trade; and he (Mr. Warton) asked the House calmly to consider whether it was disposed, in contravention of the 156th Standing Order, to sanction the principle that a Railway Company, which Railway Company was a monopolist, should carry on another business in addition to that for which it had been secured a monopoly; and whether it was just or fair that a man who had nothing but his own resources to rely upon should be handicapped by having a prosperous Railway Company which could afford to carry on an hotel business at a positive loss even for years as a competitor? Such competition must inevitably, in the end, drive the legitimate trader out of the field. In this case, the land which it was proposed to enlarge, remodel, and improve was acquired by the North British Railway Company years ago, under the pretext that it was wanted for station purposes. He said, with all respect to the hon. Baronet who had acted as Chairman of the Committee, that he had never heard a weaker representation from a Committee than the honest admission which was contained in the present Report, that some years ago the existing hotel was let, but that it was now unoccupied because two successive tenants had failed to make a living out of it. It was altogether a new proposition that when a legitimate trader failed to carry on the business of an hotel-keeper a Railway Company should step in and conduct it on their own account, with all the unfair advantages they would be able to avail themselves of—such as the power of using its own servants as hotel agents, sending telegrams free, and employing cabs at the railway stations for the purpose of pushing the trade. He hoped that he would receive the support of the House in favour of the appeal which he now made, and which was an appeal based not only upon strict equity, but absolute justice. He heartily wished that the Prime Minister were present, because he believed that the word "justice" would have fetched the right hon. Gentleman. He also hoped to obtain the support of all the so-called temperance party. Indeed, he thought they were bound to support him on this occasion, seeing that the fewer number of hotels there were, the less amount of intoxication was likely to take place.

He therefore trusted that all the supporters of the temperance movement would vote for his proposal on the ground that it would prevent one more establishment of this kind from being brought into existence. He had also every reason to hope that he would be supported by those who wished for Fair Trade, even although it happened to be in the business of hotel proprietors, and that they would be prepared to stand up against the grasping monopoly of a Railway Company, who generally displayed the extreme vices of monopolists wherever the Legislature allowed them the opportunity.

Amendment proposed,

In the Preamble, page 5, line 19, by leaving out the following words "And that power should be conferred upon the Company to remodel and improve their hotel adjoining the Waverley Station at Edinburgh (known as the 'North British Station Hotel')."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY said, he thought that it was inconvenient and, to some extent, a waste of the time of the House to bring forward for discussion a question which was fully considered only a fortnight or three weeks ago, when the present Bill came on for second reading. The conversation which then occurred was quite sufficient to elicit all the facts of the case; and it afforded him an opportunity of making some observations upon a point then raised—namely, that an objection might be raised to the *locus standi* of the hotel proprietors of Edinburgh, and that, consequently, their case would not be heard. That was not the case now. The Bill since that discussion was raised had been before a Select Committee upstairs—a Committee presided over by an hon. Member who had had very much experience indeed of matters of this kind. The whole question was fully investigated before the Committee; and what was the Report which the Committee had presented? The hon. and learned Gentleman had not read it fully, but had merely selected a few passages from it; and as he (Sir Arthur Otway) was anxious to save the time of the House, he would not refer to it further than to say that it effectually disposed of all the objections which the hon. and learned Gentleman had now raised. The Bill had been fully examined and considered; and it appeared to him that this provision was one which was dictated by common sense, and that the establishment of an improved hotel at the Waverley Station in Edinburgh would not only be convenient to the public, but of advantage to all parties concerned. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would withdraw the Motion he had made, or, if he pressed it to a division, the House would reject it by a large majority without wasting further time in discussing it.

MR. M'COAN said, that he had been a Member of the Committee to whom the Bill had been referred; and, in the absence of the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), who was Chairman of the Committee, he wished to say one or two words in support of the decision to which they had arrived. He had listened with attention to the statement which the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Warton) had made, and he could assure the House that every one of the objections which had been raised by him had been fully laid before the Committee. The evidence of the hotel-keepers of Edinburgh who appeared in their own interest against the Bill had been carefully considered; and, after statements on both sides had been submitted to the Committee, they came unanimously to the conclusion that the general convenience of the public would be promoted by granting the power asked for by the Company in the Bill.

MR. BIGGAR said, the hon. Member who had just addressed the House told them that the Bill would promote the convenience of the public. No doubt, it contained a comfortable arrangement to promote the interests of the Company themselves; but, notwithstanding the Report which the Committee had presented to the House, he was of opinion that the House had a right to form its own opinion upon the merits of the case. He would like to ask what would be the practical result of Railway Companies making a regular practice of building hotels at all the important railway stations? In his opinion, the effect would be that the existing hotel proprietors would be ruined; and, as soon as they had ruined the legitimate trade, the Railway Companies would charge any-

thing they liked to their customers. It might take some time—even a considerable time—before this result was brought about; but it was sure to come, sooner or later; and he thought the amount of monopoly the Railway Company had already—namely, the right of conveying passengers to particular localities—ought to be quite enough for them without Parliament conferring on them the right of competing with traders, and licensed traders into the bargain. It was well known that the hotel-keepers of Edinburgh and other large towns had invested large sums of money in the building and furnishing of their establishments; and if the existing hotels were deprived of the prospect of realizing a profit, the Railway Companies would hereafter be able to impose any tariff they pleased. He thought it was for the interest of the general public that Parliament should restrict rather than enlarge the monopolies enjoyed by the Railway Companies; and on that ground he hoped the House would support the Amendment moved by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton).

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR also supported the Amendment. He had no objection whatever to competition, provided it were not carried on under unfair conditions. He thought the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means had scarcely put the case in a proper light. It was scarcely fair for the hon. Baronet to get up and say that as a Committee had inquired into the provisions of the Bill, and had presented their Report, the House of Commons had nothing further to do with the matter except to obey the mandate of the Committee. He thought it ought to be clearly understood whether an investigation by a Committee took away all the responsibility and control of the House over Private Bill legislation. Some time ago he had had the opportunity of bringing before the House the scandalous manner in which its Public Business was done. In regard to the present discussion, and the Amendment moved by the hon. and learned Gentleman, he wished to put before the House a few observations. The object of the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman was to prevent a Railway Company from building a hotel and becoming hotel proprietors, and the ground upon which it was supported was that the hotel was sought to be built in a city which was already overrun with hotels. There were very few Members of the House who would not have paid a visit, some time or other, to the City of Edinburgh? He would therefore appeal to the experience of hon. Members whether, in the whole world, with the exception perhaps of one or two places in America, there were more commodious or splendid hotels to be found than in Edinburgh. It was proposed by the present Bill to add another to a city which possessed too many hotels already, because it was a notorious fact that the people of Edinburgh and of most parts of Scotland had only a short tourist season of two or three months, and a considerable number of the hotel-keepers found it very hard work to keep their heads above water. He was informed that there were no less than 32 hotels within a few minutes' walk of the place where the North British Railway Company proposed to build a new one, and he thought that fact virtually disposed of any plea for the Bill on the ground of necessity. Of course, it was to the interest of the Railway Company to continue their monopolies. It would really appear that they were desirous of seizing and devouring everything. He objected to the proposed hotel, because it was not wanted; but he objected to it still more, because it would enable the Railway Company to enter into an unfair competition with existing traders, and assist them in devoting a portion of their capital in making a bad speculation pay. That was really what the Bill proposed to do. He did not know whether hon. Members generally had received copies of a Petition from the hotel proprietors of Edinburgh; but he would invite the attention of the House to some points which had been brought forward by the witnesses who gave evidence before the Committee. The chief witness was Mr. John Walker, the General Manager of the Company. He would not go into Mr. Walker's evidence; but he might sum it up by saying that Mr. Walker did not state with any certainty or confidence that the hotel would pay, but at the same time the witness clearly indicated that the Railway Company proposed to spend a portion of its capital in entering into an unfair competition with other hotel proprietors. For instance, telegrams would be sent free for the

occupants of the hotel. Two previous tenants had been compelled to give up the hotel, as it now existed, because they found it impossible to make it pay; but the Railway Company, with the vast capital at its disposal, would be able, even at a loss, to give facilities to customers which no other hotel proprietor could give. In this way they would be in a position to carry on a most unfair competition. He thought it was time the House of Commons took a stand against monopolies being extended to the Railway Companies in connection with every form of enterprize; and for these reasons he trusted the Motion of the hon. and learned Member would receive the support of the House.

MR. ORR-EWING wished to correct a statement which had been made by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). This was not a Bill to empower the Company to build a new hotel, but to give them power to alter and improve a hotel which already existed at their Waverley Station, in Edinburgh. At the present moment the accommodation provided by the hotel was inferior and insufficient, and it was most desirable to improve it for the convenience of travellers passing through Edinburgh who desired to break the journey and stay there overnight. It was not intended that the hotel should be for the convenience of the general public, but simply for the accommodation of travellers by the railway.

MR. BUCHANAN hoped the Amendment would not be pressed to a division. He wished to correct the statement of his hon. Friend the Member for Dumbarton (Mr. Orr-Ewing) that this was not a new hotel, but one that had been in existance for a number of years. Although a small hotel did exist on the premises, practically what was in view was the construction of an entirely new hotel, and one of a different character. The whole question had been raised when the Bill was before the Committee, and was fully argued out. He deprecated a renewal of the discussion; but, undoubtedly, if the Motion were pressed to a division, it would be a favourable opportunity for deciding in the Lobby whether, in addition to the monopoly already enjoyed by Railway Companies, and by means of the resources so obtained, they should be allowed to enter into the trade of hotel proprietors. He was himself of opinion that if it was desirable to raise that question in an intelligible shape, it could not be done in a better case than the present. Therefore, if the hon. and learned Member went to a division, he should certainly vote with him.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 161; Noes 56: Majority 105.—(Div. List, No. 198.)

Amendments made.

Bill to be read the third time.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to put a question to the Chair in reference to the recent division. He wanted to know what was the procedure of the House in regard to the appointment of Tellers in a division. Was it in Order for the Assistant Clerk to find Tellers, or was it not left to the hon. Member who submitted the Motion upon which a division was called? As a matter of fact, before the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) was nominated by the Clerk to tell with him (Mr. Warton), he had provided himself with a Teller, having selected a Scotch Member in the person of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster), this being a Scotch question. He wished to have a clear understanding whether it was in the province of the Assistant Clerk to select a Teller for an hon. Member who had already arranged for one?

MR. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. and learned Member, it will be in the recollection of the House that I distinctly asked the hon. Member who would tell with him, and, as I received no reply, I named the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), because he had supported the Motion moved by the hon. and learned Member.

MR. WARTON apologized to the right hon. Gentleman. He had not been aware that the Tellers had been named by him. He had understood that it was by the Assistant Clerk, or he would not have mentioned the matter.

QUESTIONS.

LIGHTHOUSES—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE MAINLAND.

MR. VIVIAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can lay

upon the Table of the House any Papers showing the results of the recent experiments for connecting outlying lighthouses with the mainland by electric telegraph?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, there were no Papers which could at present be laid on the Table. The experiments were to extend over 12 months, beginning in December last; and as soon as that experimental period was passed, he expected to have a Report which he should be happy to lay on the Table.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT—AMENDMENT.

MR. CHARLES ROUNDELL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the case of James Larbey and T. Sullivan, two workmen who, in May 1884, were seriously and permanently injured by the fall of a dangerous wall which they were ordered to remove after the fire at Mr. Whiteley's premises in Westbourne Grove, and to the following facts, viz. that soon afterwards Larbey and Sullivan commenced an action for compensation against their employers in the Southwark County Court; that, at the instance of the defendants, this action, along with other similar actions by other workmen injured at the same time, has been removed to the Superior Court; that there is little probability of the case coming on to be heard before October next, a period of eighteen months from the time of the accident; and, whether, considering the hardship thus entailed upon poor men through an expensive and dilatory legal process, he will consider the propriety of an amendment of the Employer's Liability Act which will secure summary trial of cases thereunder where the individual claim amounts to less than (say) £50?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that actions of this nature under the Employers' Liability Act must be brought, in the first instance, in the County Courts, and they were not removed to a Superior Court unless special cause was shown. The Courts were very jealous of granting leave to remove them; but there might be test cases involving great liability in which it might be possible that an order for removal might be very justly made. In the circumstances, he did not see any necessity for an alteration of the law.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—LAWRENCE HANNEN—COSTS OF DEFENCE.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Under Secretary to the Treasury, If he intends paying Mr. Bowler, Solicitor, the balance of costs claimed by him for his special attendance at the Spring Assizes in the present year at Carrick on Shannon, as the Solicitor duly assigned for Lawrence Hannen, who was charged with complicity in the Ballyforan murder?

MR. HIBBERT: Last February the Treasury sanctioned payment to Mr. Bowler of the sum recommended by the Irish Government for his services in defending Hannen at the Summer and Winter Assizes of 1884. The trial was adjourned to last Spring Assizes, but we have heard nothing more about costs.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—CASE OF MARY MAGEE, GWEEDORE, CO. DONEGAL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the process of eviction on Tuesday last at Gweedore, county Donegal, in the case of Mary Magee, a widow with eleven children, whose husband had suddenly died the day before, leaving her without means to satisfy the claim of the landlord, Whether it is true, as reported in the press—

"The police constables (present to enforce the eviction) would willingly have subscribed, but the officers refused to permit them, as their doing so would be a direct breach of the constabulary code of discipline;"

what article of the code prohibits such a contribution; and, whether within the last few years constables present on duty at evictions in Ireland have on several occasions subscribed to save families from being turned out of their homes?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It appears that when the police were assembled to carry out this eviction, the Rev. Mr. M'Fadden asked permission of the County Inspector to go round the ranks and make a collection for this woman, and that the County Inspector declined to give it. He added, however, that if, after all was over, any of them chose to give anything in charity,

there would be no objection. The County Inspector acted in accordance with the Regulation which directs that no general subscription for any purpose is to be made in the Force without the previous consent of the Inspector General, who informs me that he only knows of one instance in which money was so raised for evicted persons.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — IMPRISONMENT OF TWO WOMEN.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state the circumstances in connection with the imprisonment of two women of the name of Kinssella, of Parnell's Cross, county Wexford; and, whether it is a fact that one of these women was taken by the police from the sick bed, where she had been lying for thirteen weeks?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: These two women have been sent to prison, one for four days, and the other for a month and a day, in default of paying fines inflicted on them in January and February last for several acts of trespass and malicious injury. One of them was in bed when the police arrived; but she was not ill, nor had she been continuously in bed for 13 weeks. It appears she was in the habit of getting into bed whenever the police were seen approaching the house, and was at last caught in the act.

MR. O'BRIEN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how often the police have succeeded in getting these poor girls into gaol with reference to this eviction?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I know nothing about it.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION) —LORD WOLSELEY'S INSTRUCTIONS.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has received any telegram from Lord Wolseley, during the time that he was at Suakin, protesting against the instructions sent to him from the War Office for his general guidance as to Military operations, and as to the disposal and withdrawal of the troops under his command at Suakin and on the Nile, as being impracticable in a Military point of view?

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House Lord Wolseley's most important Despatches and telegrams with regard to the evacuation of the Soudan?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER (who replied) said: No telegram has been received from Lord Wolseley protesting against his instructions as impracticable from a military point of view. But, in reply to this Question, and to that of the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), I may say that the most important despatches and telegrams received from Lord Wolseley will be included in the Papers which are about to be presented.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION) —THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it was the original intention of the Government that the Suakin-Berber line should be constructed by officers of the Engineers and Coolies from India; whether, after that the work had been entrusted to Messrs. Lucas and Aird, a corps of 900 Coolies were specially raised by Engineer officers to assist in the work; whether the chief part of the work was done by these Coolies and the Army generally; whether the work would have been done much more cheaply had the original intention of the Government been carried out, and the work been entrusted to Engineer officers and Coolies; whether, in view of the immense importance of a line of Railway being rapidly constructed to get up supplies in time of war, Her Majesty's Government will consider the advisability of at once establishing in the British Army a Military Railway Corps, consisting of men thoroughly skilled in the art of rapidly laying a line; and, whether they will arrange that a good stock of light rails, specially adapted for Military purposes, should be kept in stock?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER (who replied) said: It was not originally intended to construct the railway from Suakin by Engineer officers and coolies from India. The relative advantages of that course and of employing an English firm of position and experience were fully discussed.

The decision was in favour of the latter alternative. It was part of the original arrangement with Messrs. Lucas and Aird that a large proportion of the unskilled labour should be drawn from India, England only supplying the necessary skilled labour to control and direct the unskilled Native workmen. The number from India at first was 400, not 900, the balance being Commissariat labourers. The chief part of the unskilled work was performed by Indian coolies and by Egyptian and Soudanese labourers, assisted, after active operations ceased, by military working parties. All Native labour from India was provided by the Indian Government, and organized under military officers, with the usual Native head-men. The Commissariat and railway labour was under officers of Engineers. Even if it had been desirable to construct the railway by means of Engineer officers and coolies, that course was not at the time practicable, the Indian resources in skilled railway labour being fully employed in India. There was no reason to think that the employment of Engineer officers and coolies, even if it had been practicable, would have resulted in any great saving of expense. The nucleus of a Military Railway Corps has been formed by the conversion to such duties of the 8th and 10th Companies of Royal Engineers, and the Secretary of State for War is also considering whether arrangements are possible for forming a reserve force of railway artificers. Fifty miles of light railway for military purposes are now in store, and will be retained with a view of contingencies.

MR. RAIKES: Is it the intention of the Government to lay on the Table the contract with Messrs. Lucas and Aird?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: I believe it is already laid.

GAMBLING ACT—RAID ON A BETTING CLUB.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has made any inquiry into the proceedings of the Metropolitan Police, who at an early hour in the morning of Sunday week, in order to arrest some alleged gamblers belonging to a club called "The European Club" in Tottenham Court Road, and acting apparently on mere suspicion, forcibly broke into the neighbouring premises of "The Social Democratic Club;" whether the following passage from *The Times* newspaper correctly represents what occurred:—

"The officers tried the door, and finding it locked burst it open and entered. The mob meanwhile smashed the windows, and, while the officers were pursuing their search in the uppermost rooms, helped themselves to all the contents of the bar beneath. Cigars, liquor, coats, and other property were carried off in the confusion. The police found a crowd of men upstairs all highly indignant at their club being stormed in this fashion. It is needless to say their search was not facilitated. The Social Democrats protested and obstructed. The police, with their staves in their hands, made short work of all who stood in their way, and the end of a formidable disturbance was that about fifty or sixty men, mostly foreign internationalists, were marched off to the police station, some of them battered and bleeding in a very shocking manner. The officers had also been roughly handled, and were venting their maledictions on the 'Nihilists,' as they termed those of their prisoners who had been most intractable. About breakfast time all but six or seven of the prisoners had been let off, after the surgeon had seen to the wounds of the most injured;"

whether "The Social Democratic Club" is a lawful association; if the above report is substantially correct, whether the police had any legal warrant or justification for entering that club, or arresting and beating its members; and, if he proposes to take any action in regard to the case?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that, according to the reports he had received, the paragraphs cited did not give an accurate account of what occurred. The case had been adjourned in order that cross-summonses might be taken out against the police; and, therefore, both sides would be fully heard.

COAL MINES—DENABY MAIN COLLIERY.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the report of a case which appears in *The Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* of the 12th instant, to the following effect:—

"Priscilla Smith was brought before Mr. G. W. Chambers, chairman, and other magistrates at Rotherham, charged with assaulting Richard Oakley, a deputy employed by the Denaby Main Colliery Company. In the course of the trial the chairman called for Michael Smith, the husband of the defendant, and ordered him to stand beside his wife. After lecturing the

husband, the chairman bound him and his wife over to keep the peace;"

if he will inquire whether the report is substantially correct; and, whether, if Michael Smith had not been summoned before the magistrates, had not broken the peace, nor shown any intention of doing so, the magistrates did not exceed their legal powers?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, it was not desirable that the Colliery Inspectors should be mixed up in quarrels with reference to wages. The Inspectors were unwilling to intervene more than they could in these matters, though, of course, they would get at facts as well as they could. The statement he had made might be taken to be that of the managers; and he had nothing to add to what he had said. The Company had discontinued giving a bonus of coal to the occupiers of their houses, although that did not come under the Truck Act. He could not express any opinion as to the stoppage of arrears of rent out of wages. As to the action of the magistrates, the facts of the case were rather curious. The magistrates acted upon their view of the identity of the husband and wife, and so, although the husband was not charged, bound both over to keep the peace. As they were only bound over in their own recognizances no great harm was done. The proceeding could not be said to be regular and legal.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—VACANCIES IN USK AND NAAS DIVISIONS, NAAS UNION.

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. LEAHY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Division of Usk, in the Naas Union, is unrepresented at the Board of Guardians since the first of April, in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Hulan, he being elected for Naas Division, for which he chose to sit; whether there is also a vacancy in the Naas Electoral Division, owing to the resignation of Mr. Eaglinton, now over five weeks since his resignation was accepted; and, why the Local Government Board have not yet directed a new election to fill those vacancies, notwithstanding the Guardians having called their attention thereto?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This case is included in the General Order for Supplemental Elections, which was signed on the 16th instant.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—THE WINE DUTIES.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in consequence of the failure of the commercial negotiations with Spain, Her Majesty's Government propose to abandon the arrangement with respect to the Wine Duties announced in the Financial Statement?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied), said, on or before the second reading of the that Budget Bill the Chancellor of the Exchequer would explain to the House what course he proposed to take with reference to the 3rd section of that Bill in consequence of the termination of the commercial negotiations with Spain.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I beg to give Notice that I shall ask the Question on Thursday. I think it will be extremely inconvenient to the House not to have any statement upon the subject until the day of the second reading of the Bill.

EGYPT—THE FORTIFICATIONS OF ALEXANDRIA.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any steps have been taken to restore the fortifications at Alexandria; and, if not, whether it is intended to take any steps to put that most important town in a proper state of defence?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER (who replied) said: A project for the repair of the defences of Alexandria has been submitted by the General Officer commanding in Egypt, and is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Will the work be done at the expense of England or of Egypt?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: I am afraid I cannot say.

POLICE BILL.

GENERAL ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can fix any day after Whitsuntide for the Second Reading of the Police Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir; I cannot.

SPAIN—THE BARQUE "MARY MARK."

MR. HENDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Papers relating to the claim of the owners of the barque *Mary Mark* against the Spanish Government in 1883, including the representations made by Her Majesty's Government, to which no answer has been returned?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think it will be advisable before taking any further steps in the matter to await the reply of the Spanish Government to a strong representation which Sir Robert Morier was instructed to make on the 7th instant.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT —FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—OUTBREAK IN YORKSHIRE.

MR. ACKERS asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he is now able to say for certain whether the statement that foot and mouth disease had broken out in a herd of cattle in Yorkshire was incorrect; whether the Returns of the Department are correct; and, whether any undoubted cases of foot and mouth disease now exist in the United Kingdom; and, if so, the number of such cases, and the places where they exist?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is a difference of opinion between the Veterinary Inspector of the Local Authority and the Inspector of the Privy Council sent to investigate the alleged outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease at Kelleythorpe, near Driffield, Yorkshire, as to the number of animals attacked. Under the circumstances, it is impossible to say for certain whether the disease was really foot-and-mouth disease or some other affection of the mouth; but, on consideration of the whole of the evidence, the Veterinary Officers of the Agricultural Department are inclined to the opinion that the disease was not foot-and-mouth disease. The Departmental Returns are compiled from the Returns received from the Officers of Local Authorities, and every care is taken that the compilation is accurate. No case of foot-and-mouth disease is reported or known to exist in any part of the United Kingdom.

SPAIN—THE DERELICT SHIP "THESSALOS."

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What progress has been made in respect of the arrest of the judgment reported to have been given by the Spanish Courts in the matter of the Greek ship *Thessalos* derelict, towed by an English steamer into Viveno, on which subject the Foreign Office made representations through Sir Robert Morier?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret to say that no result has yet attended the representations made by Sir Robert Morier with regard to this case. He was instructed on the 11th instant to call the attention of the Spanish Government again to the matter; and as soon as their answer is received I will communicate its purport to the right hon. Member.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yielded to the proposed establishment of an International Control over the Suez Canal; and, whether he can inform the House as to the progress of negotiations?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Pending the negotiations, I am unable to make any statement with regard to the proceedings of the Conference; but I hope that my refusal to give information will not be taken as implying assent to any inferences which might be drawn from the terms in which the Question of the hon. Member is expressed.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Am I to understand that the Government have no intention of yielding the control of the road to India to Foreign Powers?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: That is an argumentative inference drawn from the hon. Member's own Question.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES —TRANSFER OF SMALL HOUSES.

MR. BUCHANAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will take steps to carry out the recommendation of the Royal Commission for the Housing of the Working Classes (Second Report, page 8) to reduce the

expenses of transfer of small houses by an abatement of the Stamp Duties, and (in Scotland) of the fees connected with registration?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: The recommendations of the Royal Commission and the evidence on which they are founded will, in due course, be carefully considered by my right hon. Friend and by the Treasury.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-PERSIAN FRONTIER.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can now lay upon the Table the Correspondence with the Government of Russia relating to the delimitation of the Persian Frontier?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There are no further communications with the Russian Government than those which will be found in the Papers laid before Parliament last year (Central Asia, No. 1, 1884).

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—MILITARY EXPEDITION—THE COLDSTREAM GUARDS.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, If the Coldstream Guards have sailed from Suakin; if so, whether they are on board the *Deccan* or the *Jumna?*

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER (who replied) said: The Coldstream Guards left Suakin on the 17th instant in the *Deccan*.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, he wished to ask the Postmaster General a Question with reference to the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill, which stood for second reading on Friday next. He had given Notice of an Amendment to the second reading, and his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had also placed an Amendment on the Paper to the same Motion. It was desirable that the matter should be fully discussed, and he wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman would consent to postpone the second reading until some day after Whitsuntide, when the House would have a fair opportunity of discussing and settling this important question?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, that the Bill would stand first on the Orders on Friday, and even if it were found necessary to introduce the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill, he did not apprehend that it would occupy much time. Therefore, there would be an ample opportunity for the discussion of the Telegraphs Bill on that day. At the same time, he was not disposed to adopt a course which would be inconvenient to the noble Lord and to the House. He did not understand that the noble Lord was opposed to the second reading of the Bill, but that he objected to some of its details. If the measure was to come into operation in August next it was necessary that the second reading should be taken before Whitsuntide, otherwise it would be impossible to make the required arrangements for the 6*d.* telegrams. He would therefore suggest to the noble Lord that he should allow the second reading to be taken on Friday, and that the discussion on his Motion should be postponed until the Committee stage. He would undertake to give as early a day as possible for the discussion after Whitsuntide.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: Is the Postmaster General not aware that while the Telegraph Bill may be the first Order on Friday, the first item of Business for that day will be the Motion for the adjournment of the House?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Motion for the adjournment of the House on Friday would be made on Thursday. Therefore, the Telegraph Bill would stand first on Friday, barring the possibility of the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill being taken on that day.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, he had no alternative but to accept the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General. He begged, therefore, to give Notice that he should postpone his Motion until the House went into Committee on the Bill.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked, with regard to the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill, if it was intended to move for leave to introduce the Bill *pro formâ* on Thursday, so that it might be placed on the Paper as an Order, otherwise it would not have precedence on Friday?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the Government proposed to put down on Thursday as the first Order the second reading of the East India Loan

Bill. That would be followed by the introduction of the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill, and then at an early hour they would make the Motion for the adjournment of the House on Friday over the Recess. The Attorney General would make a statement with reference to the Registration Bills.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had received communications to the effect that the Amendments to the Registration Bills in the Lords were likely to be few and brief, and that their Lordships would sit to-morrow at 11 o'clock to complete the final stages. Under those circumstances, the Bills should be in the House of Commons by 12 o'clock, when it assembled, and the Amendments would be printed and distributed to Members at the Vote Office. No one could overrate the importance of disposing of these Bills before Whitsuntide; and bearing in mind that unless these Amendments were considered to-morrow, they would have to be put off until after the Holidays, as the Lords would rise on Thursday, he hoped the House would allow the Government to proceed with them to-morrow.

LAW AND POLICE—ROBBERY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. RAIKES: I wish to ask the noble Lord the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been directed to the report that a considerable sum of money has been abstracted from an official despatch box in one of the rooms of this House; whether it is the custom of the Members of the Government to bring down to the House considerable sums in cash; and, if so, for what purpose?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: I am not aware why the right hon. Gentleman wishes to put that Question to me, for I think it more properly belongs to the Financial Secretary. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I am not aware of any Member of the Government having a large sum of money in his pocket, and I am certainly not responsible for the amounts they carry about with them, nor am I responsible for any robbery that may take place in this House.

MR. SEXTON: Am I correctly informed that the money stolen was for the payment of some of the officials of the House of Commons? If so, how is it to be made good?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: I really know nothing about it.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — WEDNESDAY SITTINGS.—RESOLUTION.

MR. WARTON rose to call attention to the subject of Wednesday Sittings; and to move—

"That on a Wednesday, if a House be not made by a quarter to One of the clock, Mr. Speaker do adjourn the House without Motion made or Question put; that the said Resolution be a Standing Order of this House."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter after Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 20th May, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Report — Third Reading*—Registration (Occupation Voters) * (120); Registration of Voters (Scotland) * (121); Registration of Voters (Ireland) * (122), and *passed.*

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 3),* and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT.

Moved, "That the House do adjourn during pleasure."—(*The Earl of Cork.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that he supposed that no Business of importance would be taken when the House met later in the day?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, that no Business at all would be taken, unless the House of Commons differed with their Lordships in any of the Amendments which had been introduced in the Registration Bills. In that case, it would be necessary for their Lordships to reconsider the Amendments which had been introduced. Nothing, therefore, would be done, except Business which might arise on the action of the House of Commons in regard to these Bills; but he had no reason to

think that the House of Commons were likely to disagree with their Lordships in the Amendments that had been made.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I assume that if anything has to be done in connection with these Bills, Peers will have due Notice?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied, that such Notice would be given.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned accordingly at 11.45 A.M.

House resumed at 5 P.M.

The CLERK of the PARLIAMENTS having stated that the Amendments to the three Registration Bills made by the Lords had been agreed to by the Commons,

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 20th May, 1885.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Postal Service (Great Britain and North America), *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Loans (Sinking Funds)* [189]; Rivers Purification* [190]; Valuation of Lands (Scotland) (Appeals)* [191].

First Reading — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3)* [188].

Second Reading—Sites for Places of Religious Worship [58], *debate adjourned.*

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Pluralities [22]; River Thames (No. 2)* [90].

Report — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 2)* [155].

Lords Amendments considered — Registration (Occupation Voters) [163]; Registration of Voters (Scotland) [150]; Registration of Voters (Ireland)* [151]; Barristers Admission (Ireland)* [144].

MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT (WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS).

RESOLUTION.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he observed there was a Motion on the Paper in the name of the Prime Minister with reference to the adjournment of the House for the Whitsun Recess. It had been understood that this Motion would be made on Thursday, and of course a great number of hon. Gentlemen who would then have been present were not at this moment in the House. He wished to ask whether the Motion was set down simply as a matter of form, so that it might be moved and adjourned, and thus become an Order of the Day for to-morrow? If that were so it was quite right; but he should otherwise strongly object to proceeding with that Motion now.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the right hon. Gentleman had correctly interpreted the object of the Government in putting down the Motion to-day. As soon as the Motion was made it would be proposed to adjourn the debate till to-morrow, so that the Motion would come first among the Orders of the Day. He therefore begged to make the Motion standing in the name of the Prime Minister.

Motion made, and Qustion proposed, "That the House at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

Debate arising;

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Lords' Amendments *considered.*

First Amendment, page 7, line 10, leave out ("eight") and insert ("twelve") *agreed to.*

Second Amendment, page 13, leave out from ("districts") to the end of sub-section (2).

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in moving that the House agree to the following Amendment:—

"Page 9, line 35, after sub-section (2), insert,—(3.) Where a Parliamentary county extends into more county quarter sessional areas than one, the local authority having power to divide the said county into polling districts shall have power to agree with any other court of quarter sessions having jurisdiction in that area for the constitution of a joint committee, to take into consideration the division of such county into polling districts and

assigning of polling places to such districts, and shall, after receiving the report of the said committee, make such order thereon as they may think fit,"

said, that since the sub-section in question was inserted on the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Heneage) representations had been made to the Local Government Board to the effect that it would increase the difficulty of making the necessary arrangements in time, and on that ground the sub-section had been struck out in the other House. Under these circumstances he appealed to his hon. Friend to consider whether they could possibly enter into a conflict with the Lords on this question, the effect of which would be to delay the Bill till after Whitsuntide, and almost render it useless. He hoped his hon. Friend would be patriotic enough to allow the House to agree with this Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. HENEAGE said, after the appeal of his hon. and learned Friend he would not press the matter, although had there been a few more days before the Recess he should have divided the House upon the question. He had as yet heard no argument why his provision should not be maintained. He did not wish to take away the power of the Courts of Quarter Sessions, but to require them, instead of appointing one committee without local knowledge, to appoint one for each district which would have the local knowledge. However, the Clerks of the Peace had triumphed over the public convenience, and he would not further press the matter.

MR. E. STANHOPE defended the Peers in their action, and said, that they had had a difficult duty thrust upon them, and he believed their only object was to carry out the intentions of Parliament with the least delay possible. He thought the hon. Member's remark as to the Clerks of the Peace altogether unwarranted. The Clerks of the Peace had shown every desire to facilitate this new registration, and he was sure were only actuated by a desire to do their duty to the public.

MR. W. GURDON expressed his pleasure at finding the provision removed in "another place." There might be some convenience about it in one or two counties; but he was convinced that in the great majority of them it would have led to considerable inconvenience.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in moving, in page 11, line 5, leave out ("entitled to be") and insert ("prevented by any other Act from being"); page 11, line 8, leave out from ("Cambridge") to the end of the clause, said, that this Amendment introduced by the House of Lords raised the question of the right of undergraduates to vote at elections. The House had, by a very small majority, determined that the undergraduates at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge occupying rooms in the Colleges should not be entitled to be placed upon the Register of Parliamentary Voters. Subsequently, however, a different view had been taken of the principle involved in the question, and, by a large majority, it had been decided that the undergraduates of Dublin University should be allowed to be placed on the Register. He thought, therefore, that the fairest course to adopt now would be to agree with the Lords in their Amendment, by which the franchise would be conferred upon the English undergraduates. He therefore moved that the House do agree to the Lords' Amendment. At the same time, he reiterated the view he had already expressed, that this was simply an abstract question, and that unless there was an entire change in the authority and discipline of the Universities, no undergraduate could or would obtain the right to vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House do agree to the said Amendment."—(*The Attorney General.*)

MR. RAIKES said, that he congratulated the Government upon their late conversion to Liberal principles in this matter. He was anxious that the House of Lords should obtain the credit, which it deserved, of being more zealous for the extension of the franchise than the Party opposite.

MR. SHEIL said, he was afraid that the Lords had acted under a complete misconception of the effect which this Amendment would have. The Amendment provided that nothing in any Act

of Parliament was to prevent the occupier of any College rooms from being placed upon the Register. This would have the effect of sweeping away all considerations of age and even of sex, and the duration or quality of occupation. The Amendment, moreover, while it did not open the door to undergraduates, closed it to graduates.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was glad that the Government had at last recognized the fact that undergraduates might be "capable citizens," and that education was no longer to be regarded as a disqualification for the exercise of political rights.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he was opposed to the Lords' Amendment on the ground that the undergraduates were sent to the Universities for a temporary and distinct purpose—namely, education, and were, therefore, in a very different position from graduates. If the Bill passed as it stood, undergraduates would be at liberty to vote at municipal as well as at Parliamentary elections, and he appealed to hon. Members whether that was desirable in the interests of undergraduates themselves.

COLONEL MAKINS expressed his warm approval of this Amendment which the Lords had introduced into the Bill. He took an entirely different view from that of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down. Taking part in municipal and Parliamentary elections was a better occupation for these young men than some of the amusements in which they at present engaged. In his opinion, it would be found that the exercise of the franchise by these young men would be not the least valuable part of their education.

MR. RYLANDS said, he did not happen to be present when this matter was discussed before, and he was very much surprised when he read the report of what had taken place to find that the Liberal Party should have expressed any alarm at the prospect of these young men at College exercising the Parliamentary franchise. Here were a number of young men who had received a good amount of education, and yet he found, to his astonishment, that not only on the Conservative, but also on Liberal side of the House, a large number of hon. Gentlemen were so alarmed lest those young men should be drawn into political strife that they were prepared to refuse to them political rights to which they were clearly entitled.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY congratulated his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) on his manly and straightforward utterances, and his adherence to Liberal principles. He trusted the House would not be led away by the bugbear of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Horace Davey) that undergraduates were necessarily to take part in municipal elections. Even if they were, he should not regard it as a calamity. He hoped some of the undergraduates might become Town Councillors, or even Mayors of the University towns.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was entirely in favour of undergraduates having votes. If, however, anyone divided the House on the question that the Lords' Amendment should not be agreed to, he would support him by his vote, because this was a Bill to regulate the sending of Representatives to the House of Commons; and he did not consider that hereditary and irresponsible persons had anything to do in the matter.

MR. SEXTON said, he was of opinion that the Lords had adopted a reasonable and sensible course. When the question was before the House of Commons, three courses were open, two of which had some show of reason, and the other entirely unreasonable. The House could either have refused the franchise to the undergraduates in both countries, or have granted the franchise to the undergraduates in both countries. The House took the unreasonable course of granting the franchise to the undergraduates in Dublin, and refusing it to those in Oxford and Cambridge. The House of Lords had taken a reasonable course in establishing uniformity.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in moving to leave out Clause 16, said, they now came to an Amendment which, of course, was one of substance. He had refrained from making any statement in regard to the position of the Bill before they reached this Amendment; but now it became necessary that he should make an appeal to those who probably at that moment constituted the majority in the House in reference to this subject. Every hon.

Member was aware that by the Franchise Act a new class of voters was created—namely, the county household voters. An additional class of service voters was likewise created. For the registration of the household voters in counties there really was no adequate provision in existence. Provision had been made by the Act of 1878 for the registration of household voters in boroughs; but there was no provision for the registration of such voters in counties. The Government, therefore, had to introduce a Bill for the special purpose of registering those householders, and also the service voters. They imposed on the local officers the duty of registering 2,000,000 persons under entirely new conditions. It was necessary, therefore, to define their duties clearly, and to give them as much information as possible. No time had been lost in introducing the Bill or in passing it through the House, and the Members of the Select Committee did their very best to bring back the Bill to the House at an early date. But questions of franchise were introduced into the Bill, including that which related to the receipt of medical parochial relief. It was ultimately decided that the receipt of such relief should not disqualify a voter; but the final decision of that House upon Report had now been reversed by the decision of the House of Lords. The Government had therefore had to consider what course they should take in relation to this Amendment in order that the Bill might speedily become law. Those who had charge of the Bill in the Lords had been willing to accept the proposition of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) and accept the clause; but the majority of the Lords had not taken that view. So far as he was concerned, and on the part of many of his Colleagues, he felt that this question on its merits had passed beyond discussion. This was a social as well as a political question affecting the community generally; but, whatever the merits of the question might be, at this stage it was impossible for the House to enter upon them, because, while aware that many Members of the House acquiesced in the view that it would have been well had the Lords not made this Amendment, yet the result of refusing to accept it would be that the Bill would become practically useless, and that they would wreck the registration of the country for one year, for if the Amendment were now refused there could be no further dealing with the Bill until the House of Lords met again. If this House persisted in the view adopted by the majority in the last division, and the House of Lords persisted in their view, the Bill fell to the ground, and they substantially would leave the local officials without power to register the householders in the counties, who represented about 2,000,000. It was the duty of Parliament to give them this assistance, and not to take up the absurd position of telling them to register these voters without providing them with the machinery for doing so. That was a position which he did not think anyone would desire, and he would ask his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Horace Davey) to consider what advantage it would be, for the mere purpose of a protest, to send this Bill back to the House of Lords. It could not be taken there till after Whitsuntide, and the discussion would carry them to a date when the Bill would become practically useless. He therefore appealed to his hon. and learned Friend and his supporters and to the House to accept the Amendment.

Amendment, "To leave out Clause 16," read a first and second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he extremely regretted the course taken in "another place" in regard to this Bill. He was not going to trouble the House with another speech on the merits of this subject; but he would content himself with saying that nothing he had heard or read had in any degree altered his opinion as to the justice on which the Amendment introduced into the Bill in that House was based. He objected to the course pursued in "another place," because great disappointment would be caused to a number of persons who, after being told that they were to exercise the franchise, would find that they would not be enabled to do so. If that clause was rejected now he trusted that they might look forward with hope that at some not very distant period a

Bill would be brought in having the same effect as the clause that was struck out. Having carefully considered the matter, he did not personally feel justified in now inviting the House to divide again on that subject. He was aware of the very great importance of that Bill being passed at once; and the Government having, as it were, got them in a corner, they must submit with the best grace they could. If any other Member moved that the House should disagree with the Lords' Amendment, he should not vote against him; but, speaking for himself, he could not undertake the responsibility of making such a Motion.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE thought that the House should take notice of the observation of the Attorney General, that that clause had not only a political but also a social aspect. No doubt, the clause did raise questions of a very important social character which required to be carefully considered. But the point was whether that was the most convenient or the only mode in which those questions could be raised. That clause introduced to a certain extent new matter into a Bill brought in for a particular purpose, without reference to that question, in order to effect an important object which everybody desired to see accomplished as speedily as possible; and whatever might be their opinions on the merits of the clause they must feel that if they reinstated the clause it would necessarily prolong the discussions on the Bill. Undoubtedly the main object they all had in view was to pass the Bill as rapidly as was consistent with the attention that was due to the Bill itself. They ought, he thought, to allow the larger and more pressing considerations, which required the Bill to be passed as quickly as possible, to have precedence over any consideration of the merits of that clause itself. He would not, therefore, now enter into the merits of the clause, on which a good deal might be said upon both sides, and which were open to a good deal of argument.

MR. COURTNEY entertained a strong opinion that that clause ought not to have been introduced into the Bill at all. That Bill was merely a Bill dealing with registration, with the formalities to be observed in registration, and with the safeguards that only those who were qualified should be registered. The antecedent question of the qualification for registration did not lie within the scope of the Bill; but that clause raised the question whether the receipt of medical poor relief should operate as a disqualification where a man was otherwise qualified to vote. On that ground he thought the clause, when first proposed in Committee as an Amendment, was an impertinent Amendment, and, as Chairman, he should have ruled it out of Order, if he had not felt himself precluded from doing so by the course which had been taken previously in regard to the Irish Registration Bill; but he still entertained the opinion that it was an improper Amendment. When it was discussed in Committee it was rejected by a considerable majority; and when it was brought on again afterwards in a thin House it was inserted by a comparatively small majority. Since the House of Commons itself, therefore, had shown such uncertainty in dealing with a question which ought not, in his view, to have been dealt with at all in the Bill, he thought that with all their jealousy of the other House they might allow that the House of Lords had some right to object to the introduction of that clause, and should not now insist on its re-insertion. But, especially after what had just fallen from the right hon. Member for North Devon, who appeared to waver somewhat in his opinion on that matter, he felt that he should be wanting in frankness if he did not say that his own opinion was strongly against that Amendment in principle. However plausible or benevolent the object of the clause might seem, he held that the proposal to allow a man to vote who had received medical poor relief was one of considerable moral effect, and that it would have a most pernicious tendency. It was the thin edge of the wedge of the corruption and degradation of the character of the constituency; nothing could be of more importance than that they should insist on absolute independence of parochial relief as a condition to the exercise of the elective franchise. The most mischievous things were often done on the ground of benevolence; and they should be most careful not to undermine the independence of the people whom they were admitting in increased numbers to the suffrage, by enacting that the re-

ceipt of medical relief from the rates was not to interfere with the full enjoyment of political rights. It was said that that had been done in the case of Ireland. He regretted that necessity; but he asked them not to apply it any further, and thus bring down the whole Kingdom to the same level. He looked with great jealousy on any proposal to reduce the independence or the moral level of the constituency of this country, and he held that they ought to guard most scrupulously against its degradation. On all these grounds, he thought the House might well give way and accede to the Lords' Amendment, even if the case had not been so pressing as the Attorney General had stated.

MR. GORST said, that it was rather too late to say that the Amendment was not relevant to the Bill. Having put a similar clause in the Irish Bill, the House had the right to put one in the English Bill. The question was whether the conclusion which the House had come to deliberately was to be overruled without protest. If it was, this House would be placed in a humiliating position. The Attorney General said they must either give up their right to express their opinion on this Amendment, or they must agree to an indefinite postponement of the General Election. It seemed to him not to be a matter of much concern whether or not the General Election was postponed for a few days or a few weeks.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was not a question of weeks or days. It was a question whether the new voters could be placed on the Register for the next year at all or not.

MR. GORST said, he did not think it would necessarily follow. As to the time argument, the Bill could go back to the House of Lords that day, and receive the Royal Assent on Thursday. He would not support the clause if it interfered with the sound principle that persons ought not to be electors who were not able in ordinary circumstances to maintain themselves and their families without aid from the public rates; but that principle was not violated by having recourse to such aid in cases of illness or accident. It was to be regretted that what had been called a social question had been raised in the other House, for the Members of which he had great admiration; but they were persons whose position placed them above want, and most of them owed that position to the accident of birth rather than to their own exertions. The Members of the House of Commons were brought more into contact with the people, sympathized with their wants, and understood their necessities better than the Peers. In the constituencies there were thousands who were able to maintain their families in modest comfort, who, in case of accident or serious disease, must have recourse to the Poor Law medical officer. The clause, as it stood, was severely restrictive, and did not carry exemption from disqualification as far as it ought to do. He especially regretted the rejection of it by the House of Lords, because he wished to maintain the legislative powers of that House, and the maintenance of them was not likely to be assisted by their action on this occasion. But as the clause was rejected by the House of Commons before it was finally accepted, the House of Lords ought to have an opportunity of completing their imitation of this House by accepting the clause they had rejected.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not consider that the Attorney General had proved his point that if the House disagreed with the Lords' Amendment there would be no time to pass the Bill before Whitsuntide. The precepts to the registration officials did not need to be issued till the 2nd or 3rd of June, and in that case they had surely time to send back the Bill to the House of Lords. If they did send it back, they could rely on it that the House of Lords would not throw out the Bill or seek to detain it, for it had been urged by hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House that the House of Lords were most anxious to consult the country, as they said they were convinced the country would not approve of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The argument of want of time had, therefore, nothing to do with the question. Let the House of Commons disagree with this Amendment, and let them see what came of that. On the merits of the question, he did not agree with the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) that the receipt of medical relief was either corrupting or degrading. Let them take

the case of a poor man in the country getting 12*s.* a-week. That man had a child, and the child fell ill. Was it corrupting or degrading, or destructive of independence, for him to take the child to the parish doctor and obtain some medicine for it? He contended that it was not. It was in the public interest that he should do so, rather than that he should neglect his child or obtain unskilled advice. They were really calling upon the poor man to choose between sacrificing his child and sacrificing his political rights. He considered that it was highly important that there should be a system of public medical relief throughout the country. In his opinion, it was quite as necessary—in fact far more necessary—to have Government officers to give medical aid gratis than officers to give spiritual aid gratis. If he had to choose between the two kinds of aid, he should certainly prefer the medical aid. Education was paid for out of the rates, and surely physical well-being must come first. The recognition of that fact led to the discussion of the expediency of giving penny dinners. With regard to the action of the House of Lords, they ought to let the country know what its real meaning was. Its object was practically to disfranchise with one hand a large number of persons to whom they had given the franchise with the other. [*Cries of* "No!"] He was told that in North Somersetshire one-quarter of the whole of the new constituency would be disfranchised by the rejection of the clause. Let the country thoroughly understand the tactics of the Conservative Party in that matter. They did not say very much in the House of Commons because they had a majority in the other House. When the Bill went up there, the Lords threw out such clauses as they thought would tend to enlarge the constituencies, and then the Leaders of the Party came down to the House of Commons and said that this was not the time to discuss the principle of the matter. Well, the country should understand that the House of Commons had given them votes, and the Conservative Party in the House of Lords had taken them away. The Conservatives even were ashamed of their own action, for they put up a Scotch Nobleman to oppose the clause. Why, the Bill did not affect Scotland, so he could not see what possible interest the Scotch Nobleman (Lord Balfour of Burleigh) could have in it. Let them fix the responsibility upon those who had really rejected that Amendment, and then see if they would stand to their guns.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE observed that not only would the whole registration of the country be thrown into confusion unless this Bill were passed before Whitsuntide, but in order to produce even the postponed General Election, about which the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Gorst) spoke, special legislation would be necessary; and, as a matter of fact, it was very doubtful whether they could get a Register of voters for the next Election constituted at all. Although many Members might be glad to shorten the Whitsuntide holidays in order to obtain a full settlement of the question, he was not so hopeful as they might be with respect to the possibility or probability of obtaining the Royal Assent before Whitsuntide. The re-discussion of the question on the merits was to be deprecated. It had already been discussed fully on four occasions—once on the Franchise Bill, twice on this Bill, and once on the Irish Registration Bill. The discussion on the Irish Bill might, perhaps, not be reckoned, because it involved side issues. But in Committee, and on the Report of this Bill, the clause had received fuller consideration than could be given to it on this occasion, when nothing had been said about provident dispensaries, clubs, friendly societies, and the like. There were a fuller discussion and a larger majority in Committee when the clause was rejected than there was on the Report, when the clause was inserted; and, therefore, the Government, desiring to pass the Bill as quickly as possible, concurred in what was done in Committee rather than incur any risk of delay. The Government had gone as far as they could in making this a Government question in the House of Lords, and they were taking that action now not so much on the merits of the question, but because of the necessity that this Bill should pass as rapidly as possible, and with as little amendment as possible. Was it wise that they should jeopardize the Bill by pressing this clause, especially in view of the difference of opinion which had been shown in this House on the subject, and in view of the smallness

of the division with which the proposal had on the last occasion been carried? He hoped the Bill would not be jeopardized by insistance on this proposal.

MR. GREGORY urged the House to appreciate the importance of passing the Bill without delay.

MR. R. T. REID said, they were asked to agree to the Lords' Amendment on some ground of convenience; but he did not know the ground of convenience, and he did not see the necessity of the convenience. Supposing the House were to disagree with the Lords in their Amendment, he was not aware of any reason why the Amendment should not go back to that Chamber either this afternoon or to-morrow. He could not admit the necessity of acquiescing in the disfranchisement of many men merely because the House of Lords did not want to meet on Thursday. It was humiliating to the House of Commons to be placed in the position of being asked to agree to the Amendment merely to consult the convenience of the other House.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, it was unfair to the other House to hold it responsible for the situation. This House had sent the Bill to the other House at the last moment, and required that it should be passed within a week. He objected to the hon. Member for Northampton attempting to make political capital out of their action. On two occasions some of the Conservative Party supported the Government in resisting this Amendment, some on principle, and some because the Amendment was foreign matter. He should feel very deeply the responsibility which would rest upon the House if, by their vote that afternoon, they should upset all the arrangements by which alone the newly enfranchised voters could exercise their privilege at the next General Election. As a Member of the Select Committee on the Bill, he believed that the re-insertion of the clause would jeopardize the carrying through of the Bill in time for the Election; and on that ground he hoped the Government would now be supported.

MR. CROPPER said, that the clause would not relieve all the grievances of disqualification which was complained of. A man would still be disqualified, if he accepted the smallest medical comfort, such as beef tea or gruel. He thought it a little hard to throw the whole responsibility in this matter upon the House of Lords, and to blame them respecting it, considering the action of the House of Commons in dealing with it, and that the Committee had decided against it. He, therefore, supported the Lords' Amendment, not merely as a matter of convenience, but because the change in the law ought not, in his opinion, to be made without further consideration, and which consideration must be given to something more than medical relief. Therefore, it was not worth while raising the question again on this Bill, for it ought to be decided on a much broader issue than that raised by the Amendment.

MR. MACFARLANE observed that if a working man were run over by a vehicle in the street and taken to a public hospital he would not be disqualified, although he would be attended to by the surgeons gratuitously and would pay nothing for his food and physic. If, however, a man to whom such an accident occurred were visited at his own home by the parish doctor he would be deprived of his right to vote. He could not see the justice of this distinction, and trusted that the Lords' Amendment would be rejected. Why should not the House of Lords sit to-morrow, or Friday or Saturday if necessary, to consider this matter? He held that the responsibility would lie upon the Lords if they did not do so.

MR. FIRTH said, he hoped the country would understand that the House had been "cornered" by the action of the House of Lords. That branch of the Legislature had inserted in the Bill a most important Amendment, which would have the effect of disfranchising large numbers of the people; and they had done it in circumstances which, according to the occupants of the Ministerial Bench, rendered it quite impossible for the House of Commons to reverse the decision of the other House. He objected to the mutilation by an irresponsible body of an important Bill passed by the Representatives of the people.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH argued that if the decision of the House of Lords were reversed and the clause re-inserted in the Bill the result would be to create great confusion in the registration ar-

rangements. The clause contained no provision determining what kind of medical relief should act as a disqualification and what should not so act. The result would be that the overseers, in the first instance, and then the revising barristers, would take different views of the question and pronounce varying decisions.

MR. HENEAGE hoped that the House would refuse to be "jockeyed" by the House of Lords. The difficulty in which they were was attributable to an unnecessary desire to consult the convenience of the other Chamber.

COLONEL MAKINS contended that the House of Lords did not deserve the blame which the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and others had cast upon it.

MR. CAUSTON said, that he should certainly vote in opposition to the views expressed by the Attorney General. The Lords' Amendment did a great act of injustice to those who had been looking forward to receiving the franchise, and it was also a bad precedent to say that because the House of Commons happened to send a Bill to the House of Lords at a comparatively late period the House of Lords might turn the Bill inside out, and the Government then say—"Really it puts the House and the country to so much inconvenience that we must at once submit to the action of the House of Lords."

MR. GIBSON said, that the hon. Member had spoken as if the Lords had acted all through to suit their own convenience; but the fact was that the Lords acted on the representation of urgency made to them by the Government. They read the Bill a first time on Friday, a second time on Monday, without debate, passed it through Committee yesterday, waiving the Report stage, and read it a third time to-day, meeting for the purpose not only on Wednesday, but at the exceptionally early hour of half-past 11, in order to enable the House of Commons to consider the question without delay. He would not now discuss the merits of the question, about which there might be differences of opinion; but he would remind the House that the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member which the House of Lords had rejected had been also rejected in the House of Commons by a large majority when proposed in Committee, and that it was only accepted on Report by a small majority in a thin House.

MR. SEXTON denied that the Lords had been "cornered" or that they were entitled to special deference because they sat at half-past 11 that morning, for in that case they must be considered as superior to all duties and obligations. The question was between the holidays of a few score men and the enfranchisement of thousands of voters. The original plan of the Government was that the Bill should receive the Royal Assent on Friday. That plan could be still carried out if the Amendment of the Lords was rejected, because the Lords could reconsider the matter that evening or to-morrow, and the Royal Assent could be given on Friday as originally proposed. This matter was so grave, and concerned the rights of so many thousand Englishmen, that the House would show a grievous lack of moral courage if it did not insist that the responsibility should be fixed where it was incurred. When the Bill left that House it did not contain that disfranchising clause, and the House would be guilty of the grossest cowardice and dereliction of duty if it submitted to this change. He hoped the Motion would be carried to a division, and he should then be curious to see whether the Amendment would be supported by the Conservative Party, who were going to confront the working men of the country at a General Election.

MR. PICTON opposed the Amendment of the Lords on the ground that the question involved interests for which the Representatives of the people were specially responsible, and that carried practical consequences, particularly in country places, where there were not the same opportunities of obtaining medical aid as in towns.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA urged the House to abide by its own decision, as the question was one which did not affect the House of Lords, while it did affect the House of Commons.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, it would be a pity if they were forced to divide without receiving a plain answer to the question whether there was any real practical difficulty in giving the House of Lords an opportunity of reconsidering this matter, and of getting their answer and receiving the Royal Assent to the Bill before the end of the

week. He believed the House of Lords had not adjourned, and that there was no practical difficulty in adopting this course. He did not believe that in an important matter of this kind anyone would put a little personal inconvenience against the public interest; and he, for one, did not believe the House of Lords would do so.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he was sure that members of his own profession, who had seen much of the poor, would hold that there was an essential difference between ordinary poor relief and medical relief. They knew that sickness came unexpectedly, and laid a heavy strain on the narrow resources of families with incomes of from 10*s.* to 12*s.* a week; and it was intolerable that poor persons in that position, who had perhaps taken relief of this kind for a short time, should be disqualified. He would also remind the House that there was in country districts no bridge, so to speak, between medical pauperism and the payment of medical attendance. In large towns they had great hospitals which were always open to receive all comers on easy terms; and, therefore, in London, for instance, they knew that a large number of people on the verge of pauperism were able to go to these hospitals and get medical relief without disqualifying themselves. But in the country there was nothing of that sort. The poor man must either pay his country doctor's fee, which was necessarily heavy because of the distances they had to go, or go on the parish for relief. Therefore, there was no bridge for the humble and industrious man to obtain such relief as would not put this heavy disqualification against him. In spite, he thought, of the dangers which they had been told would arise from the possible rejection of this Amendment of the Lords, he would feel it his duty, if the opposition were pressed, to support it.

MR. WARTON supported the Amendment of the Lords on the ground that it was in accordance with the deliberate judgment of the House of Commons, as in Committee by a large majority it rejected the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch, which was accepted on Report only by a small majority.

MR. PELL said, he understood the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to rest his argument on the injustice which would be done to the labouring classes if the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch did not become law. But, how was it, if the hon. Member for Northampton had the interests of the working classes so much at heart, that he was absent on both occasions when the question was before discussed? He (Mr. Pell) appealed to the House not to reject the Amendment on account of the difficulty in their way with regard to time. He would remind the House that the only effect of the Lords' Amendment would be to keep off the Register for one year a person who received medical relief. In the name of the provident working men of England, he protested against their being put upon the same footing with those who were infinitely below them in the social scale. The difficulty that had been referred to in country districts should be got over by the establishment of medical village clubs, which would come within the reach of the class to whom the provision applied.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 107; Noes 66: Majority 41. — (Div. List, No. 199.)

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS

Lords Amendments *considered.*

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B BALFOUR) moved to agree with th Amendment which deleted Clause 1 from the Bill. The clause which it was thus proposed to leave out was, he explained, directed to introduce an Amendment universally admitted to be a useful one. It had relation to the Valuation Acts in Scotland, which, by the Franchise Act of 1884, were interpreted to be Registration Acts. But the criticism had been made in the House of Lords that this particular Amendment had not direct relation to the subject of registration, and that was true. It was pointed out that some persons interested in the clause might not expect to find it in this Bill; and while he could not but regret that they had not an opportunity of making this Amendment, he felt the force of the criticism that it had not direct relation to the registration of voters, although technically within the meaning of the Registration Acts. He

therefore proposed that the Lords Amendment be agreed to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he very much regretted that the other House should have thought it necessary to strike out the clause, which he thought would have been of great convenience in the administration of the law; and he trusted his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate would take another opportunity of introducing the clause, either as a separate measure, or in any other Bill in which he could properly do so.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked whether the Government would cause the Franchise, Redistribution, and Registration Bills to be circulated as soon as the Royal Assent should have been obtained? Acts of Parliament passed in a Session were not usually circulated until after the Session, when they appeared bound altogether in one volume. He thought it would be more convenient if the circulation could be expedited in the case of this Reform legislation.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he agreed that the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would be a desirable one to follow, and he undertook to communicate with the Speaker with reference to the subject.

LEGISLATION FOR IRELAND—LAND BILL AND LABOURERS' BILL.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

MR. GLADSTONE: Before the Clerk proceeds to read the Orders of the Day, I wish to make a modification of a statement which I made last week with respect to the Bills which the Government propose to introduce during the present Session. I then said that we did not think it was likely to be in our power to deal effectually this Session with the question of land purchase in Ireland, and that, therefore, we did not intend to introduce a Bill upon the subject. But, upon reconsideration of the matter, and after communications made with Members since that announcement, I have considerable hope that a judiciously-constructed amendment of the present law might meet with such acceptance as not to make a serious demand upon the time of the House. That is the point which is really material. We have a plan of a Bill prepared, and we shall be ready to introduce it on an early day after Whitsuntide. The facts that have come to my knowledge seem to justify our entertaining the hope that the measure might make no serious demand upon the time of the House; and if that hope were fulfilled we should be very desirous to pass that Bill and also the Labourers' Bill into law during the present Session. As regards the Labourers' Bill, we shall do everything we can in that sense, though I should wish to put the Land Bill on the same footing. I hope that with both of those measures we may make progress and pass them through the House; but it is the prospect that we have before us that leads me to think it is worth while that we should make the effort.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether the Motion for the Adjournment would take precedence of the East India Loan Bill to-morrow?

MR. GLADSTONE: The East India Loan Bill stands first.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

PLURALITIES BILL.—[BILL 22.]

(*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ACLAND, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the object of the Bill was very simple. Under the present law, when a Bishop had, on account of inadequate performance of duty, or non-residence, or any other cause, to appoint a curate for a benefice, the salary or stipend which he might assign from the living to the curate was often inadequate to enable him to secure the services of a clergyman for that purpose; and the main object of that Bill was to empower the Bishop to assign, within the value of the benefice, such a sum as might enable him to find a curate to do the work which had to be done. The measure was called the Pluralities Acts Amendment Bill chiefly because it was desired to draw the attention of those who would have to deal with it to the Acts which it was intended to amend. Those Acts were 1 & 2 *Vict.*, c. 106, and 13 & 14

Vict., c. 98. Those Acts dealt with several other points besides pluralities, and their general purpose was to define the relation between endowment and work. The main question in regard to the appointment of a curate by the Bishop was whether the ecclesiastical duty of the benefice was adequately or inadequately performed. The 2nd clause of the Bill defined what ecclesiastical duty was, the definition being taken from the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordination Vow, and the 59th Canon. It was also provided that in the case of benefices within the dioceses of St. Asaph, Bangor, Llandaff, and St. David, and of any benefice having a population of not less than 500 Welsh-speaking persons in England, the term "ecclesiastical duties" should include such ministrations in the Welsh language as the Bishop of the diocese should direct to be performed on Sundays and holidays. By the 3rd clause it was proposed to change the constitution of the Commission for inquiring into the inadequate performance of the duties of a benefice, by providing that the Commission should be issued to four Commissioners, one of whom should be an Archdeacon or Rural Dean, another a member of a Cathedral Chapter, another a beneficed clergyman of the Archdeaconry in which the benefice was situated, and the fourth to be appointed by the Chairman of Quarter Sessions for the county *ad hoc*. Deans and Chapters would elect one of their body to act for three years as one of those Commissioners; and the beneficed clergy of every Archdeaconry would also elect one of their body for a similar period. That would give more satisfaction than if the Commission were appointed, as now, simply by the Bishop. It was not proposed to interfere with the amount of stipend which any rector or incumbent might give to his curate if he could get one; but in cases where there was a difficulty in getting a curate to take the charge where the living was exceedingly small, it was desirable to empower the Bishop, when the incumbent failed to get a curate, to appoint one and assign such a salary as he thought necessary. The 8th clause would enable the Bishop to assign an extra stipend of £70 to a curate appointed by him under Sections 75 and 77 of 1 & 2 *Vict.*, c. 106. That clause was the vital clause of the Bill. The 14th clause of the Bill, the only clause which dealt with pluralities, proposed that two benefices might be held together by dispensation if the churches were within five miles of one another, and the annual value of one benefice did not exceed £200. At present the limit of distance was three miles, and the amount £100; and it was now proposed, as the result of experience, to increase them to the extent mentioned. If it was desired by the House to send the Bill before a Select Committee in order that its clauses might be carefully looked into, he should be ready to accede to that course; but he might add that the provisions of the Bill had been thoroughly discussed in both Houses of Convocation, and also by the House of Lords. The hon. Member concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY expressed his thanks and congratulations to the hon. Member who had just sat down for having undertaken the conduct of that Bill. The title of the measure, however, was, he thought, very confusing and even misleading, and the explanation of its provisions which had been given was certainly necessary. He thought it most desirable that the existing Acts should be amended in regard to smaller livings, certainly as to distance and income. The Bill possessed great recommendations, both on account of the way in which it had been prepared, and of the high authority on which it came before them; and it deserved very careful consideration. The 2nd clause would require exceedingly careful handling. The Bill partook, to a very considerable extent, of the character of a Church Discipline Act; and he remarked that while in the statement of ecclesiastical duties the visitation of the sick and the instruction of the young were specifically alluded to, there was no mention of the Burial Service. He referred to that point merely as indicating how very careful they should be if they were to have that definition of ecclesiastical duties introduced for the first time into an Act of Parliament of that kind. He thought that the Commission of Inquiry proposed under the Bill was a very great improvement upon the Commission under the existing Acts. He

was glad that the hon. Member who had charge of the Bill was willing to have it referred to a Select Committee.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would not detain the House further than he felt it his duty to do, in the relation in which he had long stood to his hon. Friend and those who had preceded him, to echo the congratulations which had been so freely given to the hon. Member who had moved the second reading by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir John Mowbray). He was very glad to see that the House was disposed to encourage what he might well describe as an effort at self-reform on the part of the clerical profession, because this was an attempt to develop and insure the application of greater vitality and efficiency to the provisions of the Pluralities Act. Undoubtedly he was glad that the Bill was to be referred to a Select Committee, because the House would bear in mind that the pluralities were in former times a scandal and a shame in the Church of England, to a greater degree, probably, than in any other religious body; and, therefore, he thought it most proper and becoming that even in the reforming provisions of his hon. Friend a jealous eye should be directed, lest in any case there should be the possibility of facilitating the re-introduction of that gross abuse. But undoubtedly the main fact recognized by the Bill was one of obvious necessity—namely, that as the value of labour had increased generally during the last 40 or nearly 50 years since the first Pluralities Act was passed—and he well recollected taking part in the discussions upon that Bill when it was in the House of Commons—they should therefore enlarge the provisions relating to the labour of curates so as to restore to efficiency provisions which had lost their efficiency in consequence of the increase of that value. He could only echo what had been said with respect to the difficulty of filling small benefices in certain cases. There happened to be a rather curious instance of a benefice of only £80 a-year, which, when he came into Office in 1880, had lapsed from the patron to the Bishop, and then from the Bishop to the Crown. The Crown was not able to fill it. Every effort was made, but he thought it was about three years before they succeeded. Now, a stipend of £80 a-year seemed very small indeed, but it was with a house, and with a population of only 40 persons; so that although the allowance relative to the amount of duty was by no means inconsiderable, it was a matter of the extremest difficulty to find a person to fill that benefice, and they thought themselves very fortunate when it was filled. He thought the best service he could render to his hon. Friend was to be brief in touching upon this matter, and in expressing his satisfaction on finding that the intelligence and ability which the hon. Gentleman had on different occasions exhibited in debate was now being addressed to the work of legislation, and he could only hope that they would be successful.

MR. PICTON said, he had no doubt the object of the Bill was good; but he questioned very much the means by which it was proposed to be accomplished. The Prime Minister appeared to be pleased with that Bill, because it was a token on the part of the clerical profession of its desire to reform itself. He thought, however, that the clerical profession might reform itself without coming to that House for an Act of Parliament. He thought it highly improper that legislation should be brought to bear on an object which could be much better effected by the clergy in their own way. The Bill was based on strong denominational lines, which he thought very objectionable. The Commission of Inquiry into lapse of duty in a benefice was to be composed of three magistrates, members of the Church of England. He did not suppose that the hon. Member who had charge of the Bill meant that the term "members of the Church of England" should be used in the Bill in its wide legal sense; but, if so, he should have restricted it by some qualifying words. All such legislative reforms of the Church, however, had invariably been futile, and would continue to be so. To be successful they must be voluntary, and not brought about by law. The only possible reform of the Church was by disestablishment and disendowment; and he protested against the time of the House being occupied by such a Bill as was now before it. He would not challenge a division, however, and it would probably be hopeless if he did; but the Bill would, no doubt, be referred to a Select Committee, and then they would not hear of it again.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he did not think that was a suitable occasion for discussing the relations of Church and State. As to the point referred to by the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton), he would suggest that, as in the Act establishing the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the requirement should be not that the member "shall be a member of the Church of England," but that he "shall state that he is a member of the Church of England." This would avoid certain legal difficulties. On behalf of the Church he had to tender to the hon. Member thanks for introducing this Bill, and also to thank the Prime Minister for having given it his support. It was a proposal with which the clergy were in full accord, although some people might possibly think it was an interference with their rights.

MR. R. H. PAGET joined in thanking the hon. Member for having introduced this Bill. As to the objection that the lay Member of the Commission was to be "a member of the Church of of England," he desired to point out that in the Benefices Resignation Act, 1871, there was an exactly similar provision. He regarded the Bill as an honest attempt on the part of the leaders of the Church to remove certain defects and to add to its efficiency. It should, in his opinion, be welcomed as an instalment of the legislation required to remove certain blots which now existed in the Church, and the removal of which would make it more efficient and more thoroughly able to discharge its duties and responsibilities to the great mass of the people of this country.

DR. CAMERON said, he should not like it to be supposed, as it might be if the remarks of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) were allowed to pass unsupported, that there did not exist a strong feeling against this Bill. He objected to it, and he thought the mass of the Members on the Ministerial side of the House objected to it, on principle; but he did not suppose they would vote against it after the speech of the Prime Minister, although, when they were in Opposition, and sat on the other side of the House, they voted against all such legislation as this. There was a Bill introduced in the last Parliament for the reform of the Church of Scotland, for the abolition of patronage. That, in the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite, was a most laudable attempt to increase the efficiency and impartiality of the Church of Scotland; but it so happened that the Liberal Party sat on the other side of the House, and they voted *en masse* against the Abolition of Patronage Bill, and hon. Gentlemen who voted in that manner were not merely those who went in for Disestablishment, but the whole mass of the Liberal Party, which comprised in its ranks many friends of the Establishment. They had another example of the same sort—the Ritualist Act passed in the last Parliament. The Bill was brought in by the late Prime Minister for the purpose of dealing with what many people considered to be evils in the Church of England. A great number of Liberals admitted that the evils complained of existed; but, viewing the matter from the point of view inculcated by his hon. Friend, the whole Liberal Party went against the proposed Ritualistic legislation. It was not much use appealing to the Treasury Bench at this moment—the only occupant being his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour)—and he did not know whether his hon. and gallant Friend had been left in possession of plenary powers; but if he had been, he hoped he would rise up and repudiate such retrogression from Liberal principles as that they had seen on the part of the Prime Minister to-day, viewed in the light of the spirit in which the Liberal Party had always approached these matters when they sat on the other side of the House.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON supported the Bill. He could not, however, approve of the exceptional power placed in the hands of the Welsh Bishops; and he thought that they ought not to act without the sanction of the Commission, which was established to strengthen Episcopal hands. There was no reason why a Welsh Bishop should have more power with regard to requiring certain services than an English Bishop. In the hope that an Amendment would be introduced in that respect, he should not object if it were thought best to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

MR. WARTON observed that every line of the Bill bristled with unconsidered points and crude suggestions,

and involved innumerable difficulties. It was also wide enough to include all ecclesiastical duties, after having mentioned only a few, and placed too much power in the hands of the Bishops to the disadvantage of the clergy. This was not a time in which additional pecuniary burdens should be thrown upon the poorer incumbents. For the reasons which he had given he should move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. TOMLINSON supported the second reading of the Bill, in view of the proposal of the hon. Member in charge of the measure that it should be sent before a Select Committee. He then proceeded to make some detailed criticism upon the Bill, and suggested various Amendments which ought to be introduced into the measure in Committee.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD supported the Bill, but thought Clause 14 would require consideration in Committee, because there was at present no limitation in regard to the population.

COLONEL MAKINS said, he was glad that the Bill had met with so much approval on both sides of the House; but as it contained some provisions which might prove dangerous he could only support it on the understanding that it was to be referred to a Select Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* to a Select Committee.

SITES FOR PLACES OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP BILL.—[BILL 58.]

(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Burt, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur, Mr. Webster.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. BROADHURST, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to facilitate the acquisition by Nonconformist bodies of land whereon to build places of worship. He would not go through the Bill; but one of the clauses provided that a memorial must be presented by a certain number of residents for a site, and that a deposit of £100 must accompany the memorial in order to show that the application was made *bonâ fide.* The object of Clause 7 was to prevent land from being selected for the purpose of causing a nuisance or an inconvenience to any residents in the neighbourhood. It was proposed that these powers should be exercised in the County Courts. The Bill would remove a very general hardship, which had existed for a great number of years. Experience showed that there were a number of landowners who exercised great despotism towards the Nonconformist bodies in rural districts. Many looked upon the erection of a chapel as a great nuisance, and mapped out the land as though they were granting pieces of land for the erection of a small-pox hospital. By the action of such landowners Nonconformists had been driven to worship in barns.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Nonsense.

MR. BROADHURST presumed that the right hon. Gentleman who said this was nonsense did not often attend Nonconformist places of worship in rural districts.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I do.

MR. BROADHURST was very glad to hear this, because he should begin to have a higher opinion of the right hon. Gentleman than he had entertained hitherto, and he looked forward with confidence to improvements in him in many directions. He repeated that Dissenters had been driven to worship in barns, in cottages, and even on the roadside. He knew of an instance where a congregation of 70 adults, with 90 children, attending the Sunday school were exposed to the greatest hardship, because the landlord denied them a site for a place of worship. With the new state of things that was coming it was not likely that such a denial could be long persisted in. The difficulties in the way of such congregation were great enough without aggravating them by the obstinacy of landlords. In some cases, when they had granted sites, they had fixed unreasonable prices or imposed vexatious conditions. A Methodist clergyman had instanced to him a

case where, after long negotiation, the landowner granted the sale of a piece of land for the erection of a chapel, and the people, being inexperienced and enthusiastic at the grant, began the work without thorough examination of the site. But they had not gone far up with the walls before they discovered that the arm of a large tree grew in a direction exactly across the site of the chapel, and would prevent them carrying the walls to their full height. The landlord said it must not be cut off. Like good citizens and good Methodists, they held prayer meetings, and after one or two of those meetings, fortunately, there arose a great storm of wind, and the rev. gentleman did not make it plain as to whether the branch of the tree came off by the action of the wind or a hand-saw; but, at any rate, next morning the arm of the tree was removed, and thus Providence came in and did for them that which had been denied to them by the landowner. The exercise of despotism of this nature had been for years in progress; and he sincerely hoped that the House, which had shown itself so liberally inclined in many directions this Session, would agree to the second reading. If it was thought desirable for the improvement of the Bill to refer it to a Select Committee he should assent to that proposal. The measure was a moderate one, and he sincerely trusted the House would read it a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

COLONEL MAKINS said, he rose to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months. His objection to the Bill was that it was, however unintentionally, brought in under false pretences, inasmuch as it misquoted Acts of Parliament to which it referred. It recited the Places of Worship Sites Act of 1873 and 1882; but they only enabled persons with limited interests in land to grant sites, and did not say a word about the acquisition of sites; and as the object of this Bill was the acquisition of sites, the recited Acts had nothing to do with it. The Bill would enable 20 inhabitants, belonging to the some religious body, to make application for a site. It did not even say the body was to be registered; and if it did, there were in 1880 161 registered bodies, and in 1884 there were 194, and the cry was "still they come." Any of these would be entitled to send a requisition to a landowner, with a plan showing a desirable piece of land for a place of worship. There was one of these bodies which had become very prominent. He referred to the Salvation Army. He did not wish to say one word against the method pursued by any religious society, provided it did not interfere with the proper enjoyment of property. No doubt the eccentricities of the Salvation Army were to be regretted; but if this Bill passed, facilities would be given to the Salvation Army and similar bodies to plant themselves wherever it suited their purpose. He did not approve of liberality with other people's land and other people's money. All religious bodies had at present a full and ample right to acquire land for their own purposes in an ordinary way; but this Bill would give the right to acquire them compulsorily, and that without any of the safeguards which usually surrounded the compulsory acquisition of property for objects of public utility. If a measure of this character was to be passed at all, it would, at least, be necessary to define the religious bodies which were to come within the benefit of its scope, and it would also be necessary to surround the compulsory powers of purchase with certain safeguards. The hon. Member said this Bill was intended to do away with a great hardship; but he had carefully abstained from going into details, and the only case of hardship to which he alluded was that of the tree which overhung the wall of the chapel about to be erected. But the hon. Member's references to that case were very cloudy, for he left the House in a state of uncertainty as to whether the disappearance of the obnoxious bough was due to the efficacy of prayer or to a hand-saw. The hon. Member appeared to think that it was a great grievance that certain persons should have to meet for worship in barns and in cottages. There was no great hardship in having to worship in a barn. The early Christians worshipped in much worse places; and as to worshipping in cottages, this was only family worship slightly extended. He had no desire to limit the free toleration of religious worship of every kind; but the Bill was in principle most dangerous to the rights

of property, and he therefore begged to move that it be read a second time that day six months.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE, in seconding the Amendment, said, he thought this was one of the most extraordinary Bills ever presented to Parliament. It violated the recognized rights of property, on which the whole fabric of society rested. The Bill set forth that 20 members signing the requisition, belonging, it might be, to that one, or, it might be, to a neighbouring parish, might sign the requisition which was to have so great an effect. What was meant by that? Did "neighbouring parish" mean five miles off? He complained of this laxity of language, which he was sure would lead to any amount of annoyance to landlords. Unless the promoters of the Bill were prepared to bring in a measure conferring similar compulsory powers upon all other bodies in addition to religious communities, the Bill must fall to the ground. It was incongruous to see the House of Commons asked, in the interest of public worship, to stir up all the strife of compulsory acquisition. While respecting and valuing to the utmost, and tolerating and smoothing the way for the privileges of religious worship, he did not think that there was such a peculiar character attaching to it as to make it desirable to break down on its behalf the well-recognized principles of private property. This Bill was simply an attempt, in the sacred name of religious liberty, to root up the established foundations of property.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Colonel Makins.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he understood the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Beresford Hope) to base his objection to the Bill on the ground that the claims of public worship did not justify an interference with property. Would he explain how it was that under the Church Building Act there was such interference with property for the benefit of the Church of England? In the case of the Church of England these compulsory powers did exist; and the right hon. Gentleman was therefore driven to argue that such powers should exist for the benefit of the Church of England, but for the benefit of no other denomination. Was it a wise or Conservative proposition that the Church of England should enjoy and maintain a monopoly of this kind, and that it should be in the power of a landowner who might own a whole parish, as many landowners did — though he believed there would be few of them who would do such a thing—to say to the community that it should only have one place of worship to go to, and that the place to which he belonged? That was a proposition which could not be for a moment sustained. He had the authority of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Osborne Morgan) for saying that in Wales, where the whole land practically belonged to owners who were members of a religion which was not that of the people, and also in Cornwall, cases of great hardship occurred. The hon. and gallant Member who moved the rejection of this Bill had said—"The early Christians worshipped in catacombs; why should not the English Dissenters do the same?"

COLONEL MAKINS said, he did not use such an argument. He was answering an argument of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), that it was a great hardship for people to have to conduct worship in barns and cottages.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. and gallant Member nevertheless said the early Christians worshipped in the catacombs; but the early Christians had not the advantage of a House of Commons, or else they would not have worshipped in catacombs. Then the hon. and gallant Member argued that it was no hardship having to worship in a cottage, as this was merely family worship. But what the Dissenters asked for was public worship, and why should they not have it as well as anybody else? He did not say that the provisions of the Bill were all that they ought to be; but their consideration was a question for Committee. The question was—taking it on the broad principle of his right hon. Friend opposite — was it right that persons should be excluded simply by the accident of the possession of the land of a whole parish vesting in a proprietor of a different religious faith? He thought it was not. There were many matters of detail which would require amendment;

the landowner, for instance, might require greater consideration; but looking at the principle of the Bill he thought it was a right principle, and he should certainly vote for the second reading.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, there were only a few minutes left before the debate must be suspended; and as he could not within that time state his objections to the Bill, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Newdegate,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate arising;

And it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

QUESTION.

—o—

EGYPT—THE MILITARY EXPEDITION —THE GUARDS.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER: I wish to ask my hon. and gallant Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Department a Question of which I have given him private Notice. The Question is to the effect, Whether the report is correct that the Brigade of Guards which was on its passage from Suakin to England has been ordered to stop at Alexandria; and if the reasons for its detention can be stated?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: Yes, Sir. The Brigade of Guards have received orders to stop at Alexandria in case circumstances should render it desirable further to detain them; but they have not received orders to disembark men.

MOTIONS.

—o—

LOCAL LOANS (SINKING FUNDS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY, Bill to amend "The Local Loans Act, 1875," as regards the establishment of Sinking Funds, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir MATTHEW RIDLEY, Sir RICHARD CROSS, and Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 189.]

POSTAL SERVICE (GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH AMERICA).

Ordered, That the Select Committee on Postal Service (Great Britain and North America) do consist of Seventeen Members:—

Committee *nominated* of,—Mr. HENRY LEE, Mr. NORTHCOTE, Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Mr. WILLIAM LOWTHER, Mr. SEXTON, Mr. BRODRICK, Mr. DEASY, Mr. WILLIAMSON, Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Mr. R. B. MARTIN, Mr. STAVELEY HILL, Mr. THOMAS LEA, Viscount EMLYN, Mr. WILLIAM FOWLER, Mr. SLAGG, Mr. GILES, and Mr. BAXTER; with power to send for persons, papers, and records:

Ordered, That Five be the quorum.

RIVERS PURIFICATION BILL

On Motion of Mr. HASTINGS, Bill for the Purification of Rivers, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HASTINGS, Earl PERCY, and Colonel WALROND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 190.]

VALUATION OF LANDS (SCOTLAND) (APPEALS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HENDERSON, Bill to make further provision as to Appealing under the Acts relating to the Valuation of Lands and Heritages in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HENDERSON, Mr. BUCHANAN, Dr. CAMERON, and Mr. STEWART CLARK.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 191.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 21*st May*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment (102).

Royal Assent—Consolidated Fund (No. 3) [48 *Vict.* c. 14]; Royal Irish Constabulary Redistribution [48 *Vict.* c. 12]; Egyptian Loan [48 *Vict.* c. 11]; Highways [48 *Vict.* c. 13]; Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) Extension [48 *Vict.* c. 18]; Industrial Schools (Ireland) [48 *Vict.* c. 19]; Registration (Occupation Voters) [48 *Vict.* c. 15]; Registration of Voters (Scotland) [48 *Vict.* c. 16]; Registration of Voters (Ireland) [48 *Vict.* c. 17]; Barristers Admission (Ireland) [48 *Vict.* c. 20]; Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Orders [48 *Vict.* c. 4]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) [48 *Vict.* c. 5]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) [48 *Vict.* c. 6]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) [48 *Vict.* c. 7]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) [48 *Vict.* c. 8]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) [48 *Vict.* c. 9]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 1) [48 *Vict.* c. 10]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) [48 *Vict.* c. 11]; Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order [48 *Vict.* c. 12].

SEA FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 102.)

(The Earl of Dalhousie.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, this was rather an important Bill, and he must ask the indulgence of the House while he explained the reasons which had induced the Government to introduce it. He had been asked to postpone the second reading of the Bill till after the Whitsuntide Recess; but it was felt to be desirable that the matter should be discussed as early as possible by this House and by the public generally, for it was one that had excited considerable interest among the fishermen of Scotland, so that a decision should be come to as soon as possible. He regretted that some of the noble Lords who had strong objections to the Bill were unable to be present to-day; but they had given him to understand that they would re-discuss the principle of the Bill on the Motion to go into Committee upon it, and that they would propose Amendments in Committee. The Bill had two principal objects. In the first place, it gave to the Scottish Fishery Board power to make experiments and to collect statistics with the view of obtaining knowledge upon a very difficult and a very vexed question—the question whether or not the inshore waters on the Scottish Coasts were being over-fished. The second object was to facilitate the recovery of damages by fishermen in case of accidents and injuries to their nets and lines. The Bill was based on the Report, issued early this year, of the Royal Commission appointed nearly two years ago. That Commission was appointed because the fishermen generally on the East Coast of Scotland complained that the fishing on the coast was falling off—that there was less fish caught than formerly; and they attributed that to the increase of trawlers, especially of steam trawlers, on the inshore waters along the coast. They complained, also, that these vessels did great damage to their nets and lines. A great deal of evidence was taken on both these points. Inquiries were held at several places along the coast, and the fishermen stated their grievances to the Commission. They explained, also, how it was that they considered the operations of the trawlers were injurious to the fishings. They stated, in the first place, that they believed these operations destroyed the spawn. They also stated that the trawl destroyed a large quantity of immature fish; that it destroyed the food of the fish, and generally disturbed the ground, frightened the fish away, and that in process of time the ground would be exhausted altogether. In order to obtain some information as to the value of these statements a very eminent naturalist—Professor Macintosh — was appointed to make experiments on board a steam trawler during nine months. He must say that the Professor had displayed very great heroism in the execution of this task, and not being accustomed to seafaring life he had endured very great hardships with extraordinary patience and courage; but the result was that he had amassed a very great amount of scientific knowledge. One of the statements made very frequently to the Commission was that the young fish moved inshore after they were hatched until they attained to a more advanced period of their lives, and that small immature fish were generally caught in shallow water, and that at certain times of the year they were caught in greater quantities than at other times. After taking the best evidence they could on this point, and comparing very carefully all that Professor Macintosh had to state on this particular subject, into which he had inquired for eight or nine months, the Commission came to the conclusion that it was quite impossible to form an accurate opinion upon any of these points. But as regarded the destruction of the spawn and of immature fish, he thought that Professor Macintosh fairly and definitively settled that part of the question by declaring that, with the exception of the spawn of herring, the spawn of all fish floated on the surface of the water, and that the trawl which worked at the bottom of the sea could do it no injury whatever. That was no new discovery, because several scientific men had come to a similar conclusion on more than one previous occasion, and in America and elsewhere many millions of fish had been artificially hatched, so that there was no doubt as to the history of

the spawn in this respect. As regarded the destruction of immature fish by the trawlers, he thought that question was also finally settled; and the conclusion to which Professor Macintosh and the Commissioners arrived was, that there was no wasteful destruction of immature fish by the trawl net. The immature fish brought up by the trawl were not of the more valuable kind; and those so brought up, even if they attained to full age, would not have attained to any considerable size. He had already stated that there was one exception in which the spawn did not float on the surface—namely, the herring spawn, which remained at the bottom of the sea, and it might be —for they had no proof that it actually was so—injured by the trawl. But it was a fact that within the last few years, while steam trawling had been very largely on the increase, the herring fishing had increased also; and while he would not undertake to say that it was impossible that the spawn of herring could be injured by the operation of trawling, yet there was no doubt that many of the apprehensions on that point had disappeared. With regard to the questions of the destruction of the food of fish and the frightening of the fish away from particular grounds, and the necessity for protecting these grounds, the evidence was certainly not so clear as could be wished, and it was thought desirable that a more thorough knowledge should be obtained on these points. They had no proof whatever that cases of fish being frightened away altogether from fishing grounds had actually occurred. The question of gradual exhaustion was a more difficult matter. That appeared to be both possible and probable, and in certain cases to have taken place; and it was extremely desirable that scientific experiments should be instituted, in order to discover, if possible, under what circumstances exhaustion occurred, and how long such fishing grounds took to recover their fertility. To the fishermen this was undoubtedly a most important point, and their case in reference to it was a very hard one indeed. What they complained of was this—they said there were certain grounds on which they and their fathers had fished and toiled for many years, and had earned support for themselves and their families without difficulty, and that these steam trawlers had now come into existence, worked upon the ground, and having caught up all the fish went away to fish elsewhere, leaving the ground useless for fishing purposes, and thus depriving them of the means of supporting their wives and families. That undoubtedly appeared to be a hard case, especially where the firshermen had expended money in constructing or improving their harbour, and must excite the sympathy of their Lordships and of every man who considered the question. But, in the first place, he must point out that the case was not one of trawling as trawling, but of over-fishing. All the Commissions—for there had been two previous Commissions — had reported to that effect. The Commission which reported in 1866—of which Professor Huxley and Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Sir James Caird were members—was appointed to inquire into the fish supplies along the coast, and whether particular modes of fishing involved wasteful destruction, and whether any restrictions should be imposed on existing methods of fishing; and they reported that beam trawling was not wastefully destructive, and that all restrictions on open sea fishing should be repealed. In 1878 another Commission was appointed, which inquired into the results of the use of the trawl as to the alleged destruction of fry and spawn, and also the question about restrictions being imposed on that particular method of fishing. That Commission also reported that beam trawling was not wastefully destructive, that there was no evidence of any decrease of fish on the coasts generally, but that at certain places where there appeared to have been a decrease in the amount of fish there was no evidence that this was due to over-fishing; but they stated that considerable injury had been done to the fishing gear by line trawlers, and that these had increased greatly since the introduction of steam trawling. Now, the Commission which reported at the beginning of this year was, in some points, in agreement with the two previous Commissions; but in one or two important points they differed from them. They reported that there was a falling-off in flat fish and a decrease of herring at certain places in the inshore waters; that in the offshore waters there was no decrease in

the total take of fish in the North Sea; that beam trawling was not destructive of the spawn of cod or ling; that there was no proof of any injury to the spawn of herring; that there was no wasteful destruction of the immature fish, or of the food of fish, by the beam trawl; that the number of fish on particular grounds, especially in narrow waters, might be sensibly diminished by the use of the beam trawl; that it had not been proved that the use of the beam trawl was the sole cause of the diminution of fish in territorial waters; and that, in the absence of a proper system of scientific operations in the districts, it was impossible to discover the causes for the fluctuations in the fisheries, or even the degree in which they took place. The important point on which they differed from the previous Commissions was that they were of opinion that the number of fish in particular grounds, especially in narrow waters, might be sensibly diminished by the use of the beam trawl. That was a matter in regard to which they stood much in need of further knowledge. The Commissioners spoke, as well they might, with considerable hesitation on the point; but as regarded narrow waters, such as St. Andrew's Bay, or the Firth of Tay, there could be very little doubt that small areas such as these might very easily lose their productiveness by persistent beam trawling. Recent inquiries had shown considerable ground for believing that inshore fishing had fallen off, and probably from the causes which the Commissioners of 1866 thought it possible such a result might ensue—namely, the great improvement of all the appliances for fishing—an improvement which within the last 20 years had been very great indeed. The nets and lines were of much greater extent and better quality, and they were worked with more skill; and, of course, steam trawling had come into practice since then; and although, no doubt, the trawling was not a wasteful or destructive method of fishing, still it was a most efficient method, and very productive, in the sense that it caught a very great number as compared with the number taken by lines. In such small places as St. Andrew's Bay the presence of eight, or ten, or a dozen steam trawlers must necessarily produce a great increase in the amount of fish-catching in the district; and from all the evidence of Professor Macintosh, and of the fishermen themselves, there seemed little doubt that persistent trawling in such very small areas distinctly diminished the quantity of fish in them. It might be said that if these grounds had a rest by the processes of nature they would gradually be re-stocked. This might be so or not; but there was no doubt that in St. Andrew's Bay, which was the part of the sea as to which they had the best evidence, the fish were smaller than they used to be, and it was the opinion of Professor Macintosh that the grounds never had sufficient rest in order to allow the fish to recover their normal size. On the other hand, however, they had an instance of the utter futility of stopping trawling in the hope that the fish on a particular ground might recover; this was the case of Dublin Bay. There was another instance of a different kind in the history of the trawling industry at Brixham. The number of trawlers there was very great, and the Commission of 1878 showed that no complaint had been made there that less fish were caught by the trawlers than had been caught during the last 100 years. When the last Commission visited this place, the evidence they received was of a conflicting and doubtful kind. It was, therefore, impossible to propose any legislation on this subject without additional knowledge; and the Bill was brought forward to give powers to the Fishery Board to acquire that knowledge. The evidence in the recent Blue Book on the subject of fishing was all of the nature of opinion; with the exception of Professor Macintosh, there was no scientific evidence on which a law could be based; and he believed it was the opinion of experts in connection with the Fisheries Exhibition, as it certainly was his own (the Earl of Dalhousie's), that it was impossible to base any fishery legislation on such knowledge as they at present possessed. This Bill would not satisfy the line fishermen along the coast—of that he was perfectly aware. The great mass of the line fishermen had been encouraged to expect impossibilities, or at least unreasonable things; and it was not to be wondered at that, in their eyes, their case seemed to be peculiarly clear and simple, and that all that was needful was to suppress trawling to a

certain extent. But there were a few intelligent fishermen who would recognize in the Bill a sincere attempt, not exactly to meet their case, but to endeavour to obtain the knowledge necessary before they could take any steps to meet it. At present they had not sufficient knowledge to deal with it. Among the things which fishermen had been encouraged to ask by some of their friends was, that a sweeping prohibition of trawling within the three-mile limit along the coasts should be enacted. The grounds for this demand were twofold. They said that young fish flocked inshore for food and warmth, and were taken by the trawlers before they reached maturity; and, in the second place, they alleged that the trawlers did not work much within the three-mile waters, and would therefore not be much inconvenienced by a complete prohibition, whereas the old men and boys in the fishing villages along the coast in their small boats could not go far out to sea, and where trawlers worked near the coast no fish remained for the line fishermen. As to the first argument, it was really quite untenable, for, as a matter of fact, fish were hatched at all distances from the coast, and it was impossible to believe that they all flocked toward the coast. The second argument involved a very large question. It really came to this—that an improved method of catching fish having been invented and approved of by various Commissions ought to be denied the right to fish in certain waters in order that the fish might be caught by those who practised inferior methods. He would not ask the House to consider that, because the Bill, although it gave power to the Fishery Board to probibit fishing in certain places, only gave that power for the purpose of making experiments. The extent to which the falling off in the fishing was due to trawling was not known, and it was necessary that they should obtain that knowledge before legislation, if legislation were necessary, was introduced. He was not able to state to the House what use the Board would make of the powers the Bill would confer; but he did not suppose they would introduce any sweeping prohibition of trawling within the three-mile limit, because to do so would be, to a great extent, to defeat the very object of the Bill. It would spoil the experiments, because if all the trawling were prohibited within the three-mile limit, it would be impossible to compare the results at those places where trawling or perhaps all fishing was prohibited with the results of the observations in those places where it was carried on. But if the mass of line fishermen were not satisfied with this Bill, neither were the trawlers, who were extremely angry that there should be any idea, even in the way of experiment, of shutting them out from any part of the sea. They considered that they ought to be perfectly free to fish anywhere, and that it was an unwarrantable interference with their industry that the Bill should propose to limit them in any way. They had a Memorial from persons interested in trawling setting forth their views, and, as it seemed to him, with considerable point. They came to this—that trawling did no harm, and was extremely efficient, and that to hamper it in any way would be an altogether unjustifiable proceeding; and, further, that in the natural process of things the line fishing must be expected to give way to trawling, and that trawling should be encouraged rather than hampered, for the community would suffer very greatly if that kind of fishing were interfered with. Now, it was not proposed to hamper the trawlers in any way further than was necessary to conduct the experiments which were absolutely required in order to settle the question. Unless these experiments were made and careful statistics obtained, it was perfectly certain that, from time to time, there would be outcries from the line fishermen that their fishing was being destroyed. This Bill, he believed, did all that it was possible or desirable to do at this moment. It would make it possible for the Fishery Board, not only to make experiments, but to supervise the fishing all along the coasts; and, in view of the grievances put forward by the fishermen, it was necessary that no time should be lost in procuring and in using those powers. As to what would be the future of the line fishermen as opposed to trawlers, it was not for him to say; but he must say that, after the evidence which had been laid before the Royal Commission over which he had had the honour to preside, and after giving the subject grave consideration, he felt extremely sorry for the prospects in some respects of the line fisher-

men, because it was his own opinion that steam trawling was in the future bound in the nature of things to increase. He would advise the line fishermen not to encourage the whole of their family to take to the business of line fishing, as they frequently did now. Let them bring up one or two of their sons to other trades; and for themselves, if only they could save a little money, let them club together, buy larger boats, and go farther to sea. If they could manage to take to trawling themselves, as so many of the English fishermen had done, by all means let them do so. There would still be room left for some line fishermen along the coast; but they would have to contend with a new and more efficient mode of fishing, and one that was certain to increase and extend its operation in spite of all that they or anybody else could do to prevent it. There was no use in their trying to stop trawling. It was impossible, and would be unjustifiable, to stop it. The best thing they could do was—if only they could save money enough to do it—by increasing the size of their boats and going farther afield, or better still by adopting trawling themselves, as so many of the English fishermen had done, to endeavour to compete with them on more equal terms. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN had not come down with the intention of opposing the second reading of the Bill; but after hearing the speech of the noble Earl he felt very much inclined to move that its second reading be deferred for six months. The whole gist of the noble Earl's speech was that he and the Commissioners knew nothing at all; that on every point except one further inquiry was required, and that one point was that there had been a certain amount of destruction in the narrow waters. On every other subject the noble Earl seemed to know nothing; yet a Bill affecting the interests of a large class was brought in and based on that inadequate knowledge. There were objections, in his mind, to the Bill as it stood. In the first place, the Commission was appointed to inquire into the trawling over the United Kingdom, and yet their Report dealt almost entirely with Scotland alone. It seemed to him that was a very unfortunate way of proceeding in a case like this, when there were only 37 of these trawlers in Scotland, and 700 in England. Why should they legislate for so small a proportion with a view to legislation for a larger number hereafter? If that sort of legislation were to go on, they would have one law for Scotland, and a different one for England and Ireland, and nothing could be more unfortunate than that. He had been very much surprised to hear the noble Earl say that they did not know what use the Fishery Board proposed to make of the powers to be given them under this Bill. But in exercising their power to make experiments, they might stop trawling at any part of the coast, or fishing of any kind whatever; and they might do so in a manner that might be extremely hard for the fishermen in the locality so dealt with. He thought it was extremely dangerous to delegate such powers to the Fishery Board, which was composed principally of the Sheriffs of Scotland, a paid Chairman, who was the late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Secretary. But he had also to object strongly to Clause 7, which empowered sea fishery officers to award damages in cases of damage caused by one boat to another, for these sea fishery officers were not fitted to exercise such a power. They had no legal training, nor were they accustomed to take evidence; and it was not necessary, because the matter could be dealt with at small cost in the Small Debt Courts of the country. He hoped some better reasons would be given in support of this Bill when it reached the Committee stage. On one point, however, he entirely sympathized with the noble Earl, and that was in the need for some better protection for the line fishermen. He believed that the necessity for legislation had arisen almost entirely from the manner in which the trawlers had ridden rough-shod over the rights and feelings of the line fishermen. If they had shown any consideration for the rights and interests of those who, on account of the smaller size of their boats and other causes, were unable to move about to distant waters, as they, the trawlers, could, he did not think that legislation would either have been called for or been necessary. Although, as he had said, he felt very much in-

clined, after the statement of the noble Earl, to move the rejection of the Bill, he should not do so on that occasion.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS expressed his satisfaction at the determination come to by his noble Friend not to move the rejection. Living on the coast, he had had good opportunities of becoming acquainted with the heartburnings that existed on this subject; and he was thankful to Her Majesty's Government for introducing the Bill. It was impossible to abolish trawling altogether. It was a well-known fact that 35 tons out of every 100 tons of fish brought into the London market were the produce of trawling. His noble Friend had objected to legislation for Scotland which did not apply to England; but he would point out that the geography of Scotland, as regarded the sea, was different from that of England. In Scotland they had very narrow seas and firths, and it was in these that damage was done by trawlers. The line fishermen worked close inshore, and the trawlers often were to be seen, eight or ten of them, coming close inshore among them, and they often cut the lines of the fishermen, and did a great deal of damage, and caused a very bad feeling; yet these steam trawlers generally rejoiced in giving to their boats such names as *Pet*, *Harmony*, and so on. He believed the line fishermen to be about the most industrious of Her Majesty's subjects; and, looking to the desirability of keeping up a supply of men for the Navy, it was undesirable to do anything that might be injurious to them. All he apprehended this Bill was intended to do was not to interfere with trawling as a general rule, but simply to regulate it within short distances from the shore in narrow territorial seas, so that this hardy race of industrious line fishermen should not be driven from the sea. No doubt, certain powers were given to the Fishery Board; but if these powers were excessive there was this security—that before any bye-laws passed by the Board became law, they must obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State. He thought this would be a sufficient security against any extravagant use of those powers, and he hoped the House would not object to the second reading of the Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY agreed that there were elements in this Bill which might enable them to arrive at a solution of a question which was affecting the minds of the line fishermen in every district of Scotland. But he would point out that the chief ground on which the noble Earl moved the second reading was that it would enable them to collect statistics. Everyone would agree on the value of that; but on Clauses 4 and 7 very important powers were conferred on the Fishery Board. He thought that Board had done a great deal of good in Scotland. He must say that although any bye-laws they might frame would require to be confirmed by the Secretary of State, still the Bill put in the hands of the Board very large powers in framing those bye-laws, and also of appointing sea fishery officers, with heavy powers of awarding damages. These were points which were of great importance; and he ventured to suggest to the noble Earl in charge of the Bill whether it would not be better to refer it to a Select Committee that these points might be duly considered?

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he would be sorry if it were supposed he had said anything against the Fishery Board. All he had said about it was that he thought the powers here conferred were too great.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, the noble Marquess complained that the Bill was based upon ignorance; but he thought he himself had stated that to the House. They did not know enough about fishing, and they wanted to know more. As to the reason for dealing exceptionally with Scotland, it was to be remembered that the Commission had been appointed because of complaints that had come from that country. Besides, there was no Fishery Board in England. The recommendations of the Commissioners, so far as they applied to England, and could be carried out, were being carried out by the Board of Trade. At present, he could only say that he had had no formal communication with the Scotch Fishery Board on the subject, though he had discussed the matter informally at some length. He would endeavour to obtain from the Board such information as would enable him, on the Committee stage, to make some statement as to the manner in which the Fishery Board intended to carry out the powers intrusted to them by the Bill, which he trusted would be satisfactory

to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian).

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 16*th of June* next.

PARLIAMENT — PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD NORTON asked the Lord Privy Seal, Whether the new buildings on the west side of Westminster Hall are about to be carried out according to the last recommendation of the Committee, with a two-storied building; and whether it is to be battlemented or with a plain parapet; and what is to be done with the windows in the roof; also whether it is decided to postpone raising and remodelling the two towers on the north front? The noble Lord said that their Lordships, in common with the public, had had no opportunity of forming an opinion as to the reconstruction of the west side of Westminster Hall. They had doubtless seen the screens on the spot which had been very usefully set up, and among their Lordships were men eminently qualified to judge which of the two designs should be preferred. He wanted to know whether the higher or the lower screen was to be chosen; whether the flying buttresses which had so recently emerged from burial were to be buried again; whether the outline need be battlemented; whether the windows on the west side of the hall were to be darkened instead of being used as windows for the purpose of light; and whether the row of temporary skylights along the roof might not be enlarged in relief of the enormous space of roof, which was never intended to be so nakedly exposed?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he regretted that the noble Lord should have allowed himself to be demoralized by his former long experience in the House of Commons. That the noble Lord was so demoralized was shown by his having asked several Questions in addition to those which appeared in his name on the Notice Paper. The only answer he could give was to refer the noble Lord to the recommendations of the Committee; but he felt that this would be of no use, as they were already in the hands of noble Lords. As to the absolute and definite conclusion which the noble Lord in his speech had said the Government had arrived at in regard to this matter, he could only say that the Government had arrived at no conclusion, nor could they do so until the Report, the evidence, and the drawings were submitted, and had been placed in the hands of Members of both Houses; and when Members had had an opportunity of considering that Report and the drawings, the Government would endeavour to come to some definite conclusion as to what should be done.

LORD NORTON said, he must take exception to the suggestion that he had asked more Questions than appeared on the Paper.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked if an opportunity could be given to architects and others during the Recess of inspecting the model now in the Victoria Gallery?

VISCOUNT BURY observed that the flying buttresses were in a position which necessitated their being repaired, and asked whether they would be allowed to remain as they were now for any length of time?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY replied that the Report of the Committee would be laid before Parliament almost immediately. The buttresses need not, therefore, be exposed for any considerable time; and in the meanwhile he should take care that they were preserved from the inclemencies of the weather. With regard to the model, he said he had no power to give admittance to the Victoria Gallery to anyone, whether qualified architects or not, to view the model; but he had no doubt that if application were made to the Lord Chamberlain he would afford facilities to architects and other artistic persons referred to to view the model during the Recess.

DECLARATION OF PARIS, 1856—BELLIGERENT RIGHTS AT SEA.

RESOLUTION.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he rose to call the attention of the House to the Declaration of Paris of 1856, which has never been ratified by Parliament or received the consent of the Sovereign; and to move—

"That it is our duty to withdraw from this Declaration, and thus maintain our ancient

maritime rights so essential to the power and the prosperity of the Empire."

He thought, now that there was a reasonable prospect of peace, the subject could not be objected to as inopportune. As far as he knew, it had not been discussed since 1875. As their Lorships doubtless knew, the law of nations, until the year 1854, had always recognized the right of a belligerent to seize any goods in a vessel belonging to a hostile country and to issue letters of marque. This right enabled a Maritime Power to exercise against a belligerent nation its full naval force. It was said by some now that war should be carried on at sea according to the same principles which were recognized in warfare on land, and that on land war should be carried on with as much respect as possible for personal property and for the safety of non-belligerents. These principles, however, were certainly not universally regarded in all land warfare. How, for example, had war been conducted in the Soudan? A fortnight ago, the following description appeared in *The Times*:—

"The enemy being dispersed, 'breakfast' was the next order given. The village was looted and burnt. It was evident that the enemy had been taken by surprise, as we found many camel saddles and cloths, earthenware vessels, bags of dourra, and water skins. We also destroyed the well with gun cotton . . . The Arabs fought bravely, but without that desperate courage which six weeks ago cost us so dear. The capture of their herds must tend to exhaust their resources, and prevent future mischief. We have done the enemy all the harm we could—thus fulfilling the primary object of warfare."

Now, it was undoubtedly the primary object of warfare to do the enemy all the harm one could. On sea there were no wells to be destroyed, no villages to be looted and burnt; the only thing to be done was to capture the enemy's goods. Lord Mansfield said—

"The goods of an enemy on board the ships of a friend might be taken, and contraband goods going to an enemy, although the property of a friend, might be taken."

And these were the words of Lord Eldon—

"A war and a commercial peace is a state of things not yet seen in the world; there is no such thing as a war for arms and a peace for commerce; and the right of visiting and searching merchantmen on the high seas, whatever is the cargo, whatever the destination, is the incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent State."

Lord Nelson, in 1801, said—

"The proposition that free ships should make free goods was one so monstrous in itself, so contrary to the law of nations, so injurious to the maritime interests of the country, that if it had been insisted on we ought not to have concluded peace with those Powers while a single man, a single shilling, or even a single drop of blood remained in the country."

Napoleon said—

"The greatest blow that could be given to England would be to make her give up the right of search."

Mr. Pitt, in 1806, said—

"Shall we voluntarily give up our natural rights and expose ourselves to scorn, derision, and contempt? No man can more than I deplore the calamities of war; but will you silently stand by, and, admitting these monstrous, unheard-of principles of neutrality, insure your enemy against the effects of your hostility?"

Lord Hawkesbury said—

"His Majesty has expressed his unalterable determination to maintain the established principles of maritime law."

Mr. Canning said—

"The rule of maritime law which Great Britain holds is the ancient law and usage of nations. England has sustained wars rather than give up this principle."

These were high authorities, and in the face of such authorities we should consider well before carrying out the Declaration of Paris. Her Majesty's Government should consider whether we had acted wisely in 1854. In that year one of the most extraordinary things was done, and no explanation of it had ever been given in Parliament. In 1854 we were going into the Crimean War, and Lord Clarendon, for whom he had the greatest respect as a statesman and gentleman, and against whom he would not say a word—he was limiting himself to a statement of facts—on February 16 of that year, in reply to questions put to the Foreign Office, wrote as follows:—

"All neutral property of a belligerent is lawful prize of war; such property will be condemned as prize, although its owner may be a native-born subject of the captor's country, and although it may be *in transitu* to that country, and its being on board a neutral ship will not protect that property."

But on the 24th of March, 1854, the following Order in Council was issued:—

"Her Majesty will waive the right of seizing the enemy's property taken on board a neutral vessel unless it is contraband of war. It is not Her Majesty's intention to claim the confiscation of neutral property not being contraband of war found upon neutral ships; and Her Majesty further declares that, being anxious as much as

possible to lessen the evils of war, and to restrict its operation to the regularly organized forces, it is not Her present intention to issue letters of marque for the commissioning of privateers."

How was that discrepancy between February 16, 1854, and March 24 of the same year to be explained? The fact was the abolition of our maritime rights was demanded by the Emperor of the French. The Plenipotentiaries at Paris had no power whatever to go into the subject. Count Walewski proposed to the Congress to conclude its work by laying down the four following principles:—

"(1.) The abolition of privateering: (2.) the neutral flag covers enemy's goods, except contraband of war; (3.) neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture even under enemy's flag; (4.) blockades are not binding in so far as they are effective."

But so little power had the Plenipotentiaries to deal with the matter that Count Orloff observed that, the powers with which he was furnished having for their sole object the restoration of peace, he did not consider himself authorized to take part in a discussion which his instructions had not provided for. And Count Buol, the Plenipotentiary of Austria, declared—

"As regards the principles of maritime law which the first Plenipotentiary of France has proposed for adoption, that he appreciates their spirit and bearing, but that, not being authorized by his instructions to express an opinion upon a matter of such importance, he must, for the time, confine himself to announcing to the Congress that he is prepared to request the orders of his Sovereign."

What was the opinion of almost all eminent statesmen on the subject? Mr. Disraeli said—

"By the Declaration of Paris we have given up the cardinal principle of our Maritime Code; the whole maritime strength of the country is concerned if we have acknowledged the principle that the flag of a neutral covers the cargo. This must divert the commerce of the country into neutral ships. It will be a most serious blow to our maritime strength. If the carrying trade leaves our shores the mercantile population will go with it; this will destroy our naval power."

Lord Derby said—

"I look on this act of the Government as cutting off the right hand of the country."

Lord John Russell, in 1867, on the Income Tax Bill, said—

"The rules that free ships make free goods, and that the goods of a belligerent are safe in neutral ships, and the goods of a neutral safe in belligerent ships, have always been regarded as injurious to the interests of maritime countries, and especially to the maritime power of England. Everyone who has looked at the arguments must see the rules were laid down as a blow to the maritime supremacy of this country, and I hope that no Minister of Great Britain will set his seal to a Treaty containing stipulations of this kind without the most cautious deliberation."

They had the great authority of Mr. Stuart Mill against the Declaration of Paris. Mr. Mill, in 1867, had used these words with regard to the question—

"I venture to call the renunciation of the right of seizing the enemy's property at sea a national blunder. Happily it is not an irretrievable one. The Declaration of 1856 is not a Treaty. It has never been ratified. It is not a permanent engagement between nations. It is but a joint declaration of present intentions; binding on us, I admit, until we formally withdraw from it. How war is to be humanized by shooting at men's bodies instead of taking their property, I confess, surprises me. It is not when the emergency has come, but before it comes, that we ought to form our resolution on this momentous subject."—(3 *Hansard* [189], 876.)

He then came to the greatest authority of all—namely, the Select Committee on Merchant Shipping appointed in 1860. That Committee included, among others, the names of Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Thomas Baring, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Horsfall, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Liddell, and Mr. Dalglish. In their Report on the question of belligerent rights at sea, the Committee gave the following opinion:—

"The question of belligerent rights at sea with reference to merchant shipping affects alike the British shipowner in the prosecution of his business and the general interests of Great Britain; and, therefore, the evidence given on this subject has received from your Committee that attention which its gravity demands. Great Britain formerly asserted principles of the law of nations with reference to the rights of belligerents and neutrals, though other nations defended maxims in some points differing from our own. But in the war with Russia in 1854, England having formed an alliance with France, both nations waived their rights to confiscate the enemy's goods on board neutral ships, as also neutral goods, in either case not contraband of war, found on board an enemy's ship. This mutual but provisional waiver of belligerent rights placed the Allies in harmonious action, and practically countenanced the principle that 'free ships make free goods.' Upon the return of peace, the Declaration of Paris of April, 1856, signed by Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, gave a formal sanction to this principle. Privateering was also abolished. America refused to be a party to a Convention whereby she would be precluded from resorting to her Merchant Marine for privateering purposes in case she became a

belligerent. But this is not surprising, for the United States has obtained a recognition of the rights of neutrals for which she contended throughout a former period of hostilities; and Great Britain has surrendered her rights without any equivalent from the United States. Our shipowners will be placed at an immense disadvantage in the event of a war breaking out with any important European Power. In fact, should the Declaration of Paris remain in force during a period of hostilities, the whole of our carrying trade would be inevitably transferred to American and other neutral bottoms. From the evidence given by various witnesses, it appears that at a recent period, upon a mere rumour of war in Europe, in which it was apprehended that Great Britain might be involved, American and other neutral ships received a decided preference in being selected to carry produce from distant parts of the world to ports in Europe, whereby even in a period of peace British shipowners were seriously prejudiced. It seems, therefore, that the state of International Law with reference to belligerent rights affecting merchant shipping cannot remain in its present state; for while England may be involved in any great European war, the United States is almost certain to be neutral, and thus our great maritime rival would supplant us in the carrying trade. Your Committee consider it their duty to call the attention of your Honourable House to the great importance of this question, which, if not solved during a period of peace, may cause incalculable embarrassment at the outbreak of a war. It is doubtless the Prerogative of the Crown to initiate proper measures to maintain the honour and guard the interests of the country in this respect. Your Committee, however, cannot but express their opinion that a compact like the Declaration of Paris, to which a great Maritime Power has refused to be a party, may, in the event of hostilities, produce complications highly disastrous to British interests. As matters stand, England is under all the disadvantages of the want of reciprocal pledges on the part of the United States to refrain from privateering or from the attempt to break a blockade which, as heretofore, a sense of self-preservation might compel Great Britain to establish, while Powers so unpledged, urged by every motive of self-interest, would be in a position to inflict the deepest injury upon British interests, under the same unjustifiable pretences as were put forth during the war at the commencement of the present century. Your Committee have thought it their duty thus briefly to point out to your Honourable House the present unsatisfactory position of this question as it immediately affects British merchant shipping. They have done so in the confidence that the whole subject will receive due attention in that quarter where the responsibility rests of taking such measures, in concurrence with Foreign Powers, as may place the present international regulations on a better footing. Your Committee are aware that grave objections have been urged by high authorities against any further step in advance; but they cannot close this brief comment on so important a question without expressing a hope that your Honourable House will agree with them in the opinion that, in the progress of civilization and in the cause of humanity, the time has arrived when all private property not contraband of war should be exempt from capture at sea. Your Committee are of opinion that Great Britain is deeply interested in the adoption of this course. This country has at all times a much larger amount of property afloat than any other nation, and consequently requires a very large naval force to protect her merchant shipping, perhaps at a time when the whole of our ships of war may be urgently wanted to defend our shores."

Considering that that had been the decision of a Liberal Committee, he thought that he was justified in taking that opportunity of bringing forward the question, when there had been a great amount of excitement felt with regard to the expectation of war. Privateers at sea were nothing more than volunteers on land. If we did not take measures to prevent it, in case of war the whole of our carrying trade would be transferred to neutral ships. There was one argument used in these times, and that was in reference to Free Trade—namely, that we were dependent upon other countries for our supplies, and we could be starved by those supplies being cut off. In a really great Continental war we might possibly find provisions declared to be contraband of war. In 1793 such a thing really had happened, when the French Convention had declared provisions contraband, and in 1794 we had done the same thing ourselves. Only the other day, in the war with China, the French had declared rice to be contraband of war. By the Declaration of Paris England was giving up her most powerful weapons, and he thought that they would do well to consider whether they could not get rid of it. It had never received the sanction either of the Crown or of Parliament. It might, perhaps, be brought forward as an argument that, in the event of a war, the Treaty would of itself fall to pieces. He thought that that was not a dignified argument; but that it would be much better now in time of peace to fix upon the course we should adopt. He hoped that they would be led by the opinions of great men like Pitt and Fox, Greville and Canning, Collingwood, Howe, and Nelson, who had only one opinion upon the effect of such restrictions upon the supremacy of England. In conclusion, he begged to move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Moved to resolve "That it is our duty to withdraw from the Declaration of Paris of

1856, and thus maintain our ancient maritime rights so essential to the power and the prosperity of the Empire."—(*The Lord Lamington.*)

EARL GRANVILLE, who was indistinctly heard, said: I wish to say only a few words in reply to the Question put by the noble Lord and to his very interesting speech. I believe that the noble Lord has laid down correctly the principles of maritime warfare as interpreted by eminent jurists in this country. I think, however, that it is a little late, 29 years after the time when the Declaration was agreed to, to criticize, even in the very courteous and effective terms used by the noble Lord, the conduct of Lord Clarendon, who enunciated the policy of the distinguished men with whom he was then associated. With regard to the proceedings in the Congress of Paris, I consider that the course which Lord Clarendon took was perfectly legitimate. The noble Lord says that the Declaration of Paris was never sanctioned by the Sovereign or by Parliament. I am not aware that the Constitution requires any international agreement of this sort, or requires an Act of Parliament for its ratification. As to the assent of the Sovereign, that was given by the complete approval which Lord Palmerston and his Colleagues gave, acting as servants of Her Majesty and on Her behalf, to the course which Lord Clarendon had taken. Lord Clarendon took exactly the same course as Lord Castlereagh did with regard to the famous Declaration as to the Slave Trade, which was acknowledged as binding by all the Powers who were parties to that Declaration. There is no doubt that we are bound by the Declaration, and there is no doubt that all the nations who acceded to the Declaration are equally bound by it. We are not bound by it with regard to those nations—and the only two principal nations are the United States and Spain—who have never acceded to it, and we are not bound by it with regard to any nation which thinks fit to infringe it. No Motion was ever carried in either House of Parliament in opposition to it. It was discussed in both Houses and criticized in very different directions; some thought that it went too far, and some men of great eminence argued that it did not go far enough. Into the merits of that controversy I am not disposed to enter; but no doubt we and the other nations who have acceded to the Declaration are bound by it up to the present moment.

LORD COLCHESTER was understood to maintain that the Declaration of Paris in regard to maritime capture was not in favour of the interest of humanity, because it was the interest of humanity that when war broke out it should be brought to as speedy an end as possible. It was said that some persons proposed to carry its principles further. He was not surprised if those who found that on the outbreak of war all their trade was transferred to a neutral flag favoured the notion of exempting all property at sea from capture. But to allow an open trade with the enemy during war would be the negation of the very idea of patriotism. As to its being a humanizing of man, Mr. Mill had well remarked that he could not see how war would be humanized by destroying men's bodies instead of their property. Again, the effect of the Declaration of Paris would be to give neutral Powers an interest not in the cessation of a war, but in its prolongation, because they would get the carrying trade of belligerents, which would pass under a neutral flag. The Declaration of Paris was, moreover, in the interest of Military as against Naval Powers, and would tend to strengthen and encourage those great military establishments which were natural instruments of aggression and conquest, as against naval power, which was rather the instrument of defence and the protector of the independence of nations.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION AT CABUL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, he rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether Russia has demanded to be diplomatically represented at Cabul on a footing of perfect equality with England? He desired to put that Question in consequence of the reports which had appeared in the Press. It was stated, not only that Russia had raised objections to the employment of English officers in the fortifications of Herat, but that the

neutrality of Afghanistan had been demanded, and that England had been called upon to renounce any interference on her part in the affairs of that country. These reports were naturally of very great importance, and he could not but think that it was only due to Parliament and the public that Her Majesty's Ministers should state plainly whether any such demands had been made by the Government of Russia, and whether or not they maintained the policy of the inviolability of Afghanistan as our first line of defence. He could hardly think that Her Majesty's Ministers were prepared to receive any such propositions as those which were reported to have been made by Russia. He had listened attentively to what was said in the House a few days ago by the Secretary of State for India in reference to the defence of Afghanistan. What had fallen from the noble Earl had great force in regard to the fortifications that were necessary to be raised on the boundaries of India; but he had been struck by the fact that the noble Earl carefully abstained from any allusion whatever to what had hitherto been always considered the first line of defence of India—namely, Afghanistan itself. If Her Majesty's Government had changed their opinion on that point, and were prepared to maintain that Afghanistan was no longer worth our consideration, and that they might be content to create such fortifications as were necessary on the confines of India, the country had a right to understand clearly that that was the case. The Vienna Correspondent of *The Times* that morning used these words—

"The alleged intention of the British Government to concentrate the defences of India in India itself is regarded as leaving the field clear for Russia's suggestion in favour of the complete neutrality of Afghanistan—in other words, for the elimination from that country of all British influence."

It was perfectly clear since that speech of the noble Earl was made that such had been the construction put upon it, not only in India but in Europe generally, and in Russia itself. The best way for England to avoid a war with Russia was to lay down before Russia distinctly what our policy was. The noble Lord concluded by putting his Question.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: The answering of this Question more properly belongs to my noble Friend (Earl Granville); but as the noble Lord has made some remarks on my speech of the other night I will reply to his Question. In the first place, Russia has made no such demand whatever. Then, as to his observations, which seem to be based principally on Vienna correspondence in the newspapers, I do not think that that is an authority on the subject. It would appear that some observations of mine have been construed as a total abandonment of our position in relation to Afghanistan. If anybody has drawn such an absurd conclusion from my words they must have been deaf to what I really said. I said nothing of the kind. On the contrary, I have said that we have always regarded Afghanistan as being outside the sphere of the influence of Russia; that we maintain the principle which has always been maintained, I believe, by both sides of this House as to our position in regard to Afghanistan. I apprehend that the line of defence and also the line of offence to be taken up must be that which is most likely to serve the interests of India and of this country; but I object altogether to be bound by what the noble Lord quotes from the newspapers. I mentioned the line of the Indus the other night; but, at the same time, in answer to the noble Marquess, who inquired whether Quetta and other points were excluded from our contemplation, I said, "Certainly not." And I say again that our line of Frontier ought to be such as will give us a good defensive position, and also a good position for moving in any direction which the interests of India may demand. Beyond that I will not go. These are questions for military experts; but the point which the noble Lord has put forward must meet our attention, and I do not believe it has in any degree escaped the attention of my noble Friend near me.

EARL STANHOPE asked when it was likely that the next Blue Book on the Afghan Question would be issued? He maintained that it appeared monstrous that the House and the country should not be kept in darkness as to the proceedings on this question.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the answer was simple. Until the Government had come to some conclusion in the negotiations with Russia, he sup-

posed that every man of business would think it singularly imprudent and injurious to the Public Service to produce the documents to which the noble Earl had referred.

EARL STANHOPE said, Parliament had been most distinctly promised by Mr. Gladstone that the further Papers up to the time of the Penjdeh fight should be presented before the Whitsuntide Recess.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said. he could not go beyond what he had just stated. The documents regarding the interviews with the Ameer could not be produced while negotiations were going on. It would be contrary to every principle of business to do so. That was the only reason why the documents had not been produced. It was the duty of the Government, when they were actually engaged in an important negotiation, to see that documents which would prejudice them or place them at a disadvantage should not be produced.

EARL STANHOPE said, he did not for one moment presume to ask for documents referring to negotiations which were pending, but only for Papers relating to the Penjdeh incident and the Rawul Pindi Conference.

EARL GRANVILLE: Further Papers which have been promised will be presented.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he was speaking with regard to particular matters referred to in their communications with the Ameer.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: Will the Papers be produced during the Recess? The Prime Minister promised them last week.

EARL GRANVILLE: We hope to be able to do so.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OCCUPATION OF SUAKIN.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS rose to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government are now making arrangements for the occupation of Suakin by a Foreign civilized Power; and, if so, when such arrangements are likely to be completed, and with what Power they are being made? He said that very considerable interest had been shown in this matter since the debate which took place some days ago, and the very remarkable speech of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) had had a great effect in rousing public attention to this matter. Before this Government came into Office, and when he was in "another place," frequent complaints were made that the then Government did not take Parliament into their confidence on questions of foreign affairs. In these circumstances he thought they were not asking too much of the Government to take their Lordships so far into their confidence as to say before they separated what were the real intentions of the Government with respect to Suakin. He asked the Question because there appeared to be much doubt as to the intention of the Government. As far as they had been able to make out, it seemed to be the intention of the Government to hand Suakin over to some civilized Power; but they read daily in the Press telegrams to the effect that the Government did not intend at present to hand this port over to a civilized Power. He believed that public feeling was beginning to be roused as to the importance of this question. Two nights ago there appeared in an evening newspaper, which was a strong supporter of the Government on Russian questions, an article in which the point referring to the disposal of Suakin was happily put—he meant *The Pall Mall Gazette*. It was a notice to the effect that Suakin "was to be given away;" that it commanded the road to India; indeed, this advertisement put the whole question in a nutshell. *The Pall Mall Gazette* was not alone in looking upon this Red Sea port as of importance to us in our communications with India. He found that Lord Hartington, in the House of Commons, made a statement to the effect that the ports of the Red Sea ought not to be in a position to tempt any other European Power to occupy them. He was at a loss to understand why, if that was the sound view held by the Government in March, 1884, the converse doctrine now held by them was the sound one. It might be that the public were now weary of the fruitless slaughter which had taken place in the Soudan; but wait until Suakin was again besieged by Osman Digna, wait until the friendly tribes who had trusted us had been slaughtered by the Hadendowas, and he was certain, when that state of things came about,

that this arrangement with respect to Suakin would be viewed from one end of the Kingdom to the other with feelings of shame, indignation, and disgrace.

EARL GRANVILLE: I was not in the least aware that *The Pall Mall Gazette* was a blind supporter of Her Majesty's Government, especially on Russian questions. I regret that the noble Earl, with all his eloquence, should not have given us his own words instead of reading a long leading article which many of your Lordships, no doubt, have had the opportunity of perusing. The noble Earl has done what he has often done before — he has given Notice of one Question, and he asks another Question instead. In his speech the noble Lord asked as to the future policy of the Government with regard to Suakin. I am perfectly ready to answer, not only his speech, but his Question. The whole question of Suakin is under the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. It is a difficult and complicated question. With regard to the Question put on the Paper, my answer is a very simple one. There have been communications with Turkey on the subject of Suakin, which were presented last year, and the noble Earl has the opportunity of reading them in the Blue Book. The other communications with Turkey, not yet attended with any result, will be presented in the Papers to be immediately laid before your Lordships. There have been no negotiations of any sort with any other Power.

VISCOUNT BURY: Are we to understand that Turkey is the civilized Power to which Lord Hartington referred in the other House when he said that we were holding Suakin till arrangements were made for giving it up to some civilized Power?

EARL GRANVILLE: I have nothing to add to the statement I have just made.

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS.

Ordered, that Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Friday the 5th of June next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 21*st May*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—*Resolution* [May 18] *reported*;—*Postponed Resolution* [May 7] *considered* and *agreed to*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * [194]; Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * [192]; Intermediate Education, Wales [195].

Second Reading—Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * [170]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [168]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * [169]; East India Loan (£10,000,000) [109]; Princess Beatrice's Annuity * [187].

Select Committee—River Thames (No. 2) * [90], *nominated*.

Report of Select Committee—Post Office Sites [No. 208].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment * [139], and *passed*.

Report—Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 1) * [131].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Honorary Freedom of Boroughs [153], and *passed*.

Third Reading — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 2) * [155]; Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment [152], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE — DISTRICT INSPECTOR HURST, STRABANE.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a Letter, dated 25th April, has been received by Colonel Bruce, complaining of the conduct of District Inspector Hurst, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, in making insulting observations on the Irish people, and drinking "The glorious, pious, and immortal memory of William III.," &c. in the public smoking-room of Sims' Hotel, in Strabane, Inspector Hurst at the time being in uniform and Catholics present in the room; and, whether any action has been taken in the matter by Colonel Bruce?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Colonel Bruce received a letter to the purport referred to; but the writer of it, a Mr. Gallagher, disclaims having made any complaint. Colonel Bruce will take

such action as he thinks necessary in the matter.

SUPPLY—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

MR. SALT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, inasmuch as it appears that £7,250,000 were spent previous to the passing of the Vote of Credit, From what sources and on what authority such large sums of money were drawn?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: My right hon. Friend did not say that £7,250,000 had been spent. He said that it had either been spent, or was due for liabilities incurred. The actual expenditure of the Army and Navy up to date is quite within the sums already granted by Parliament, exclusive of the Vote of Credit.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—THE LATE ROYAL COMMISSION—EXPENSES OF MEDICAL WITNESSES FOR PAYMENT OF SUBSTITUTES.

MR. MACARTNEY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the case that the medical officers of Her Majesty's Prisons in Ireland, who attended to give evidence in Dublin before the late Royal Commission on Irish Prisons, are being compelled by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to pay out of their own pockets the substitutes appointed by the Prisons Board to do their duties in their absence, and that under threat of dismissal if they do not comply; and, whether this is in accordance with the decision of Baron Dowse at last Summer Assizes in Galway in the case of "Rice *v.* Her Majesty's Prisons Board?"

MR. HIBBERT: No, Sir; the facts are not correctly represented in this Question. The medical officers of Her Majesty's Prisons in Ireland, who gave evidence in Dublin before the late Royal Commission on Irish Prisons, received the same allowance as is paid to medical men appearing as witnesses before other Royal Commissions and Select Committees of this House. This allowance is calculated to cover professional losses, which include the payment of a substitute where necessary. If, therefore, the gentlemen who performed the duties of these medical officers during their absence had received any direct remuneration from the public funds, the same payment would have been made twice over. I feel sure that any objection on the part of such medical officers to pay the due amount to their substitutes must be founded on a misapprehension. The judicial opinion referred to is in substantial accordance with the Government's practice, though the technical form in which the payment is made is different.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, If there is any truth in the statements of the Suakin Correspondent of *The Times* of 15th May, alleging failure and friction in the making of the Railway there through Messrs. Lucas and Aird; and, how much of the amount already expended on or due for that work is to be paid to Messrs. Lucas and Aird for their own behoof (apart from the payments to men engaged through them), viz. how much for Railway plant bought or hired from Messrs. Lucas and Aird, and how much for other services rendered by that firm?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There have been no Reports received showing failure or friction in the working of the arrangement with Messrs. Lucas and Aird, though at the commencement of the undertaking some unexpected difficulties somewhat retarded its progress. The accounts are not yet sufficiently advanced to enable me to state the sums paid or due to the firm "for their own behoof;" but I may remind the hon. Member that the conditions of remuneration are clearly stated in the agreement with Messrs. Lucas and Aird, which has been laid before Parliament.

In reply to Mr. CREYKE,

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he believed all the conditions between the War Department and the contractors were stated in the Papers.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL—THE SPIRIT AND BEER DUTIES—INCOME TAX EXEMPTIONS.

MR. SALT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What arrangements will be made with respect to those persons who have paid Duties coming into force under the Customs and Inland Revenue

Bill, in the event of that Bill being modified, so as to remove the Duties in question; and, whether any precedent exists for the delay of some weeks in pressing forward a Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, involving a large amount of additional taxation, with the result that Duties are enforced merely upon a Resolution of the House that may or may not be supported by the necessary authority of an Act of Parliament?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: Should the proposals of the Government for increasing the Spirit and Beer Duties be simply rejected by Parliament, the sums paid in excess of the amounts authorized by statute would, where possible, be refunded, unless Parliament thinks fit to authorize by statute the retention of the additional Duties collected. There are abundant precedents for the collection of additional Duties under a Resolution of this House some time before the passing of the Act raising them. The most striking is that of 1860, when two Resolutions were passed increasing the Spirit Duty—one on February 29, and the other on July 17; whereas the Act confirming them did not receive the Royal Assent until August 28.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, what would be done with the sums now paid in excess if the Government simply dropped their proposal to increase the duties, and there was no adverse vote of the House of Commons?

MR. HIBBERT was understood to reply that they could still be refunded, if the Government thought proper to make the order.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked whether the exemptions from the proposed Duty on property of bodies corporate and unincorporate, contained in the seven sub-sections to Clause 19 of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, provided any enlargement of the exemptions under the Income Tax Acts?

MR. HIBBERT: Speaking generally, the exemptions from the proposed Duty are the same as those under the Income Tax Acts. But there are some cases in which property which pays Income Tax cannot fairly be charged with the new Duty, because it is already subject to Probate and Legacy Duties when it changes hands owing to a death. The simplest instance I can give is that of the profits of a Trading Corporation, composed of a number of shareholders, where the profits pay Income Tax, while Probate and Legacy Duties are charged upon the value of the shares.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—TRANSFER OF SERGEANT PRICE FROM STEWARTSTOWN, CO. TYRONE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the transfer of Sergeant Price from Stewartstown (county Tyrone) has been cancelled; and, if so, under what circumstances; whether it is the case that, after the intimation of his transfer arrived, a meeting of his brother Freemasons was held in the Sergeant's room at the barrack, at which it was decided that Mr. Hunt W. Chambre, J.P. should exert himself to have the order recalled; whether any representation with that object was made by Mr. Chambre or other Orangemen or Freemasons; and, what steps have been taken to redress the inequality of Catholics and Protestants in the local police force?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The transfer in question has not been cancelled; but the Inspector General informs me he has permitted it to pend in consequence of the receipt of a strong Memorial from the magistrates of the Petty Sessions District, expressing their entire confidence in Sergeant Price, and their regret at his intended removal; and requesting that he might be permitted to remain. The Inspector General's intention to transfer was not due to any fault, but simply with the view to replace the Sergeant by one of longer experience; and this, if found necessary, will still be done. There is every desire to equalize the police of the different religions both at Stewartstown and elsewhere; but the hon. Member must not suppose that the Government will give any encouragement to the idea that the men are to be interfered with on the ground of their religion, unless it can be shown that they allow their religion to interfere with the proper discharge of their duties.

SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT—SPURIOUS BUTTERS.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the Report recently presented to the House respecting legislation in Foreign Countries on the subject of

spurious butters, he will be good enough to state what action, if any, Her Majesty's Government propose to take to insure these spurious articles of food being imported and sold under their proper names?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The importers of butterine are now required to declare the quantities and values of such imports; and the monthly trade and navigation accounts show the quantity and value of butterine imported and the country from which it is brought. As regards the sale of butter substitutes, I believe that the Sale of Food and Drugs Act gives the purchaser protection; and that any person selling any of these substitutes as butter would render himself liable to the penalties prescribed by that Act.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. R. H. PAGET,

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the Board of Trade had really nothing to do with the question of adulteration, which came rather within the Department of the Local Government Board; but the Act threw upon the purchaser himself the responsibility of seeing that he was protected.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—STORES FOR THE SOUDAN.

DR. CAMERON asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether it is true, as stated by the Woolwich correspondent of the Press Association, that the shipment of stores for the Soudan, which had been entirely stopped, was on Friday last resumed at the Royal Arsenal, and that among the stores being shipped were 1,000 tons of iron water-pipes; and, if so, the construction of a railway for strategic purposes having been abandoned, for what purpose are the water-pipes intended?

MR. BRAND: No, Sir. The statement referred to is entirely incorrect. No shipments have been made since the orders to cease the despatch of stores to the Soudan were given.

EGYPT—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1882—THE MEAT CONTRACT.

DR. CAMERON asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether the claim against the Government for compensation in connection with the meat contract for the British Army in the Egyptian Campaign of 1882 has yet been settled; and, if so, how?

MR. BRAND: The claim in question was submitted to the arbitration of Mr. Holl, Q.C., who gave a decision in February last. The War Office offered £9,000 without costs, and the contractors claimed over £24,000. The award, including contractors' costs, which were borne by the Government, amounted to £15,730.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY AT URLAUR—ACTION OF THE SWINEFORD SANITARY BOARD.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Local Government Board refused to interfere with the discretion of the Swineford Sanitary Board in the matter of water supply at Urlaur; whether it is true that the sanitary officer of the district threatened several persons with heavy expenditure if they would not oppose the motion for increased water supply; whether it is within the duty of the sanitary officer to ask the aggrieved party who would pay the sanitary officer for his trouble in the matter; whether any Poor Law Guardian in the Dispensary District opposed the motion for water supply at Urlaur; whether, after the usual notice, the first opposition was that of an anonymous communication; whether some families have to go over half an Irish mile for water; and, whether the Local Government Board will hold an inquiry into the facts of the case, to see whether the subject was properly attended to?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Local Government Board have declined to interfere with the discretion of the Sanitary Board in this matter. On a house-to-house visitation being made in the village, only one inhabitant was found to be anxious for an addition to the existing water supply, which is stated to be of excellent quality, and it is not considered necessary to put the district to the expense of increased facilities for the convenience of one person. The medical officer denies that he used threats or sought payment for his trouble, as appears to be implied in the Question. There is no reason for an inquiry in the case.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY.

MR. CRAIG SELLAR asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland intend to take any, and, if so, what, steps to carry out the proposal of the Senatus of the University of Aberdeen, contained in their Letter of May 9th, 1884, supplemented by their detailed scheme of May 6th of this year, for the establishment of a Training College in connection with the University; and, whether any communications have been received in the Education Department from other Universities or Colleges in England or Scotland, containing suggestions or proposals for giving University training to Elementary school teachers; and, if so, whether, before the consideration of the Education Estimates, he will lay the Correspondence with the University of Aberdeen and with the other Universities upon the Table?

MR. MUNDELLA: I received a deputation from Aberdeen University, at which the hon. Member was present; and while I expressed my concurrence in the general principle of the scheme, I explained that, under present circumstances, it would not be possible to take any immediate steps in the matter. I have received communications from Aberdeen, St. Andrews, and from the Education Committee of the Church of Scotland on the subject of the scheme, and there will be no objection to produce the Papers if the hon. Member wishes. I have received no communications from the English Universities; but the subject has engaged their attention, and suggestions have been made to us through one of the Inspectors of Training Colleges, which will be referred to in his forthcoming Report.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—IRREGULARITY OF A RATE COLLECTOR AT ARKLOW.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (for Mr. W. J. CORBET) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state the circumstances under which the rate collector at Arklow left his rate book in Lord Carysfort's Estate Office; what was his object; who called upon him to do so; and, will he inquire if other landlords, or their agents, have taken a similar course?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It appears that the rate collector at Arklow left his rate-book with Lord Carysfort's agent, on the application of the latter, with the view of facilitating the numerous Returns which he had to make under the Representation of the People Act. The Local Government Board are not aware of any similar cases. They propose to address the Guardians in the present instance on the subject of this irregularity.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked, whether the clerks would be instructed to leave their rate-books with the secretaries of branches of the National League also?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir; it is irregular altogether.

CIVIL BILL OFFICERS (IRELAND).

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. SMALL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state what has been the result of the Memorial presented in last December to the Treasury, through the Irish Government, by the Irish Civil Bill officers?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As I stated on the 8th instant, this matter was under the consideration of the late Lord Chancellor at the time of his death. It will probably come before his successor in due course.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—UNEQUAL SENTENCES.

MR. JAMES STUART asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will direct that there be laid upon the Table of the House a copy of the depositions of the witnesses or of the shorthand writer's notes of the evidence which was adduced in the case of the woman Jeffries, who was lately convicted of keeping disorderly houses in Chelsea; whether he has received any communication from the magistrate who adjudicated on the case explanatory of the leniency with which this woman was treated, and of the reason for which a fine was inflicted and not a sentence of imprisonment; and, whether he will grant an unofficial and impartial investigation by a Committee of this House into the whole of this case and its attendant circumstances, and also into the case of Inspector Minahan, and the cir-

cumstances attending his dismissal from the Police Force, and how far these were connected with the case of the woman Jeffries? The hon. Member had also the following Notice on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the sentence of six months' imprisonment, with hard labour, passed on Thursday last at the Middlesex Sessions on James Barrett for keeping a disorderly house in Clerkenwell; and, whether the great discrepancy between this sentence and that passed on the woman Jeffries is in any way due to the social difference between the persons concerned in the two cases?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This was not the sentence of a magistrate, but of the Court of Quarter Sessions. I have no authority to revise sentences, except in connection with the prerogative of mercy. Therefore, the magistrate or the Court owe no responsibility to me for the sentences which they pass. That would be to confound the Executive and Judicial functions. I cannot lay the depositions with a view to a Committee inquiring into the matter. I think it would be a most unsafe and dangerous thing to invite this House to take upon itself the office of reviewing sentences and examining the evidence upon which they are founded. My hon. Friend points to another sentence, apparently by the same Court, and asks me to say whether I think the two sentences were not inconsistent, and whether they were not founded upon some improper motive apparently of the Court with reference to social differences. I cannot compare sentences, nor can I inquire into the motives of the Court; but I have made myself acquainted with these facts regarding the man named, that he had previously been sentenced to terms of eight months', three months', and six months' imprisonment for warehouse-breaking, keeping a brothel, and other offences; and, therefore, it appears that the sentences may have differed with reference to the previous character of the two prisoners. As to the second part of the Question, I have done what is incumbent upon me to satisfy myself that the conduct of the police has not been improper in this matter. I am responsible to this House for the conduct and discipline of the police; and I think it would be very unsafe to agree to the course proposed by my hon. Friend—namely, to investigate the subject by a Committee of this House. The case of Mr. Minahan was brought before me more than a year ago, and I very carefully inquired into it then, and I have now read the papers again. Minahan was at that time an Inspector of Police. He brought a great number of charges not connected with this matter of Mrs. Jeffries alone. That was the incident only of a great number of charges which he made against various officers, both superiors and subordinates, in the Force. I ordered a strict inquiry by the Assistant Commissioner and the District Superintendent. They made a careful inquiry into the matter, and I examined the case myself. It was brought under my notice by the hon. and learned Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth), and I will read what I wrote to him on the 28th of January, 1884. That will show plainly enough that it was not connected with this particular case:—

"I have before me a Petition praying for the re-instatement of Minahan as an Inspector in the Metropolitan Police Force. I had already inquired into the case, and ascertained that Minahan's resignation was voluntary. He had been an Inspector, and in consequence of the unfavourable reports of his conduct he was put down to the rank of sergeant, whereupon he resigned; and he afterwards put pressure in all sorts of ways upon me to re-instate him. His resignation was voluntary, and was consequent upon his reduction to the rank of sergeant. After the most careful inquiry by the Assistant Commissioner and District Superintendent into a series of charges which he brought against the Superintendent of the Division and other officers, all of which were proved to be without foundation, I see no ground to review the decision of the Commissioners."

I may mention that Minahan had done the same thing in another Division in which he had previously served; and on that occasion, in consideration of his length of service, he was merely transferred to a different Division, and he expressed his gratitude for the leniency which was shown to him. Well, I came to the conclusion which I had stated in January, 1884, and I have seen no occasion to alter it since; but if my hon. Friend or anyone else can bring any further circumstances to my knowledge which ought to affect this decision, I will most carefully inquire into them, with a desire that justice should be done in the case. It has been suggested that in the prosecution of Mrs. Jeffries the police in one way or another connived

or desired that the case should be hushed up, or a light sentence passed. I am prepared to say, from my knowledge of the case, that there is no foundation for that aspersion. If there were very grave suspicion of such a thing it would be my duty to interfere. But the police did not conduct this prosecution; they had nothing to do with it or the sentence. I have before me a Report of a Committee of the Chelsea Vestry acknowledging the value of the services rendered them by the police in closing disorderly houses, and I am bound to say I do not believe they have acted improperly in the matter.

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN."

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that *The Bosphore Egyptien* has reappeared, or is about to reappear, in Cairo; and, as far as Her Majesty's Government knows, will its publication be under the same conditions as before its suppression?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I have also a Question to put to the noble Lord with regard to the Papers which were published this morning in reference to this subject. In the first Paper is a despatch from Earl Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, stating that the publication of the newspaper should no longer be allowed, and that there was no cause for interference with such action as the Egyptian Government might desire to take with regard to it. I wish to ask whether Earl Granville or the Government have taken any steps to ascertain what legal course should be followed in this matter before writing that despatch?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to this Question, and to a subsequent one by the hon. Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther), I may state that the newspaper in question reappeared last evening. Her Majesty's Government were informed by the French Government previously to its re-appearance that positive assurances had been received from the editor that the paper would create no difficulty by the tone of its articles; and that the editor would be warned that, if he published any matter which could give reasonable offence, the French Consul had instructions to afford assistance to the Egyptian Government for the suppression of the paper. In reply to the further Question, I will ask the right hon. Gentleman to put it upon the Paper for to-morrow.

MR. GIBSON: With reference to the answer which the noble Lord has just given, I wish to ask whether Sir Evelyn Baring did not, when he first drew the attention of the Government to this matter, state that the misrepresentations of the paper could not any longer be tolerated without danger to the public tranquillity; whether the decree for its suppression is not still in force; and, whether the Prime Minister did not state, on the 5th of May, that the paper would not be re-issued?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In regard to all these Questions, which raise points of detail, especially that as to the opinion of Sir Evelyn Baring, I think it would be better that I should reply to them at the same time as I reply to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question arising out of this subject, of which I have given private Notice, with reference to Earl Granville's despatch of the 28th of April to Sir Evelyn Baring—namely, Whether the exchange of views between the English and French Governments with regard to the publication of this paper, and the change in the Press Laws contemplated in the despatch of Earl Granville, has yet taken place; and, if so, with what result?

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman states that he has given me private Notice of this Question; but it has certainly miscarried. I received his letter as I took my place in this House, and that is not private Notice. I only mention that fact because, had I received the Notice in time, I might have communicated with Earl Granville in reference to it. Speaking from my impressions and recollections, as far as I know, I do not think that that exchange of views had been completed before the republication of *The Bosphore Egyptien*. There are, however, further communications on the subject going on.

MR. ONSLOW asked who was to be the judge of reasonable offence?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot answer that Question now.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—WINE, SPIRIT, AND BEER DUTIES.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will take an early opportunity of stating the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the provisions of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill affecting the Duties on Wine, Spirits, and Beer, in order that the House may be aware of any changes in the proposals explained in his Financial Statement, before it is asked to proceed with the Second Reading of the Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE (who replied) said: We have not thought it right to refer in any manner to this subject while the negotiations with Russia were going on, and we must still persevere in that course. I understand the object of the Question to be that, before we ask the House to read the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill a second time, a clear expression of our intention should be given with regard to the provisions affecting the Duties on wines, spirits, and beer. We will take care that that shall be done.

CENTRAL ASIA—AFGHANISTAN—PROCLAMATION OF THE AMEER.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has Her Majesty's Government received confirmation of the statement in *The Times* of May 19th, that the Ameer has issued a proclamation complimenting his troops on their gallantry at Penjdeh, and laying stress on the value of the British alliance; and, whether he will lay a Copy of the Ameer's proclamation upon the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: We have no information as to the contents of the Ameer's Proclamation.

MR. GIBSON: Will not the noble Lord make some inquiries?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Ameer, we are informed, did issue a Proclamation; but no details whatever are given. I have no objection to make inquiries.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AMEER AND THE VICEROY OF INDIA—THE MEETING AT RAWUL PINDI.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Papers entitled Central Asia (No. 4), will contain an account of the meeting between the Ameer and the Viceroy of India; or if he intends to include it in any other Blue Book to be laid upon the Table before the Whitsuntide holidays?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Papers giving an account of the meeting between the Ameer and the Viceroy are not yet ready for publication, nor will they be presented before the Whitsuntide Holidays. I think the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire will agree with me that their publication before the arrangements now pending between England and Russia are concluded would not be for the public interest.

ARMY—OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

MR. WARTON (for Mr. GREER) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that Captains of the Royal Artillery are now obtaining their promotion to the rank of Regimental Major in a little over sixteen years, and that Officers of the Militia Artillery have been brought in to do the duty with service batteries of the Royal Artillery; and, if so, is it in contemplation to temporarily extend the period of seven years under which Regimental Majors of the Royal Artillery are now placed on half-pay as Lieutenant Colonels under the Royal Warrant of 1st July 1881?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The last Major had a service of 16 years and three months on attaining that rank. Some Militia officers have been temporarily employed with batteries of Royal Artillery during the absence in the Soudan or South Africa of officers of those batteries specially detached for service there. It is not proposed to extend the service of Majors of Artillery beyond the period fixed in the Royal Warrant.

ENGLISH MASTERS OF ENGLISH SCHOOLS ABROAD.

MR. ALDERMAN LAWRENCE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Foreign Office claims the right to protect English masters of English schools Abroad against the interference of the Government of the Country in cases of undue severity practised by masters or monitors, on the ground stated by the masters, that the Home Government permits the masters

of English schools to punish boys in any manner they may think proper?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am afraid I cannot undertake to answer hypothetical Questions. So far as I am aware, no such case has been brought to the notice of the Foreign Office.

LAW AND POLICE—PUBLIC MEETINGS —TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, on the occasion of the recent meeting held in Trafalgar Square, to protest against the increase of the Beer and Spirit Duties, special instructions were given to the Metropolitan Police to prevent the basement of the Nelson Column from being used as a platform by the speakers and representatives of the press, although at previous demonstrations it was so used, without interference of the police?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that orders had been given on all occasions that the Monument should not be used as a platform for meetings, and special instructions were issued to keep it clear. It had not been so employed on any occasion.

PRISONS (ENGLAND) — REGULATION AS TO THE PRISONERS' LIBRARY AT LIVERPOOL.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is a fact that, in obedience to the orders of the Prison Commissioners, the works of Gerald Griffin, and, more recently, *Chambers' Journal*, have been withdrawn from the prisoners' library in Liverpool; and, whether, if this be a fact, he can tell the House why prisoners in Liverpool are not to be allowed to read Gerald Griffin's novels and *Chambers' Journal?*

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I really cannot undertake a censorship of the Press in regard to prisoners, nor interfere with the Commissioners as to what books they do or do not allow prisoners to read, for the hon. Member will see that that would involve my reading the books.

WAYS AND MEANS—INLAND REVENUE —THE INCOME TAX—SCHEDULE B.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (for Mr. ROUND) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he is aware that a farmer incoming at Michaelmas is called upon to pay a half year's Income Tax under Schedule (B) in the following January, though he cannot produce his accounts till the end of his first year, and, in the event of such accounts showing a loss, cannot get the tax refunded for fifteen months after the payment; and, whether, under those circumstances, the Commissioners would be justified in allowing the payment to be deferred till the farmer can produce his accounts?

MR. HIBBERT (who replied) said: I am informed that, in the circumstances stated, the farmer could obtain a refund within nine months.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT — EXAMINATION OF BAGGAGE AT ENGLISH PORTS.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that, since the beginning of the year, the handbags and small baggage of ladies and gentlemen arriving from France have been examined, in search of explosives, at English ports; whether, at Folkestone alone, about 35,000 small pieces of baggage have been thus examined, without the discovery of any objectionable article whatever; whether this new examination does not cause great delay to the passengers and detention, and produces irregularity of the trains of important International services; and, whether he will order the discontinuance of this useless examination, at all events during the summer months?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am afraid that, under existing circumstances, I cannot undertake to relax the order.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked if in any single case any person had been detected endeavouring to smuggle explosives into the country?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot give the figures. But even if there was not one case, that would not prove that we should not take precautions.

INDIA—MILITARY PREPARATIONS— EXPENDITURE.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will state the amount of expenditure incurred by the Government of India in

its military preparations, and how it is proposed that that expenditure shall be met?

MR. J. K. CROSS: On the 3rd of May the Viceroy telegraphed that the extra military expenditure during the next three or four months—from April to July—was estimated at 306 lakhs of rupees. This is in addition to certain demands for ordnance, the cost of which is estimated at £385,000. The Government of India are considering how far the extra charges can be met by reduction of expenditure before a final determination is arrived at as to the manner of meeting the deficiency.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION—SIR PETER LUMSDEN.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the communication in Earl Granville's Depatch to Sir Peter Lumsden, of 3rd March 1885, in these words—

"Her Majesty's Goverment attach great importance to your remaining in Afghanistan, where your presence may be the means of stopping further advances of the Russian troops, and preventing the outbreak of hostilities;"

again, in telegraphic Despatch from Earl Granville to Sir Peter Lumsden, of 13th March—

"We are anxious to give you full support in very difficult circumstances,"

Whether these communications were sent to Sir Peter Lumsden in consequence of a wish or suggestion on his part that, after what had taken place, he desired to be relieved of the duties imposed upon him?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have referred to the telegrams alluded to in the Question, and they raise a question which cannot be answered, except by the production of the telegrams in full; and on account of the references they contain to the transaction on the frontier, they could not be produced without disadvantage.

MR. ONSLOW asked whether they would appear in any future Blue Book on the Afghan Question?

MR. GLADSTONE: They contain free comments on things that were going on at the time, and there would be no public advantage in producing them.

MR. ONSLOW: I shall take the earliest opportunity of moving for the production of the Papers.

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. R. POWER) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, having regard to the fact of the distinctions which it appears have been conferred upon General Komaroff, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to confer any marks of honour or distinction upon Sir Peter Lumsden?

MR. GLADSTONE: This is one of those Questions with a preamble which entails the necessity of explanation, and it is put in view of distinctions which appear to have been conferred upon General Komaroff. In my opinion, those distinctions are not in *pari materiâ* with any distinctions that may be conferred on Sir Peter Lumsden. General Komaroff, it appears, has received a conspicuous mark of honour from his Sovereign in consequence of what his Sovereign deems to have been distinguished military service which he performed on a certain occasion. But Sir Peter Lumsden is a Civil servant of the Crown. He has been engaged under circumstances of difficulty, and certainly, in a physical sense, under circumstances far from agreeable, in a long course of watchful proceedings on the Afghan Frontier; and therefore, in giving an answer to the hon. Member, I do not give it in view of the case of General Komaroff. When a series of transactions of this kind reaches its close, then is the time when it is the custom of Her Majesty, in the exercise of Her prerogative of grace and favour, to consider, on the advice of her Ministers, what marks of honour should be given in each particular case to those who have performed these burdensome and important services; and I do not hesitate to declare that it must be reserved for the Executive Government to advise Her Majesty on this occasion, and that their discretion cannot be altered by any Question which may be put in this House.

THE SUEZ CANAL—INTERNATIONALIZATION — PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can now give the House any information as to the proceedings of the Conference in Paris upon the subject of the Suez Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; these negotiations have been making progress; but I do not think it would be

possible to convey a clear or satisfactory idea of them by a partial statement. As hon. Members are already aware, they will be put in possession of the whole information before anything is done to commit Parliament.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he would ask the Question again on Monday, the 8th of June.

NAVY—NAVAL PAYMASTERS AND SURGEONS.

MR. BORLASE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If it is a fact that the Assistant Paymaster in H.M.S. *Devastation*, who has nearly sixteen years seniority in that rank, is thirty-seven years of age, and has been twenty years in Her Majesty's Service, is still junior in relative rank to the surgeon of that ship, who has been only fifteen months in the Service, and is about twenty-three years of age; and, if so, if it is the intention of the Admiralty to allow so great an anomaly to continue?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The figures given by the hon. Member for East Cornwall are approximately correct. The age of the surgeons of the *Devastation* is some three years more than stated in the Question. No material change is contemplated with reference to the relative rank of Paymasters and Surgeons. It is anticipated that the promotion of Assistant Paymasters will become more rapid in the future; but Medical Officers, who can only enter the Service on the completion of a long, expensive course of professional training, will always be in a position to claim superior relative rank.

OATHS BILL.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the public interest attaching to the Oaths Bill, he will endeavour to afford facilities, soon after the holidays, for the Second Reading?

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. and learned Gentleman will probably have anticipated my answer. In the present state of Public Business it is impossible for me to make any promise with regard to a much contested measure. Even if the Government were able at the present moment to assign a day for the purpose of taking the second reading of the Oaths Bill, they had not the slightest title to assume that the debate would not be adjourned. The opinion of the Government on the measure remains the same; and if a reasonable opportunity should exist for pushing it forward, I shall be most anxious to do so.

MR. P. A. MUNTZ: If this measure does come under discussion, will the Government support it or not?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

BURIAL GROUNDS BILL.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the general understanding that no contentious Business should be taken on the first two days after the holidays, and that the Burial Grounds Bill has been put down for Thursday 4th June, he will fix some other day for its Second Reading?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, he did not admit there was any understanding that no contentious Business should be taken on the two first days after the Holidays. There was a general understanding that Business of the first class should not be taken upon those days. He was not prepared to say that any absolute pledge could be given that this Bill would not be brought forward, if there was a fair and reasonable opportunity for doing so.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE ARBITRATION.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the new frontier agreed upon between Baron de Staal and Earl Granville follows the southern limits of the zone asked by Russia on 7th April; and, whether it assigns Zulfikar and Penjdeh to Russia, and brings the Russian frontier close to Maimena and Audkoi?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is not in my power to enter into any discussion or a description of the frontier negotiations with Russia, and surely the hon. Gentleman must see that inconvenience arises from the mere putting of these Questions. Suggestions are conveyed to the public mind—suggestions often inaccurate; but, at the same time, we cannot enter into details, and say that such and such parts are inaccurate without entering into the whole matter. This conveys a false impression, and that, I am sure, is far from the intention of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: With regard to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, I should like to ask him whether, if the despatch of the Russian Government of the 13th of October had been made known to this House and the country, it is not likely, in his opinion——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member has asked a Question, and I understood the Prime Minister to say that he did not think it consistent with his public duty to give an answer. The hon. Gentleman is now arguing the question why an answer should be given.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, Sir. I do not think you quite understand my object in putting it. The right hon. Gentloman stated that this Question was likely to have a deleterious effect. I wished to ask him whether it was not the fact that if the Russian despatch—*e.g.*, of October 13—which stated that a certain frontier was demanded by Russia, had been made public at the time, the unfortunate events of March 13 and the Russian occupation of Penjdeh would never have occurred?

MR. SPEAKER: That is a matter of argument, which does not arise out of the answer.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the terms of reference as to the proposed arbitration on the Penjdeh incident have been yet settled; and, whether, in view of the fact that, as appears from the Blue Book just issued, P. 166, No. 224, General Komaroff telegraphed to St. Petersburg, on the 13th of March, that it was "absolutely necessary that he should seize Penjdeh," and, on the 30th of that month, attacked the Afghans in that district, notwithstanding the agreement arrived at between Russia and England with the object of preventing such attack, Her Majesty's Government still proposes that the question to be submitted for the decision of the arbitrator should be the interpretation by the Russian Government of the agreement above referred to, and not the conduct of General Komaroff, who has now been presented with a sword of honour by the Czar as a reward for his conduct?

MR. GLADSTONE: The terms of reference have not yet been definitely settled for the arbitrator. But if the hon. Gentleman refers to No. 228, I think it is, in the Blue Book, he will see that it shows that M. de Giers has denied the truth of the statement that General Komaroff had telegraphed for leave to attack Penjdeh, a statement which had only been reported by Sir Edward Thornton as a rumour that had reached him, and not as a matter of positive information. The information on the subject was before Her Majesty's Government before the question of reference to the Head of a Friendly State was mooted; and it cannot, therefore, affect the question of the terms of the reference. With regard, Sir, to the interpretation by the Russian Government of the agreement, and not the conduct of General Komaroff, the interpretation by the Russian Government and by the British Government of that agreement does not mean a discussion of its verbal meaning—a mere grammatical debate—but it means an interpretation of it as implied in the conduct for which the respective Governments are responsible.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: The right hon. Gentleman said that the agreement had been referred to an arbitrator. May I ask who that arbitrator is?

MR. GLADSTONE: That matter is not absolutely settled as yet.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION)—OCCUPATION OF SUAKIN.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether an arrangement has yet been made with the Government of a civilized power to occupy Suakin on the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops?

MR. GLADSTONE: There have been communications with the Ottoman Government upon this subject, which have been already presented to Parliament. Further communications will be found in the Papers now about to be laid on the Table—that is to say, communications with the Ottoman Government. There have been no communications on the subject of Suakin with any other Power.

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) ACT.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS, referring to the Registration Act which had just received the Royal Assent, asked, Whether the Attorney General could

state what steps Clerks of the Peace and Town Clerks ought to take in the newly-created and merged boroughs, having regard to the fact that the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill would probably not become law till the 20th of June?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The right hon. Gentleman has given me private Notice of this Question, and I am obliged to him for taking an interest in the subject, for I am sure these local officers are entitled to every assistance we can afford them. It appears to me clear that Clerks of the Peace and Town Clerks must issue their precepts entirely in relation to the present state of the law, and regardless of the provisions of the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill. It is impossible for them to anticipate the coming into operation of that Bill at a future date. But clauses will have to be inserted in it to provide for the various modifications which will be necessary, after that Bill passes, to meet the case of new boroughs, enlarged boundaries of old boroughs, merged boroughs, and divisions of counties. But with the assimilation of the franchise there will not be much difference in the lists; and if the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill passes, as it may be hoped it will, by the third week in June, I trust the great inconvenience that no doubt has been created will be overcome. I wish to add that, departing from the usual custom as to the date of printing and distributing Acts of Parliament, the Home Office is now distributing to all Clerks of the Peace and Town Clerks copies of the Registration Act, so that they may have no difficulty in obtaining information as to their duties.

MR. SEXTON: Will similar steps be taken in regard to Ireland?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Yes; copies have been already sent round.

MR. GIBSON: In reference to this question, as it is an important one, may I ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he will take steps to communicate this fact to the officers in Ireland answerable for the posting of these notices, stating whether the existing provisions are workable? I may say that I was told that the new Bill will require some extra provisions, because, as it stands, the Registration Bill is imperfect.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I do not understand the Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Is it his contention that the Registration Bill is an imperfect Bill? [MR. GIBSON: Yes.] Well, really that is a question which I cannot go into.

MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I wish to ask the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been directed to a statement in *The Medical Press* of the 20th instant, stating that the Government intend to introduce the Medical Act Amendment Bill of last Session; and, whether, if that is the case, any clause or clauses, as Amendments, can be placed upon the Paper?

MR. MUNDELLA: I have not seen *The Medical Press;* and I have not had any intimation that it is the intention of the Government to introduce the Medical Act Amendment Bill this Session.

AFFAIRS OF BURMAH — ALLEGED TREATY WITH GERMANY AND FRANCE.

MR. SLAGG asked, Whether the Government could give any information as to the Treaty alleged to have been concluded between Burmah and the countries of Germany and France, under which those countries were placed in a more favourable position than this country?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I am afraid I cannot answer this Question; for it does not necessarily come within the purview of the India Office. By the courtesy of the Foreign Office, however, a copy of the Treaty between Burmah and France was forwarded to the India Office; and, as far as my recollection serves me, the terms were said to be identical with those of the Treaty existing between England and Burmah.

EGYPT (THE MILITARY EXPEDITION) —THE GUARDS AT ALEXANDRIA.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I should like to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can give the House any reasons for the change of orders that have been given to the Guards?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not think it is desirable to give any details of the reasons which have induced the Government to direct the ships containing the Guards to be detained for a short time at Alexandria. The House is perfectly well aware of the reasons which existed some little time ago for the decision of the Government to concentrate, as far as possible, for service in any part of the world, the troops then serving in the Soudan; and the reasons which made it necessary for the Government to ask Parliament for a Vote of considerable amount for special preparations. Those preparations have not been suspended; and I do not think it would be desirable to state how soon, in the opinion of the Government, those preparations should be suspended. At the same time, it was thought desirable that the Brigade of Guards should remain in positions in the Mediterranean; but it is not possible for me to state precisely at this moment how long and what are the exact reasons why it may be desirable to retain them.

PUBLIC HEALTH—REPORTED OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he had observed statements in the Continental Press that there had been a severe outbreak of cholera in the city of Durham; and whether he had any knowledge of such outbreak?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The first knowledge that I had of any rumour of an outbreak of cholera in this country was from the calling, at the Local Government Board yesterday, of some of the Consular Agents of Foreign Powers to make inquiries on the subject. But there is no foundation whatever, so far as I know, for any rumour of the kind. As Durham has been publicly mentioned in the newspapers from abroad, I have made inquiry, and find that there is no foundation whatever for that statement.

PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS—PUBLIC BILLS—NOTICES OF OBJECTION.

MR. WARTON desired to ask a Question with regard to the duration of Notices of objections to Bills which, according to an Order of the House, expired the week after that in which they were given?

MR. SPEAKER said, the Question could be put when the point arose. There was no Question now before the House.

MR. WARTON said, he desired to put the Question on account of the Holidays.

MR. GIBSON said, he would ask whether the matter was not settled by the late Speaker ruling that a Notice of objection given after the Motion for Adjournment had been agreed to was kept alive for the usual period after the Holidays?

MR. SPEAKER said, the Notice would operate for the usual period after the meeting of the House.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—THE EGYPTIAN COUPON—THE FIVE PER CENT DEDUCTION.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT asked, Whether any official confirmation had been received of the intelligence published in the morning papers to the effect that the Representatives of the Powers had protested against the taxing of Egyptian coupons?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; that information has been received.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL AND MR. GLADSTONE—STATEMENT OF MARCH 13.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It will be in the recollection of the House that the Prime Minister, in the debate of Monday night, said, in reference to a statement which I made about the announcement to the House of the 13th of March, that he would wish to have time to examine into that matter; that he would reserve the point, and that he would take a further opportunity of explaining it to the House. May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is now in a position to make that statement in regard to a matter of great moment and seriousness?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am sorry the noble Lord puts in these things—"a matter of great moment and seriousness." I should have looked into the matter had I been able; but I have

been totally unable to do it, my time having been incessantly occupied.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask the Prime Minister whether he does not agree that a point which is so important that he is unable to give an answer to it at the time is a matter "of great moment and seriousness?"

[No reply.]

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—EUROPEAN PRISONERS WITH THE MAHDI.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government had any information relative to the present position of Lupton Bey, Governor of the Egyptian Province of Bahr-el-Gazelle, who is supposed by some to be still holding out, and by others to be a prisoner in the hands of the Mahdi; and, whether Her Majesty's Government were disposed to offer a ransom for this English subject, or to take any steps to discover his whereabouts before our troops were withdrawn from Egypt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In a despatch, dated November 15 (Egypt, No. 1 of 1885, p. 96), Sir Evelyn Baring encloses a letter from General Gordon to Lord Wolseley, stating that the Mahdi asserted that Lupton Bey had surrendered. We have no further information. A telegram will be sent to General Buller to ask whether anything authentic is known as to Lupton Bey's fate. I am not aware whether any special instructions have been given on the subject of ransom; but, as I stated some time ago, very large discretion is left in the hands of Lord Wolseley to take whatever means he thinks best for the ransom of any persons such as Lupton Bey.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the Government would telegraph to General Buller, at Dongola, authorizing him to send a Native messenger at once to the Mahdi to offer a ransom for Lupton Bey and M. Cuzzi, formerly General Gordon's Agent at Berber?

MR. O'KELLY asked whether Lord Wolseley had made an attempt to communicate with the Mahdi about the prisoners; whether he had sent letters or messengers offering a ransom?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am not aware that any information on the subject has been received from Lord Wolseley.

MR. O'KELLY asked whether the noble Lord would inquire whether Lord Wolseley had taken any steps in the matter; and, if not, why not?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Lord Wolseley communicates with the War Office, and not with the Foreign Office. There can be no doubt that he has taken some steps; but there will be no objection to making inquiry.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. GLADSTONE said, it might be convenient for the House to know that it was proposed to take on Friday, first, the second reading of the Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill; next, the second reading of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which had come down from the House of Lords; and, thirdly, the Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

EAST INDIA LOAN (£10,000,000) BILL.

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Kynaston Cross.*)

[BILL 109.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. J. K. CROSS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: This Bill is brought in principally in consequence of the recommendations of the Select Committee on East India Railway Communication, which sat last year, and reported in July last. That Committee reviewed the railway policy of the Indian Government, and decided that the proposals of that Government were moderate, and that—

"Looking to the experience of past years and to present prospects, there is a very fair ground for expecting that an extension of the railway system of India on the scale proposed will have the most beneficial effects."

The Secretary of State for India in Council, on whom the Report of the Committee placed the responsibility of deciding what amounts should be borrowed, for the purpose of carrying out the works proposed by the Government of India, and sanctioned by him, considers that he cannot adequately fulfil the duties which devolve upon him, un-

less he has power to borrow in the London market, if necessary, the sum of £10,000,000 within the next three years, charging the interest of this sum upon the Revenues of India. Of course, hon. Members will ask why the Secretary of State requires so large a permission. I will try to tell the reason; because we want the sanction of the House before we commit ourselves to a final and irrevocable decision as to the amount which we shall have the power to spend. The rule which has been followed of late years is that laid down by the Secretary of State in 1878 and supported by the Select Committee of 1879—namely, that we should restrict our expenditure from borrowed money to £2,500,000, or, rather, two and a-half crores of rupees a-year; but that, in addition to this expenditure, we may spend our surplus balances, and may also borrow what is wanted to extend the operations of the East Indian Railway, now owned by the State, and a source of considerable profit. The borrowings for Public Works and the East Indian Railway were, as a matter of fact, £11,130,000 in the four years from 1880 to 1883, or about £2,800,000 per annum; and we now propose to borrow directly, should we think fit, £3,500,000 per annum, giving an increase of £700,000 per annum. But there is one essential difference between the method in which we ask permission of the House to borrow now and the method which we have pursued in the last few years. We now ask for permission to borrow in sterling in England, when we consider it desirable, in place of borrowing in rupees in India, and as this is a distinct change in policy I must shortly explain to the House our reasons for advising this course. The reason is that we cannot borrow at moderate interest in India the sum which we consider it safe to spend. The current rate of interest in India on good mortgage security is 8 per cent per annum; and it is not reasonable to suppose that an ordinary Indian investor will be content with the 4 per cent he might get if he invested in an Indian Government railway, when he can get 8 per cent on a good mortgage. Mr. Westland, in his evidence before the Select Committee, made a careful estimate of what amount could be borrowed in India from Indian sources at moderate interest; and he did not think that the amount could be estimated at more than one and a-quarter crores of rupees a-year. Undoubtedly, if we were to issue Rupee Loans in India, for more than that one and a-quarter crores, they might be taken up in India, as they have been before; but in this case, subscriptions would come from people outside India—that is, people outside India would subscribe to these loans, and then the interest would have to be sent from India—the bills for this interest coming into the exchange market, just as will be the case if we ourselves borrow in sterling, providing the money for the discharge of the interest by drawing bills upon India. If we borrow in India we borrow rupees, and we pay interest in rupees, and we know for all time the number of rupees we shall have to provide annually to discharge the interest on any given amount of debt. As we receive our revenue in India in rupees, this system of borrowing is perfectly simple and involves no exchange complications. But there is one drawback to it; we have to pay a much higher rate of interest than we have to pay upon loans contracted in England. A 4 per cent loan contracted in Calcutta will now float at, perhaps, 94; a 3 per cent loan contracted in England may be expected to realize 88 to 90. The interest on the Calcutta loan would be 4·3 per cent; the interest on the London loan would be 3·37 per cent. The difference of interest, therefore, on each £1,000,000 sterling that we borrow on these terms is about £9,300 per annum. Let me illustrate this more fully. £1,000,000 borrowed in India, or rather the equivalent of £1,000,000—namely, Rs.1,25,00,000—will cost £43,000 a-year, or Rs.53,75,000. £1,000,000 sterling borrowed in England will cost India £33,700, or at present Rs.42,15,000. The difference between these sums, Rs.11,60,000 in all, or £9,300 on every £1,000,000, is a heavy charge upon India, and if it were used as a sinking fund accumulating at 3½ per cent it would repay the *corpus* of the loan in 45 years. If, therefore, there were no drawbacks to borrowing in sterling here as compared with borrowing in rupees in India, we should have no hesitation in always borrowing here. But I am bound to allow that there are drawbacks to this course. If we borrow in sterling here, we must provide the interest here;

Mr. J. K. Cross

and we are not certain what number of rupees we shall have to provide in India to cover any given amount of sterling interest here. Borrowing here, therefore, in sterling for use in India involves the consideration of a speculative element—namely, the value of the rupee as compared with the pound sterling. This factor must always be present in the minds of those who are answerable for the control of Indian finance; and it is only when the difference in the rate of interest between the two methods of borrowing is very great that we must resort to borrowing here, and we think that the present difference justifies us in pursuing this plan. I may say that one of the recommendations of the Select Committee on East India Railway Communication was as follows:—

"Your Committee think also that for political as well as for financial reasons it is desirable that loans should, as far as possible, be raised in India; but they do not believe that rupee loans which are not really absorbed in India differ materially in their effect upon exchange from sterling loans, as if held in Europe the interest upon them will probably be remitted from India and will come into the exchange market. They would, therefore, recommend, quoting the words of the Report of the Select Committee of 1879, that when 'the difference between the rates of interest in India and in England is so considerable as to afford full compensation for the great comparative disadvantages which inevitably attend borrowing in this country,' the Secretary of State in Council should not hesitate to borrow such moderate sums in this country as will enable the Government of India to complete such public works as shall have obtained his sanction."

I may be asked, why we should resort to borrowing at all; why should we not leave to private enterprize the construction of lines of railway in India, in the same way that they are constructed in other countries? And the only answer I can give is, that the investing public have not yet made up their minds to trust their money in private railway enterprizes in India, and that the Government of India and the Select Committee which sat on this question last year consider it imperative, for the purpose of mitigating possible famine in certain districts and for the development of the country, that railway construction should proceed at a somewhat more rapid rate than of late years has been the custom. At the present time there are in India 10,832 miles of railway open, the nominal invested capital of which stands at £144,500,000. The gross earnings of these lines amount to £16,097,200 a-year, and the expenses to £8,026,000, or about 50 per cent; the net earnings being £8,071,000; the dividend on the broad gauge lines being 5·69 per cent, and on the narrow gauge lines 4·99 per cent. But I ought to call the attention of the House to the fact that a very large amount of money included in the £144,000,000 is not yet productive. The real amount of interest-earning money which is invested in Indian railways is £133,000,000 or £134,000,000. To show the large amount of business which the railways transact, I may point out that the number of passengers carried in 1883-4 was 65,000,000, and the amount of merchandize was 27,900,000 tons. The people employed upon railways number 185,261, of whom only 3,995 are Europeans, 3,979 East Indians, and the remainder are Natives. These figures show that a large number of Natives (177,287) find employment on the Indian railways. As the Productive Works form a large amount of the assets of the Indian Government, perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words with regard to them. The expenditure from borrowed money on Productive Works amounts to £60,034,000, and from Revenue, £12,957,000. Then follows £32,354,000 on the East Indian Railway, and £69,019,000 as guaranteed railway capital outlay. These sums make altogether an investment in Productive Public Works of £174,383,000. Besides this we have loans to municipalities, Native States, &c., amounting to £7,581,000, and the cash balances on the 31st of March last amounted to £14,133,000. Our assets, therefore, were altogether £196,097,000. Then we have liabilities amounting to £249,860,000, leaving the uncovered liabilities at £53,763,000. The net annual charge on India for interest on debt and expenses connected with railways and irrigation works has diminished of late years. In 1872-3, including exchange, the cost was £7,915,000, and in 1883-4 it was £4,358,000, giving an advantage to the year 1872-3 of more than £3,500,000, notwithstanding that the amount of loss on exchange had run up to a very much larger item than it was before. I may point out that the figures representing the earnings of the railroads—namely, 5·69 on the broad

gauge, and 4·99 on the narrow gauge, are exclusive of loss by exchange on remittance of dividends to England, which loss is an uncertain amount, and which reduces the amount of net earnings on that portion of the capital which was provided in this country, when the current rate of exchange was higher than the present rate. The House should recollect that these earnings and this financial result are achieved, notwithstanding that most of the heavy lines have been made at an enormous cost; whereas in the case of any railways now being, or proposed to be, constructed in the future, with the exception of the strategic line to Quetta, the Government hope to be able to construct them for about half the cost of the Great Indian Peninsula, the Bombay and Baroda, and the East Indian Lines, and they have no reason to doubt that the dividends will be satisfactory. After the Select Committee had made its Report, we received from the Government of India a scheme of Frontier communications for strengthening the Indus Valley line of defence, which will cost in all at least £5,000,000. On Thursday, March 12th, I laid upon the Table the Papers explaining this proposal, and they have been seen by hon. Members. The scheme of these proposals is to make the Indus Valley line of defence impregnable, and also to perfect our communication with Quetta and Pishin. First, let me say a word about the Indus Valley line of defence. Railway communication on the broad gauge system will be established between Peshawur and Kurrachee, when the bridge over the Indus at Sukkur is finished. With the exception of this bridge, the work for which is very heavy, and which is now well in hand, this line of communication is now complete. But in order to be able to mass any number of troops which might be required at any given point along the defensible line of the Indus between Peshawur and Kurrachee, about 360 miles of railroad and about 200 miles of good road are required—the railroad to the East, the road to the West of the Indus. This railroad will strike off from the present Lahore and Peshawur line at Lala Musa, where there is now a narrow gauge railway to the salt mines. This short line will be changed to broad gauge, and continued to the neighbourhood of the Indus at Darya Khan, from which place the line will run down the Valley of the Indus to a point opposite to and parallel with Mooltan. The cost of this is estimated at £2,150,000. There will be steam ferries in conjunction with the railway; and this line will, together with the present Indus Valley Railroad, cover the length of the East bank of the Indus for some 600 miles. In order to strengthen the line of defence along the West bank of the Indus, it is proposed to make a good metalled road from Kushalgarh through Kohat and Banu to Dera Ismail Khan, which, as hon. Members know, commands the mouth of the Ghumal Pass. The length of this road is about 200 miles, and, including the Kuram and Gambela bridges, will cost about £300,000. But this is by no means all that is thought requisite. I have so far spoken of the line of the Indus; but we have also to consider our position at Quetta and on the Pishin plateau. We are now in peaceable possession of Quetta and the Pishin plateau, and since the punitive expedition to the Zhob Valley last year, there seems to be no danger of interruption to work by the wild tribes in that region. The Military Authorities in India are anxious to have ample means of communication between the defensive points on the Indus Valley and Pishin, and they propose, in addition to the railway to Quetta and Shibo, to make a military road from the Pishin plateau by Thal Chotiali, through the Han Pass and by Fort Munro to Dera Ghazee Khan on the Indus, opposite to Mooltan, and it is proposed to establish a steam ferry there, and also on the Chenab, in order to make this line of communication complete to Mooltan.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL inquired whether this road would run through British or Afghan territory?

MR. J. K. CROSS: It was formerly considered part of Afghanistan; but since the Treaty of Gandamak it has been regarded as British territory. This road will be 250 miles long, and will cost about £200,000. This is only an estimate of cost which may be exceeded. Besides this, there is the railway to Quetta and Shibo, about which I gather from the Amendment of my hon. Friend opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) we shall hear a good deal more in the course of this debate. The cost of this railway is very

uncertain; but it will, from the extreme nature of the difficulties met with in the route chosen, be much more than was at one time anticipated—namely, £2,000,000, and I do not think it can be made for less than £2,750,000. The only other item in this expenditure is the Ferozepore bridge, which will cost some £400,000. I will now say a very few words on the very considerable difficulties which stand in the way of the completion of the Quetta line, and for that purpose I will read a few extracts from the Report of General Browne. He says—

"The railway crosses a country where almost every obstacle to the construction of a line has to be overcome—extreme climate, unhealthiness of the country, and want of inhabitants, food, carriage, roads, timber, and every kind of building material, besides the natural difficulties of a mountain line rising 6,800 feet above the level of the sea. As regards natural difficulties they speak for themselves, from the general section of the line, but should be seen to be realized. Except the Quetta section, which is comparatively level, but shares all the indirect difficulties alluded to above, the railway is an Alpine line throughout, on which the earthwork, the bridging, the grading, the tunnelling, are of so exceptional a nature that comparisons of cost with an ordinary Indian ghat line are entirely deceptive. At Chuppur, Gurkhaie, and Spintangi, there are many miles of cutting in hard quartz and limestone rock. For 40 miles the geological formation consists of shale, requiring blasting when dry, but which has to be cut back to an easy slope, as it melts like sugar under rain. For 40 miles more the line crosses a species of boiled mud pudding, filled with enormous boulders. This formation cannot be tunnelled, in the total absence of timber for shoring. This entails cuttings of enormous depth, which, in many cases, may need to be secured by fully lined masonry tunnels and to be covered in again to prevent landslips. At the mud gorge an embankment 500 feet long and 105 feet high runs into a cutting 1,500 feet long and 75 feet deep, entailing an expenditure on earthwork of over three lakhs of rupees. Should it, as is quite possible, be necessary to secure the cutting by a covered tunnel, the cost of 2,000 running feet of line will be fully seven lakhs. Such and similar cases fully account for high mileage rates. The Nari river draining 10,000 square miles, is crossed six times, aggregating 30 spans of 150 feet. The Chuppur rift bridge will be about 300 feet above the river bed, and is only one of many similar, though not such formidable, bridges from 80 feet to 100 feet high. It need scarcely be said that in a country of ravines the mileage rate for minor bridges, drains, and culverts must be exceedingly high."

Then he goes on to speak of the cost of the line, with which I need not trouble the House. I have only referred to this for the purpose of pointing out that this railway is an exceedingly difficult work, and, that being so, the Government have come to the conclusion that, in order to expedite the formation of communications between the Indus and Shibo and Quetta, it will be better to try to have a line laid down through the Bolan Pass, which has already been so levelled as to make it suitable for a good military road. It is possible to lay down a line there with gradients of about one in 20 without loss of time; so that, by the end of the year, we hope to have complete railway communication with Quetta.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether this railway was to be in substitution for or in addition to the other line?

MR. J. K. CROSS: It is to be in addition, as the other line will be carried on at the same time. I will now recapitulate to the House the heads of the proposals that we make. First, the railway West of the Indus from Nari to Shibo and Quetta, 175 miles in length, at a supposed cost of £2,000,000, or very probably £2,750,000; the second is the railway East of the Indus from Lala Musa, *vid* Darya Khan and Muzaffargarh to Sher Shah, with a branch from Muzaffargarh to a point upoh the Indus opposite Dera Ghazi Khan, and including a bridge at Pind-Dadan Khan, and ferries over the Indus and the Chenab, 361 miles in all, at an estimated cost of £2,150,000. The third is the bridge at Ferozepore, five miles in length, at a cost of £400,000. Fourthly, a road West of the Indus from Dera Ghazi Khan to the Pishin plateau, 250 miles in length, estimated to cost £200,000, but which will probably cost more than this sum. And fifthly, the other road West of the Indus, from Dera Ismail Khan to Khushalgarh *vid* Kohat and Banu, including the Gambela and Kuram bridges, 195 miles in length, at a cost of £300,000. The nominal cost of the entire works is £5,050,000, or about five crores of rupees, a part of which will have to be paid from the Revenues of India and a part by the loan which I now ask the House to grant the Secretary of State the power to issue.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if the cost of the railway through the Bolan Pass was included in the Estimate?

MR. J. K. CROSS: That is now being carried out and paid for out of Revenue, the cost, so far as it has gone at present, amounting to five lakhs of rupees. I have tried to explain as shortly as possible the proposals concerned in this Loan Bill. No doubt, the proposals I have made will be subjected to a searching criticism. I shall listen with the greatest interest and attention to what hon. Members may have to say, and hope to have an opportunity of replying to such criticisms as may be urged. I beg leave to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. K. Cross.*)

MR. E. STANHOPE, who had given Notice to move, as an Amendment—

"That this House, while desirous of affording every assistance to the Government of India in completing the Quetta Railway, deeply regrets the unfortunate loss of time and of money which has been caused by the precipitate abandonment of the works in 1881,"

said, in the exceedingly clear speech the House had just heard, the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. K. Cross) had stated that the main reason for asking for this Loan Bill was that the loan was required for Public Works in accordance with the Report of the Select Committee of last year. He also said that the loan was to be raised for carrying on the work during the next three or four years. He (Mr. E. Stanhope) was not going to offer any objection to the proposal. Circumstances might, no doubt, greatly change during the next three or four years; but he recognized the importance of continuity of policy; and therefore it seemed, on the whole, desirable that the Government should present to the House of Commons their policy for the construction of Public Works for some years to come. But that rendered it all the more necessary that they should ask the Government for full explanations; and he regretted that the present opportunity had not been taken advantage of by the Government as a favourable opening for bringing before the House the usual discussion on the financial and general affairs of India. He always deprecated putting off, until the very closing days of the Session, the discussion of the Indian Budget; but on this occasion it was all the more necessary to have taken an early opportunity for that discussion, because the proposals of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down really depended on the financial position of India. In accordance with the desire to maintain some continuity of policy, the Government had now presented an Estimate based on the requirements of three or four years, and asked for power to borrow £10,000,000. He was not going to oppose that proposal; but he desired to point out that since the Budget Statement was made in India, two important events had occurred. First of all, the Government of India had been called upon to undertake military operations of a very extensive character, which had cost, or would cost, about £3,500,000, according to an Estimate given about three months ago; but they had not been told how the expense which had been incurred was to be met. At the present moment, however, he was most concerned to impress on the Government the duty of carrying the work out thoroughly when they were about it. India could not afford these constant scares. It was said that there was to be, and he should have been glad to notice, a considerable reduction in the ordinary Indian Expenditure; but that seemed out of the question, for, so far as he could see, there was hardly an item that did not show some little increase, except, perhaps, the Army, and they knew what was likely to happen to that item. But, in the second place, there had been an urgent desire for the establishment of a large and permanent system of Frontier communication and defence, that was to cost £5,000,000, an expenditure he very much approved of. It was obvious, however, that for a long time to come the Government of India would have no money to spare on Frontier railways out of Revenue. Not only would they have to make all preparations necessary for war, but they would have to give security to such portions of their Frontier as might be rendered necessary. Under those circumstances, it was obvious that the Government of India would have to take recourse to the loan market. Well, hon. Members opposite would agree with the Government in affording every facility for the adoption of that course; for they attached the greatest possible importance to the extension of these Frontier

communications. It was a mistake, in his opinion, to dwell entirely on railways; many of the proposed roads were as important for strengthening the Frontier as any of these railways; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would give the House the additional information it desired in detail, by laying on the Table a copy of the map now in the Library of the House. There was one point as to these Frontier communications to which he desired to draw the particular attention of the House. It was the portion which used to be called the Quetta, but which was now known as the Sibi and Pishin Railway. Everyone admitted now that this line should be made as quickly as possible. He attached enormous importance to the extension to Candahar; but that would lead to some difference of opinion in the House, and, therefore, he would put it on one side for the present. What were the facts, however, as to the Quetta Railway? In 1880, when the Conservatives left Office, it was completed beyond Sibi, and, owing to the energy of Sir Richard Temple, to whom the country were under great obligation in the matter, the line was laid with unexampled rapidity. It was the policy of the Conservative Government to occupy a strong strategical position upon the Frontier connected with it by railway, and they desired to push on its construction as rapidly as possible. It had the support, amongst others, of Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Frederick Roberts, Sir Edward Hamley, and Sir Frederick Haines. Political opinion was no less in favor of it. On that point, he could not help reading to the House a short passage from a Minute recorded in 1880 by Sir Henry Rawlinson. He said—

"Of all possible political shortcomings connected with Afghanistan, the most fatal, as it seems to me, would be the abandonment of this most promising undertaking. The railway was the most efficient arm of defence hitherto devised against Russian aggression, far more efficient than the conquest of Cabul or the establishment in power of a friendly Ameer, for its effect when completed would have been to transfer our military base from the Indus to within 350 miles of the threatened point of attack—namely, Herat. If we now abandon the work as a sequel to the withdrawal of our troops from the upper country, it must be remembered that we virtually deprive ourselves of the power of protecting the Afghan frontier from Russian aggression, and that the promises accordingly of assistance against external attack which we recently volunteered to Abdurrahman at Cabul are rendered impossible of performance, for we could not and should not, whatever the emergency, march troops again from the Indus to the Oxus."

So matters remained until the present Government came into power. But in May, 1880, the present Government announced their intention of withdrawing the troops from all positions beyond the Frontier, and the railway, which was the essence of the whole scheme, was abandoned a few months later.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Does the hon. Gentleman say 1880 or 1881?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he spoke of 1880, as the date when the Government first decided on the withdrawal of the troops from all positions beyond the Frontier; and he would show the noble Marquess the passage. But this abandonment was not decided upon without protest by some of the leading Members of the Viceroy's Council. Sir Rivers Thompson declared as to this as follows:—

"But perhaps the most grievous and humiliating part of the orders in this connection is that which affects not only the stoppage of the railway works now under construction by the Nari Gorge, but the dismantling of the rails and the destruction of the earthworks already completed to a considerable distance towards Quetta. We certainly are not acting herein exactly without precedent; for we can all remember the case in which the Chinese Government recently, having got possession of a railway, proceeded at once to demolish it, and to break up its rolling stock. There is, however, this difference between the two cases, and it scarcely tells in our favour. The Chinese Government had never seen a railway before, and may have had just that kind of excuse for its folly which ignorance and superstition would excite. We, on our side, cannot plead such excuses, and, least of all, in places where we come in contact with barbarism. This wilful and deliberate surrender of advantages, gained after a vast expenditure of time, and thought, and money, and which would subserve peaceful administration much more than they would supply the military requirements of our position at Quetta, may be intelligible by a stretch of the imagination to some people who fancy that there is a high moral motive concealed in our proceedings; but, as far as they affect India, they are absolutely beyond the comprehension of any Native in the country."

The facts concerning the state of the railway at the time of its abandonment were as follows:—According to the official Report of 1880-1, the line to Quetta had been surveyed throughout, and partially staked out. At the time of the battle of Maiwand, engines were running from Sibi to Nari Gorge, and from

Nari Gorge onward 12½ miles of bank had been made, and platelaying had been commenced. Buildings were more or less completed at 11 stations, at all of which defensible store yards had been constructed. A service road had been constructed from Sibi nearly to Kach, and on to Quetta and Gulistan-i-Kharez. As regarded the rails, a quantity of permanent way material had been carried forward, some six miles of line were laid North of Nari, and in the hill country beyond several miles of rail had also been laid. The amount expended on the construction of the line beyond Sibi appeared, according to the Budget Statement of 1882, to have been £560,000. So much for the progress made. But it appeared from the official Report also that the original intentions of Lord Lytton's Government was to have completed the whole line to Candahar by 1882. Owing, however, to the difficulty of constructing the line having proved greater than had been foreseen, this could not have been accomplished. But had it been proceeded with with the same energy as was displayed in 1880, it might easily have been completed by the present time; while as regarded the line now under discussion—that to the head of the Pishin Valley, which the Government were now proposing to construct—that portion of the line, if it had been persevered in, would have been finished long ago. At the beginning of 1881, the officer in charge of the railway received orders to abandon the line beyond Sibi. He had heard from more than one eye-witness what had then taken place. One described the plant and stores as being practically left just as they were, and said that no attempt had ever been made to bring back rails and sleepers from the front. Some of the rails nearer Sibi were, however, brought back and utilized elsewhere. Everything else, including the accumulated stores, was abandoned to the plunder of the tribes. Another eye-witness stated that orders were sent for destroying the earthworks that had been constructed, which were accordingly shovelled down to the level of the ground. The result was that in this part of the country no trace whatever remained of a railway ever having been constructed. The present Government had placed the whole cost of the formation of this line to the charge of the Military Department, with the view, apparently, of swelling the offence of the late Government in having undertaken military operations. In 1883-4, however, orders were given by the present Government for the recommencement of the work which they had put a stop to. When the hon. Gentleman opposite (the Under Secretary of State for India) asked him what ought to be done in this matter, he should answer him in one single sentence—that the railway ought to be completed as soon as possible. When the hon. Gentleman suggested that it was desirable to lay an alternative railway line through the Bolan Pass, all he could say was the sooner it was laid the better. But what did this abandonment in 1881 involve? In the first place it involved the loss of some money, the amount of which it was difficult to estimate. But it involved also what was infinitely more serious—the loss of three precious years. God grant that we might never know how serious that loss was! It was, however, possible that we might even yet be made aware, by the commencement of hostilities with Russia on the Frontier, that our Forces might be paralyzed for the want of communication. If both sides of the House were so unanimous now about the construction of this railway, why was it that the Government thought fit to abandon it four years ago? Did the Government adopt that course from ignorance, from motives of economy, from military necessity, or because they regarded the idea of the advance of Russia as an old woman's fear? He did not think that either of those were the grounds that had induced them to abandon the construction of this railway. He believed in his conscience that the real reason for that abandonment was that this railway had been projected by Lord Beaconsfield. The Prime Minister, during the campaign in Mid Lothian, had pledged himself to reverse Lord Beaconsfield's policy in India, and he (Mr. E. Stanhope) believed that that was the only reason why it had been determined to abandon the construction of this railway. The step that the Government had taken in the matter was entirely without excuse, and it was a blunder almost without parallel. That step had been taken in defiance of Indian military and political opinion, and its folly had now

been clearly brought home to this country, and it was now about to be retraced, for he was sure the House to-night would be unanimous in giving the Government the necessary funds for proceeding with the reconstruction of the line. He had placed a Motion upon the Paper with reference to the subject; but he felt that it was no use crying over spilt milk; and, therefore, as they were unanimous on the subject, he did not propose to press that Motion to a division. On the whole, he regarded the absolute unanimity that now existed as being the best condemnation of the action of the Government in this matter, as being one of the most foolish and short-sighted steps which they had taken in the history of even the last four years.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India had, no doubt, made out a good case; but there still seemed to be a great deal more to tell. They could not hope that if it went on the extraordinary military expenditure of India would be less than £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 in the course of the present year, and they ought to have been told by the hon. Gentleman where the money was to come from. He (Sir George Campbell) understood that what they were asked to do was to give a general power to the Government of India to raise a loan of £10,000,000 for any purpose whatever; but, before that was done, he thought Her Majesty's Government were bound to state to the House for what purpose they intended this loan—whether it was to be devoted exclusively to railways, or whether they also contemplated that it should be used for the purposes of extraordinary military works and charges. He had always been rather a pessimist with regard to Indian finance. Indian indebtedness had been largely increasing, and there was no Sinking Fund as in England. Therefore, if the expenditure was to be met by taxation, he should like to know how this taxation was to be raised. He had always thought that if the day should come when our Indian Frontier should be coterminous with Russia, there would be great danger from a financial point of view, because great expenditure would have to be incurred. He deprecated a premature advance beyond our own Frontier. With regard to the advance of Russia in Central Asia, for 50 years we had cried out "Wolf" without reason; and at last the wolf had come upon us in the shape of great detriment, and almost ruin, to our finances. In whatever way our present strained relations with Russia might terminate, he was afraid they must leave behind doubts and difficulties, both with regard to the good faith of Russia and with regard to complications in Afghanistan, which would have a very detrimental and ruinous effect upon our finances. The advance of Russia had been so considerable—and it had been more rapid than he expected—that he feared the strain upon our finances must be very great indeed. He would not contemplate an unfavourable issue to the present strained relations with Russia; but he wished to point out that, under the most favourable circumstances, there were several great additions to our Indian charges for which there was no provision at all. It seemed to him clear that they were going to throw upon the finances of India, which in time of prosperity were only in a condition of equilibrium, very large charges of various kinds amounting to many millions; and he submitted that they were bound to make some provision by which, if part of these charges would be met by loans, at least part of them should be met from income. At the same time, while expending large sums on railways, many of which were merely fancy lines, the necessity of increasing the pay of our Native soldiers ought not to be forgotten. He was not very sanguine that they would be able to set things right by a reduction of expenditure. If they were to face this rapidly-increasing expenditure they must considerably raise their income, which he did not think was sufficient at present. No doubt, there were great physical difficulties in regard to the Quetta line; but, in his belief, the real cause of its abandonment was a pecuniary one. The reason why it was necessary to abandon that line from financial considerations was that the Government desired to obtain the goodwill of Lancashire by abolishing the Indian Customs Duties. He thought that was not a good or proper reason for the abandonment of the railway. He was afraid that in the matter of this Quetta Railway the interests of India had been sacrificed to those of Lanca-

shire. The people of Lancashire were doubtless Free Traders so long as it was to their advantage to be so. He hoped the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India would be able to tell the House that the finances of India would be managed on the same straightforward, honest principle upon which the finances of this country were managed, and that the Government, having this great expenditure before them, were prepared to raise additional Revenue, either by the re-imposition of those Customs Duties, or by some other means which would not affect the already heavily-taxed people of India. As a great portion of the money was to be devoted to railways, he hoped that the Government would not confine themselves to the unproductive lines, but would do all they could to acquire the profitable lines as well. Their policy hitherto had been to leave the paying lines exclusively in the hands of speculators. That course would, he trusted, now be abandoned, and the example of Belgium followed, where the State railways were cheap and effective; for he was strongly of opinion that a system of State railways managed in an economical manner, with cheap rates of transit, was very much better than the State getting rid of its liabilities by turning over the railways to speculators. It was a scandal that, in a cheap country like India, the fares on the railway should be dearer than in an expensive country like the United States.

MR. ONSLOW, who had a Notice on the Paper to the effect that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, that the present measure was for the exigencies of the Public Service in India generally, whereas the Committee last year was on the question of railways to be made for productive purposes. The Bill was to authorize India to borrow money for non-productive services—namely, the making of military railways. He congratulated the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) upon having been able to state that the Government intended to strengthen the Indian Frontier. For his own part, he would not grudge a sixpence for that purpose; and his impression was that the proper construction of Frontier railways and roads would cost a good deal more than the £5,000,000 which was stated to be the amount intended to be spent upon them. He should be glad to know whether the money to be borrowed under the Bill would be spent entirely upon public works, because he earnestly hoped that no portion of that sum would be thrown into the general Revenues of India, or would appear in the Indian Budget. India was incurring £3,500,000 of extra expense for military purposes; and that expenditure only extended over three months. If the war preparations for which that expenditure was incurred were to go on for another six months or longer, there would be a great financial, social, and political danger, which ought, if possible, to be obviated. Where was it to end, and how long was India to go on preparing for war? The finances of India could not be at the present time in a satisfactory position, and the expenditure could not go on increasing without bringing matters to a crisis. India was already very heavily burdened, and a prolonged strain in consequence of military preparations might very conceivably lead to a total breakdown. If we were to desert the Ameer and to throw him into the hands of Russia, we should be involved in very great expenditure for the protection of the Frontier. It was to be remembered that not only were railways and military roads to be made, but that it would be necessary also to erect extensive fortifications on the Frontier which would cost a large sum of money, and thus swell the demands upon the resources of India. The expenses would be enormous, and the revising of the Estimates for 1885-6 would be a serious question indeed. Still, it was high time that the Frontier of India should be protected, and he was ready to support the Government in any proposals having that object. It was difficult to determine how that enormous expenditure was to be met; but met it must be, and it must be recollected that the effect of what had recently happened would entail on the finances of India a large additional permanent charge. There was no use in blinking the serious position of Indian finance at the present time. Unless matters were amicably settled, it was doubtful whether the amount of this loan could be obtained in the London market. It was already a significant sign that Trustees did not like to invest in Indian Securi-

Sir George Campbell

ties. The Bill was a simple one, but it involved an enormous principle. As the matter stood, however, both sides of the House would admit it was high time our Frontier should be protected, and their unanimity would show the people of India that we were determined to do all we could to protect them.

MR. SLAGG said, that his hon. Friend (Sir George Campbell) appeared to consider that there was some connection between the abandonment of the Quetta Railway and the abolition of import duties on Lancashire goods. He (Mr. Slagg) entirely failed to see this connection, nor could he imagine how anyone who had grasped the first principles of Free Trade could offer the slightest opposition to the emancipation of the Indian ryot from the tax imposed upon him for the benefit of the Indian manufacturers. It was popularly supposed that, when Lancashire was successful in obtaining the abolition of the tax, something was put into the pockets of her manufacturers. Nothing of the sort took place; for the whole of the duty was actually given in a reduction in the price of clothing to the Natives. With regard to the Quetta Railway, the hon. Member who had given Notice of an Amendment (Mr. E. Stanhope) made, he thought, a very good case, when he showed that many of those things which Her Majesty's Government were now doing were matters which they strongly condemned the previous Administration for undertaking; and were he (Mr. Slagg) to say one single word in defence or approval of the Quetta Railway project, he thought a most ample apology would be due from him because in 1880, he did his best to turn the late Government out of Office for having, amongst other things, undertaken that line. He saw a good deal more in this matter than simply the construction of a line as far as Quetta. It meant that Her Majesty's Government had fallen into the hands of the same clique of military advisers who prompted hon. Members opposite before 1880 to construct a line into Afghanistan. The line meant the obtaining of a point of advantage which would enable the Indian Government, at any time it chose, to continue the line to Candahar; to march troops, and plant them in Candahar; and, if necessary, to pursue military operations on a large scale in the regions of Afghanistan, and so repeat the miseries and horrors for which they so strongly condemned the late Government in 1880. It was said that military authorities were almost unanimous in favour of this project, and several names were quoted which were, no doubt, of great influence. But there were other military authorities of equal eminence on Indian questions who had denounced, in the strongest possible manner, any interference in the affairs of Afghanistan or its Frontier arrangements, and who were absolutely in favour of the defence of India on her own proper Frontier, within her own territories. Among such authorities he might name Lord Lawrence and Lord Dalhousie as civilians, and Sir James Outram, Lord Napier, Sir Neville Chamberlain, and Sir Henry Norman as soldiers. Although he should express himself with extreme diffidence on military questions, yet, looking to past history and the result of our interference in the affairs of Afghanistan, he was driven to the conclusion that we should act most wisely if we held our own territory, made that as strong as we possibly could, and avoided complications in the territories of Khans and other Potentates. In regard to the other portion of the Bill, the House could have really little criticism to make. His hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) had stated that the works to be undertaken would probably prove of a remunerative character, and on the Government would rest the responsibility of only undertaking works of that nature. He shared the apprehension expressed by almost every speaker as to where the money was to come from to provide the necessary funds. In surveying the financial condition of India, he stood appalled at the idea of putting further burdens on the shoulders of that much-taxed people; and although the House would be told they were a lightly-taxed people in relation to the actual sum paid per head, yet they could not conceal from their minds that they were miserably poor. It was therefore difficult to consider what might be a light taxation with reference to persons whose incomes were less than 40*s.* a-year. Perhaps the House would be told how the money was to be raised; but he was perfectly assured of this—and Sir Evelyn Baring, no mean authority, confirmed the statement—that no more money could be

raised by fresh taxation. As regarded the Famine Lines—erroneously called Famine Prevention Lines—it had been clearly demonstrated that no lines had ever prevented famines. Certainly, when famines had occurred, the railway communications had greatly relieved the distress by bringing food supplies more rapidly to the places of scarcity; but the cure of famines lay far deeper than any point raised by these lines. Famine was undoubtedly produced in India, not only by the desperate poverty of the people, but by a system of government which he would not say was bad, but which had certainly not in all respects been successful; and when they talked of famine and famine prevention, surely their attention ought to be turned to those financial means of relief and those possible methods of ameliorating the condition of the people which could only be affected by wise and economical government. One view which he strongly entertained with regard to this vast expenditure on the Frontier was that, when another Government came into Office, they were certain to be presented with a totally different scheme, and the scheme which had been adopted at the instance of the previous Administration would be denounced as so utterly bad that it must be changed at once. Thus the balance oscillated between one extreme and the other, and the outcome of it all would be an immense victimization of the people of India and an increase of their burdens. He did not intend to oppose the Motion; because, as to the commercial portion of it, having been a Member of the Select Committee on whose Report that portion was based, he was bound to agree. But as to the undertaking at Quetta, which no doubt had been forced on the Government by its Military Advisers, he felt bound to enter his emphatic protest against it.

MR. BUCHANAN said, in reply to his hon. Friend who had just sat down, that by constructing the railway to Quetta, they were not pursuing the policy of advancing beyond their Frontier; but they were simply making secure their communications within their Frontier. His hon. Friend had also stated that railways did not prevent famine. That was literally true. But they obviated the worst results of famine, and largely diminished the mortality. He could not help noticing that the Bill had undergone several changes since it was introduced. In its original form, it was a Bill to supply means for carry out the recommendations of the Select Committee which sat last Session, and the funds were to be devoted principally to the construction of commercial railways, whether reproductive or not. But since the Bill was introduced, they had had laid before them some Correspondence with the Government of India; and from that Correspondence it appeared that a very large portion of the money which was to be raised under it was not to be spent upon the construction of the description of railways recommended by the Select Committee, but upon the construction of Frontier railways, which, he contended, were really military works, and in no sense commercial undertakings. He gathered from the speech of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India that the estimate made of the cost of the Frontier railways was very considerably below the mark. Several important statements had also been made with regard to an additional railway through the Bolan Pass, and the cost which it would entail upon the country; and also with reference to the enormous cost laid upon India in consequence of the military preparations which were now going on. He joined with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) in regretting the course taken with respect to this Bill. They had not now before them Sir Auckland Colvin's Financial Statement, which was made two months ago, and was ordered to be printed more than a month ago; but considering the information which had reached them in newspaper abstracts as to that Statement, he must say that he did not think that the prospect of the finances of next year was very satisfactory. Sir Auckland Colvin anticipated a surplus of £508,100. He believed that surplus would not be secured. Last year, Sir Auckland Colvin anticipated a surplus of £319,000, and the result was not a surplus, but a deficit of £716,000. They could not, therefore, anticipate that he was likely to realize his estimated surplus this year. This was not merely his (Mr. Buchanan's) surmise. The Finance Minister himself used these words in concluding his statement—

"There is no reason why our resources should not fully suffice to meet all the normal expenditure of 1885-6. But if abnormal expenditure, whether of a temporary or permanent kind, is forced upon us, our Estimates may very probably prove unequal to meet it."

Yet everyone must allow that a very abnormal strain had been for the last three months, and was now being, put upon the finances. The Under Secretary of State for India had informed him that evening, in reply to a Question, that the military expenditure incurred until the end of July was not less than £3,000,000, plus £385,000 for ordnance. Then they had heard from his hon. Friend that there was to be a new railway through the Bolan Pass. Neither the exact estimate of the cost of that railway, nor the period that would be occupied in its construction, had been given; but they had been informed that it would cost 10 lakhs during the next two months. Besides that, they had had most distinct warnings that the estimate put forward by the Government of India as to the cost of the Frontier railways could not be relied upon. They were, therefore, in this position—that the Frontier railways which the Government desired to construct would cost, according to the estimates of the Government, £5,000,000, and according to the Statement of his hon. Friend £5,800,000, or nearly £6,000,000, and in that amount the expenses of the new railway through the Bolan Pass were not included. Added to that, the Government already had liabilities amounting to £3,000,000 for four months, so that already the Government of India for Frontier railways and military expenditure would be indebted to the extent of £10,000,000, equal to the total sum now asked for. There were increased obligations in the immediate future, and it was right that the House should consider the Bill in view of the financial prospects of India as affected by recent political events. One other point he wished to bring before the House. He objected to the Government mixing up Frontier railways and commercial railways, for the recommendations of the Select Committee applied only to the latter. Frontier railways were as much military works as fortifications and barracks. The Government of India proposed that those Frontier railways and military works should be made entirely out of money raised by loan; but Sir Auckland Colvin was so opposed to the course that he entered a strong dissent against it, in the Minute printed in the Correspondence which had been circulated. He pointed out that such a proposal was contrary to the declared opinions of Lord Lawrence, Sir Richard Temple, Sir John Strachey, and other eminent authorities, and that the result would be that the charge for military railways would be a charge prior to the charge for the construction of commercial railways. The Secretary of State for India had also expressed his concurrence with the opinions of Sir Auckland Colvin rather than with those of the majority of the Governor General's Council. Yet now these works were to be proceeded with out of borrowed money. That was an entirely new departure, and a departure in a wrong direction; and Sir Auckland Colvin anticipated that if the intention were carried out, it would indefinitely postpone the carrying out of railways for commercial purposes. They were undoubtedly in a position of considerable embarrassment in regard to voting this Bill. No one wished to hinder the carrying out of military works which might be deemed to be necessary for the defence of India. Still less did they wish to retard the speedy construction of commercial railways for developing its resources. Whenever the Indian Government made up its mind what the Frontier was to be, the House would not scruple to vote funds for the purpose; but they ought to be careful to ascertain clearly for what objects the money asked for was to be devoted. They ought not to confuse the two issues, and they ought, in sanctioning a large loan, to consider it in its bearing on the general financial position of India.

MR. HARRIS said, he was glad to hear the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) say that the new lines would not cost more than 50 per cent of the outlay on the old lines; and he was thereby induced to hope that the existing high freightage charges which had so much hampered the export trade of our Indian Empire, especially in the wheat-growing districts, would, in consequence, be reduced. That was essential to the in-

terests of trade. As the conquering country, we were bound to develop the resources of India as much as possible, and should pay especial attention to those lines that ran into the wheat districts. In his opinion, these railways ought not to be left to private enterprize. He thought it was much better that Government should undertake the construction of these lines than that they should be left to speculators, because they would have them, to a great extent, in their own hands. The wheat trade of India was capable of enormous development; but the Government did everything in their power to discourage the higher cultivation of the soil by adopting the principles of Mr. Henry George, and increasing the taxes on land as its value was improved. The free import of Manchester goods had been mentioned in the course of the discussion. Much had been said against the imposition of a duty on imports; and while he did not wish to raise any Free Trade or Fair Trade discussion, yet he considered that taxes which were far more antagonistic to the received principles of political economy were the export tax on rice, and the large land tax which handicapped the productive power of the Natives of India. There was no doubt that the more the Natives were encouraged to grow wheat by the construction of railways, the cheaper they could send it to the seaboard; and the more wheat came to this country, the more Manchester goods would go out to India. He maintained that any existence of duties on exports was a much more pernicious principle than duties on imports. Those were his reasons for supporting in every way he could the Motion made by the Under Secretary of State for India. He was strongly of opinion that the construction of military railways was a necessity, if they wished to inspire confidence in India; and if this country did not inspire confidence in the Natives of India as to its grasp in that country a great mistake would be made. Whether the Russians intended to attack India or not, that confidence needed to be promoted all over the country, in order to encourage the investment of English capital, and to develop the country in every possible way.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he merely wished to point out to hon. Gentlemen opposite, who had not been very numerous in their attendance that evening, and did not show that interest in an important measure of this kind which he thought it demanded, that nearly the whole of this expenditure, or rather the whole of the £3,500,000 expended on warlike expenditure during the past few months, was entirely due to the Government's policy of the abandonment of Candahar. The Vote the House gave four years ago, by a majority of 120, in favour of the abandonment of Candahar, and of the destruction of the Quetta Railway, thereby reversing the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, was directly responsible for the expenditure which India and this country were now undergoing. This question of military expenditure was not to be settled by the result of the Motion of that night. The country was now paying the bitter penalty, in money and in blood, for the incredible blindness of Her Majesty's present Ministers, and the Leaders of the Liberal Party. If this country were now in occupation of Candahar, and if the railway had been completed, the Russian Forces would not have dared to approach Afghan territory, or even to enter into possession of Merv. He hoped that the railway would be completed, not merely to Quetta, but to Candahar; for, until the railway communication was complete to that great position, we could not be sure against a Russian absorption of Afghanistan. That railway must be completed to Candahar by an arrangement with the Ameer, so that British troops could be thrown into that place whenever occasion arose; and if the Ameer were willing to consent to such an arrangement, by all means let it be effected at once. It was assumed by some that this railway would not be remunerative; but that, he believed, was a mistaken idea, and that the accession of trade to be acquired by it was considerable, for we should gain the whole trade of Afghanistan, of Northern Persia, and of all those tribes not subject to Russia. He deplored the policy of surrender which had characterized the action of Her Majesty's Government, and he contended that unless a more vigorous policy were pursued, nothing but danger was to be apprehended from the constant encroachments of Russia in the direction of our Indian Frontier.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he greatly regretted to see, by the very small number of Members present, how little interest was taken in these matters relating to India. At one time there were not 15, seldom not 20 Members present, and even now there were only between 20 and 30.

MR. CALLAN: In consequence of the observation of the hon. and gallant Member, I beg to call the Speaker's attention to the fact that there are not 40 Members present.

House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR, in resuming, said, it was to be regretted that some more information was not given with regard to the finances of India, seeing that £9,000,000 of new outlay would be made within the next few years; and he trusted his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India, in his reply on the debate, would give further information, as the last Budget for 1885-6 was not of a very hopeful character, so far as meeting this increased civil and military expenditure was concerned. He (Sir George Balfour) had no belief in the promises of the Russian Government, and was convinced a forward movement of a strong Force into the healthy table land of Pishin was necessary on our part for the defence of the North-Western Frontier of India. He therefore hoped the preparations against the advance of Russia would be such as would deter that great Power from moving on. He joined most heartily with those who felt that the engagements made by Russia were unworthy of credit; and, therefore, most cordially approved of a policy of preparation for India. In connection with that point, he would urge upon his hon. Friend the necessity which existed, in the first place, for extending our trade in all directions, especially with Afghanistan, and thereby lessen the inducements for Russian merchants to try and open a trade; and next in improving and strengthening the Native Army, so as to make it more efficient than it was at present. It was exceedingly small, and the money inducements for able-bodied men to enter the Service were small. Indeed, the Sepoys pay was at present less than it was 100 years ago. Whatever Force we maintained there of that character ought to be as efficient as possible by the men being trained in these military exercises to the highest state of perfection. Another object which ought also to be carried out without delay was the extension of commercial railways along with a large reduction in transport rates. At the present moment, he believed, it cost 50 or 60 per cent more to convey wheat from Delhi to Calcutta or Bombay than from Chicago to New York, the distances being nearly alike—1,000 miles. If Indian wheat was to compete with American they must reduce the transport rates. One great inducement to Russia to advance on India was to get possession of her trade, and that of Afghanistan; but we ought to do everything in our power to prevent that country being filled with the goods of Russia, and cheap transport in India would do more to save that trade than any other measure.

MR. JACKSON said, he wished to say a few words in support of the Bill before the House, as having had the honour of being a Member of the Select Committee on Indian Railways. In the Committee there was a difference of opinion among the Members on such points as whether the money should be borrowed in India or in London, and the amount of interest to be paid; but, so far as he had been able to judge, there had been no difference as to the absolute necessity and great advantage of railway extension in India. The Bill before the House appeared to point to this fact—that unless the Government were entrusted with powers to raise money, in this form or some other like it, the extension of what were called "commercial lines" would be seriously interfered with by the absolute necessity of making the lines to which the hon. Gentleman opposite the Under Secretary of State for India had referred that evening. He desired to put on the Government the responsibility of their own proposals in this matter. They had come down to the House and said the making of these lines and the expenditure of this large sum of money was absolutely necessary for the defences of India. Now, he held the opinion that England was so committed to India that it was absolutely necessary it should be clear that, so far as the question of the safe retention and preservation of that country was concerned, this country was bound

to do everything that was necessary for the purpose. Some desire had been expressed for more information as to how it was proposed to deal with the money which was asked for; and he thought the House was also entitled to know whether this money would involve any additional burden upon the Revenue of India, or any additional taxation upon the people of that country. The Indian Railway Extension Committee, he would point out, was very positive on one point—namely, that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost of making railways in India. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had entered what he called a strong protest against the Government making all the lines, he being in favour of the Government only making such lines as were absolutely necessary in districts where they would pay, and leaving to commercial enterprize the construction of them in districts where they would not pay. He (Mr. Jackson) had no doubt that no one would be better pleased than the Under Secretary of State for India if he could have lines which were necessary for military or famine purposes made by private enterprize; but he (Mr. Jackson) himself considered it would be unreasonable to expect the commercial companies to undertake lines the primary necessity for which was the protection of the country. It was only by Government—who, in that case, would have no option in the matter — adopting that course that the two classes of railways could be proceeded with at the same time. He was sorry to hear the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) cast a doubt on the security offered by the Indian Government. The last thing he (Mr. Jackson) should expect any friend of India ought to desire to do was to make any remarks which would cast any doubt upon the security, and thus increase the difficulty of raising money for the necessary purpose of India. He believed that the British Government owed a great duty to India; and he would even go the length of saying that his idea was that, if necessary, the British Government should guarantee the money for the construction of the railways. The hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) seemed to doubt the advantage of making railways in India, because of the danger there was of further taxing the people, who already were so wretchedly poor; but in the Report which was issued by the Committee, of which the hon. Member for Manchester himself was one of the Members, it was stated by General Strachey, who, he (Mr. Jackson) believed, was recognized as a very high authority, that he estimated the annual benefit arising to the people of India from the construction of railways had been £30,000,000 to £40,000,000. If that was accepted, as he thought it would be, as an authoritative statement of the probable benefit which had accrued to India by the making of railways, they might, he thought, set their minds at rest on the point that the making of additional railways in India would add to or impose any additional taxes on the people of India. There was another point which he might mention in connection with this subject, as showing the enormous progress made, and which, he thought, they were entitled to claim as having partly been the result of the railroad extension in India. He referred to the enormous progress which had taken place in the exports from India. In the same Table, to show the average annual value of exports, it was stated that from 1869 to 1873 the value amounted to £54,990,000; while the exports in 1883-4 amounted to £88,076,000. These figures were, he thought, conclusive as to the advantage which had accrued from railroad extension; and he had no doubt or hesitation in his own mind that a very considerable extension of the railroad facilities in India would continue in the same way to benefit the people of India. If the making of the necessary Frontier lines and of the fortifications were, in any sense, crippling or retarding the progress of a great many of what were called "commercial lines," which were necessary to develop the resources of India, he thought that, in itself, would be a sufficient reason for the Bill, the justification for which, if any were wanted, would be found in this—that the direct result of it would be to defend and to develop the resources of India. He believed, further that the present proposal was one which was necessary for the defence of India; it was a measure of protection against famine, and in relief of famine; because, although exception had been taken to

that statement, he thought it had been conclusively shown that, while it could not be said that railways were a protection against the occurrence of famine, they certainly saved the people from results which would otherwise accrue from famine. He thought it was also necessary for the development of Indian resources, and would tend to open up new markets, and was thus one of the best means at their command of benefiting the people of India. On these grounds he cordially supported the Motion for the second reading of the Bill.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that, looking at this question from a Home Rule point of view, he thought that the people of India would be quite justified in opposing this proposal with all their force, seeing that guaranteeing funds for the construction of railways in India, when those lines were not likely to prove remunerative or profitable, was a most unfair mode of proceeding towards the unfortunate Native taxpayer for the benefit of the British capitalist. Then, again, they had no information whatever from the Government as to the probable financial condition of India during the coming year, when it was well known that the Revenues of India were not able to bear any further overtaxation; and he also thought it was not right that a financial Bill should be passed through the House, without an opportunity being afforded of ample consideration and full discussion. Statements heretofore made with respect to Indian finance had not been justified by results; for, in some instances, where a Department showed an increase, that increase had been largely counterbalanced by the augmented cost of administration. Enormous sums were already taken away from India every year for the purpose of paying interest on loans which had been expended in the construction of railways which were unprofitable. A larger revenue was derived from the Salt Tax now than it yielded some years ago, although they had been told recently that the Government had lessened the burden of this cruel and oppressive tax upon India. The Customs Duties had been lowered for the benefit of Manchester; while the Excise Duties, which pressed so heavily upon India, had been raised. In fact, the people of India were ground down by a system of taxation more searching and distressing than probably any other financial system in vogue. Yet they were now asked to vote £10,000,000 for these railways, which would never benefit the people of India at all. There was one clause in the Bill which seemed to challenge the opposition of anyone who held the political opinions that he did, and who thought that a people ought to be left to manage its own affairs without the intervention of any other people. That clause provided that all the bonds and debentures issued should be charged upon and payable out of the Revenues of India. What had the people of India done that they should be saddled with this further expense? If the Russians and the British were at rivalry in Central Asia, that was not the fault of the Indians. In his judgment the people of India would be specially benefited by the proximity of Russia, for British administrators in India would then endeavour to do something like justice to the unfortunate Natives of that country. If the hon. Gentleman who threatened the Amendment (Mr. E. Stanhope) had proceeded to a division he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would have been obliged to vote against it, as he was not inclined to regret the abandonment of the Quetta Railway, which, from the very moment of its inception, he had regarded as an impolitic and unjust undertaking.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that, by the indulgence of the House, he might, perhaps, be allowed to say a few words in reply to some remarks which had been made. Attention had been called to the despatch of the 21st of May, 1880, and his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) intimated that it showed the policy of the Government, which resulted in the abandonment of the Quetta Railway. He (Mr. J. K. Cross) would refer, however, to another despatch, written by his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) on the 29th of July, 1880, when he had been informed what the condition of the railway was supposed to be at that time. His noble Friend said—

"As to the Candahar Railway, it is represented that the line is open as far as the foot of the Murree Hills, and that on the Nari lower section 100 miles of road to the Quetta plateau will probably be ready for opening in 1881, while a further section as far as the Amran range is being surveyed, and that between that point and Candahar nothing has been done.

I need offer no remarks in regard to the first two sections of the railway which are either open or ready for opening. In regard to the two latter sections, I am of opinion that the surveys as far as the Amran range may be, with advantage, completed, and that the country beyond as far as Candahar may also be surveyed; but nothing further should be done on either of these two sections with regard to the construction of the railway without previous reference to me."

It was quite clear from this despatch of the 29th of July, 1880, that the noble Marquess accepted the first two sections of the Candahar line—namely, that from the Indus to the foot of the Murree Hills, and also that from the foot of the Murree Hills to Quetta, and that he said in this despatch that he

"need offer no remarks as to the first two sections, which are either open or nearly ready for opening."

This clearly indicates that the line to Quetta, at any rate, was accepted by the noble Marquess, and that he also authorized the completion of the surveys to the Amran range beyond Quetta, and as far as Candahar.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR inquired whether that despatch had been laid before the House?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that it had not; but he proposed to present it. Statements had been made to the effect that the railroad had been to some extent destroyed by order of the present Government a short time after they came into power, simply because of the fact that the line was proposed by Lord Beaconsfield; but he could assure the House that the question was one of policy, and not of pique. It had been also indicated from the opposite side of the House that the line had been destroyed, if not by the Home Government, at least by the orders of the Government of India. He (Mr. J. K. Cross) denied that that was the case. The reason the line was stopped eventually was that it was not considered to be by any means certain that the occupation of Quetta and Pishin would be continued. His noble Friend Lord Ripon was not personally in favour of abandoning the line, when that abandonment occurred; and there was no truth in the assertion that it had been destroyed, for he found on page 38 of the Administration Report of 1880-1 the following statement:—

"The existing buildings were not dismantled, and such parts of the lines as had already been laid were not lifted."

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he spoke on the evidence of eye-witnesses.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, he could also give the evidence of eye-witnesses. Major General Trevor, who was Director General of the Railways under the late Government, wrote a letter to *The Times* in the spring of 1884, in which he stated that there had been a misapprehension on the subject, and that very little loss of money had been incurred when the line was abandoned. Major General Trevor had also since informed him (Mr. J. K. Cross), in writing, that no rails were pulled up when the Quetta section of the Candahar line was abandoned. With regard to what had been done on the line and the progress of the works, he would quote a Report from Mr. Molesworth, the principal engineer in India, who reported, on November 14, 1884, that in his original note of April 20, 1880, he had included a list describing the character of the different sections of the line under the heads of "easy," "moderately difficult," "heavy," and "very heavy." Mr. Molesworth stated that no great progress had been made in the surveys, and that in many places they had not passed beyond the stage of simple reconnoissances. His hon. Friend quoted a Minute written by Mr. Rivers Thompson (now Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson), in February, 1881, in which the latter proceeded on the assumption that the lines were to be dismantled, and instanced a case of such dismantlement in China as the only one which had ever occurred. Mr. Rivers Thompson's Minute was written on the receipt of a despatch of the noble Lord who was then Secretary for India, dated December 3, 1880, and was founded on a misconception of the meaning of that despatch. Thus the only evidence which his hon. Friend opposite had brought forward—namely, the Minute to which he (Mr. J. K. Cross) had just referred—proved absolutely nothing. With regard to the general question of the Quetta Railway, he was quite willing to allow that it had been stopped in 1880, when it was undecided whether Pishin should be retained, and not begun again till 1883-4. The line was then re-surveyed, and it was found that a better alignment could be made than the one originally intended; and it would be seen, when the engineers' Reports

were presented to the House, that, so far from the discontinuance of the work for two years having been a loss, there would be a very considerable financial saving on account of the difference in the cost of materials, and from the saving effected by means of the improved plans which would be carried out. If they had to go back into the past to throw stones at each other about railway communications, he would like to ask the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. E. Stanhope) to remember how long the late Government occupied the Pishin plateau, without any reasonable communication between that place and the Indus.

Mr. SPEAKER said, he must call the hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that he was trespassing rather too far on the indulgence of the House, as he had no right to reply.

Mr. J. K. CROSS said, he would not pursue the subject further. He would only add that he was much obliged to the House for their indulgence in listening to those few remarks, and he would conclude by explaining that it was not possible now to lay before the House the annual Financial Statement, as it had been suggested by several hon. Members he might, and which he should have been only too glad to have done, because some millions of additional military expenditure had been incurred; and until they ascertained how long that expenditure would last, it was impossible that the Budget could be presented. He hoped the House would now allow the Bill to be read a second time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* 8th June.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT (WHITSUNTIDE HOLIDAYS.)

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question proposed [20th May], "That this House at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that they had never, in the recollection of any hon. Member of the House, or under any circumstances, adjourned for the Whitsuntide holidays, when matters were more depressing or adverse, as regarded the interests of the country, than they were now. Never before had there been a Government who had so managed the affairs of this country, that, if he mentioned one solitary instance, and he was not quite sure at that moment how we absolutely stood in regard to that Power—he meant Italy—we had not one single friend among European nations on whom we could rely, even in the meanest and smallest sense of the word. Notwithstanding the assiduous efforts of the Government to conciliate them, the insults which had been heaped upon this country by Powers which ought to have been our friends were now more than we had hitherto been called on to bear. Everything had been sacrificed to Russia and France, and what was the position we now occupied in regard to those two Powers. By every means in their power they were thwarting the best interests of this country. Though he would give the Prime Minister credit for having done all in his power to maintain peace, yet, unhappily, that peace had not been secured; and he would venture to say he never remembered a time when the House and the country had been kept in such absolute ignorance of the intentions, the views, and the opinions of the Government as they were at the present moment. If the right hon. Gentleman would look back to what had passed, he would be the first to recognize that that which had been his expressed grand and primary principle—that the House of Commons should be taken into the confidence of the Government, and should know what they were aiming at in regard to the policy which they were pursuing in foreign affairs—had been violated. Even in the Papers which had been presented to the House respecting Russia and Afghanistan, the most critical part of the correspondence and negotiations had been omitted. Consequently the House was not in a position to say whether the Government had dealt honestly, uprightly, and straightforwardly with this country, or whether they had been pandering to Russia; whether we had come to the lowest degradation, or whether we had yet a further step to take in that unhappy direction. He would defy anyone—he would even venture to defy the Prime Minister—to get up in his place,

and say that we were in the same position as a nation as we were when he came into Office five years ago. He defied the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) to say in regard to his foreign and Colonial policy that he had done that which would best maintain the honour, the dignity, and the integrity of this country. When they saw that Russia never intended to comply with that which the Prime Minister not only desired, but demanded; when they saw that this country had been led, step by step, into that mire, into that quagmire, from which the Government would not be able to extricate themselves or the country, he was justified in saying there was a point beyond which this country would not go—a point at which they would rise against that Government and turn them out of power and place, relegating them to that position which they were so eminently fitted to occupy. No language was too strong, if it would only induce the Prime Minister to put aside all views in regard to Party, —to put aside playing and trifling with the country merely to secure votes. In that case, he would receive a far more general support than he now had. This country had, by the Government's policy, been placed in an inferior position, both in regard to Russia and France. What had taken place in regard to that "Financial Convention" of which we had heard so much? The Prime Minister said that, unless the House agreed to that Convention at once, Egypt would be bankrupt. Was Egypt bankrupt? No. And yet none of the other Powers had yet agreed to that Convention. The other Powers were keeping that Convention to play on the Prime Minister, and to force him to internationalize the Suez Canal, the prevention of which was one of the main causes of our going to Egypt at first. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Board of Trade came down to the House, and told them that, although they had sacrificed everything they last year held to be most dear, and that they believed no financial arrangement could be made with success, except that which they propounded, yet because France would not agree with them they gave way upon every point, and only succeeded in gaining one miserable concession, which was that 5 per cent should be taxed on the coupons. And now they had it that even those coupons were not to be taxed. Not a single shred had been left of the proposal made by the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade told the House that other nations had their feelings, and that they had a right to have them considered. And the result of all that was, that the Government had shown they were prepared to sacrifice our feelings and all our best interests in order to maintain peace at any price, no matter what humiliation might be placed on England. These were strong points of indictment, and he might go into others. He might mention *The Bosphore Egyptien* incident. Never, in the history of this country, had a greater insult been offered to this country than by the manner in which France had dealt with us in this matter. True, in some slight particular, the law as it was in Egypt might have been broken; but his belief was that if the affair had been properly managed, if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had held his head as high as a Prime Minister of this country should, when he associated this country with Egypt in the suppression of that newspaper, we should not have heard so much about this most scurrilous publication; denouncing in violent language both the Egyptian Government and our own, writing in every way against the British occupation, and in promotion of a French occupation. He did not suppose even hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway would approve of that. That, however, was the aim of *The Bosphore Egyptien*, and now it seemed that paper was again going to run its scurrilous course. In fact, it had been republished, and he presumed there was no reason to believe that it would not repeat those abominable acts which led to its suppression. He did not like to trouble the House with extracts; but he had a letter in reference to the closing of the office of the paper from one on the spot, and on whom he could thoroughly depend, a letter he was quite willing to show to the right hon. Gentleman. His correspondent's account, he might also say, agreed with one published in a London paper that morning. Everything, said the writer, was done in the most regular way; and when the French Consul appeared, and said he would

only yield to force, Mr. Fenwick placed his hand on the Consul's shoulders, and said—"Will that be sufficient for you?" That was all the force used to show authority in closing the office. The French Consul smiled, and said, "Yes." The two gentlemen then shook hands, and separated. That was the whole business which France magnified into a great breach of the law, and for which she did all she could to place us in a ridiculous, invidious position before the other nations of the world. Knowing our position in regard to Russia she pressed all her claims upon us, because she believed she was dealing with a Government she could squeeze. The outlook in Egypt was very serious indeed, and before the close of the debate he looked for some authoritative declaration of the Government's intention from the Prime Minister. Lightly, some time ago, the right hon. Gentleman told the House the Soudan was to be abandoned; the order went forth, and all the unfortunate garrisons were left to their fate. A prudent Minister, who had considered the question and knew his own intentions, would never have made such a statement, and at such a time; but the Prime Minister, he was sorry to say, was one of those who, in regard to Egyptian affairs, never looked beyond the action he was taking at the moment; he never looked to the consequences, or what necessarily ought to follow, only how he would be able to evade those consequences, or to the means of discontinuing or finishing the work commenced. It was now stated that Suakin was to be abandoned, and this after the formal statement made some time ago by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) that no other Power would be allowed to hold Suakin. To-day, however, they heard of the possibility of the poor bag-and-baggage Turk occupying Suakin. The Prime Minister had done everything to debase, degrade, and estrange that country; and now, in his troubles and his difficulties, he was obliged to go to the unspeakable Turk to help him in the Soudan. It was to be hoped the country would never agree to Suakin being held by any other Power but ourselves. Our great object, it was always understood in Egypt, was to protect our highway to India and our great Australian Colonies; but if any other Power held Suakin, especially a European Power, and if that Power succeeded in occupying Khartoum and other points in the Soudan, that Power would have entire command over the Valley of the Nile, which would give it absolute power over Egypt. The most unwise step the Government had yet taken was the absolute and unconditional evacuation of the Soudan after the enormous sacrifice of human life we had incurred there. The power of the Mahdi was broken, Osman Digna had no following, and would not have, unless we withdrew; and with the Suakin-Berber Railway and very little effort the country might be civilized. When the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War made his statement in reference to the Soudan, he ignored entirely one fact of which the country was proud—that the Army, under the most dispiriting and adverse circumstances, performed duties as arduous as an Army could be called on to perform. They toiled up the Nile, they laboured, they fought, they endured; they showed what a British Army could do. Except by one slight allusion the noble Marquess said nothing of this gallant work. Last year at Tamai and El Teb, and again this year at Abu Klea, Metammeh, Gubat, Baker's Zereba, and elsewhere. No body of men in our military history deserved better of their country. Of the Staff he would say nothing. There were good and able men upon it, under the distinguished Leader whose ability was acknowledged. Though some things less pleasant might be said, he would forbear; but the regimental officers of the Army, the Marines, and the officers of the Navy—they, with the men under their command, had shown we still had a regimental system—the backbone and foundation of our Army. But for the way in which the men rallied round the officers, and formed a square in emergencies, there would have been a very different tale to tell. But nothing of this came from the noble Marquess, and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) took the opportunity of publicly saying that these men deserved well of their country. To the Staff rewards and promotion were always given; they were always taken care of; but the officers who toiled and went all over the world had but few friends; they were never rewarded as they should be—men who had done such arduous work, with disease and death

around them. He had many relations with the Army, but never a complaint had he heard from any officer or man—they were too well disciplined—but it was because he was in favour of doing justice to such men, who not only did honour to, but maintained the honour of their country, that he ventured to call the attention of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War to the manner in which they had done their duty under most difficult, trying, and dangerous circumstances. Into the question of our position in Afghanistan he would not now enter, except for the purpose of asking a few questions which he thought might be answered without touching upon those diplomatic proprieties so dear to the right hon. Gentleman. Were we going to assist the Afghans in the defence of Herat? What was to be the boundary of Afghanistan that we were going to maintain; and how were we going to defend the country for the Ameer? They could not forget that the Prime Minister some time ago said, with the full consent of the House, that there could be but one opinion with regard to our policy in Afghanistan, and that was that we should maintain the Dominions of the Ameer intact. That was the view which was taken by the House and ratified by the country; and he should like to know what view the Prime Minister took of the matter at the present moment? The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, in summing up the debate on the evacuation of Candahar in 1881, said—

"Russia knows perfectly well that any interference, militarily or diplomatically, in Afghanistan means the rupture of friendly relations with this country, and she knows that we hold ourselves justified in resisting such interference by any means in our power, by any means that may be most convenient and most suitable at the time. It is not necessary to say beforehand whether those means would be war in Europe or Asia—war by our own troops, or war by the assistance of Afghan levies."—(3 *Hansard*, [259] 2022.)

What was the position now? Were the Government going to make further concessions, and had we any agreement with the Ameer? We were giving the Ameer large quantities of arms and ammunition, and a large sum of money every month; and the House ought to be informed whether he was under the control of the British Government, and what security we had that he would remain faithful to us, and not go over to Russia? Had we any assurance that those arms and money would not be used against ourselves? Few would deny the difficulties that must perplex the Government; but the Government had the interests of the country in their keeping, and he believed that, up to this moment, the Government had sacrificed those interests. Before the House separated for the Whitsuntide holidays he should like to know what was the exact position of the country with regard to Russia? It was not asking too much to ask for an explanation. The Government were trustees for the honour, dignity, and interests of the country; and unless the House knew the Government's intention, it was helpless to check or advise the Government.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that, on these occasions, it was very easy to speak *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, and the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had certainly done so. He should really like to know how long they were to be told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the whole of this country was disgraced and degraded? He could tell them that they were going on the wrong tack. Hon. Gentlemen opposite did not know, and would not endeavour to understand, what was the feeling of the country as regarded the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government. The Conservatives might rage and the Colonels imagine a vain thing; but he contended that, on the whole, the foreign policy of the Government of late had been a very sound one. It was said of the Predecessor of the present Prime Minister that he brought home "peace with honour." Well, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government had now given them peace with honour. [MR. WARTON: Dishonour.] He had secured to them, he might say, peace with honour; for, had it not been for his exertions in this most difficult question connected with Afghanistan and Russia, he (Mr. Labouchere) was perfectly sure that the howls of the Jingoes in this country and in Russia would have precipitated us into a war which would have cost us a vast number of millions of money, and would have simply secured a miserable strip of steppe which, he gathered, they should learn, when the Blue Books were

presented, the Ameer himself did not want. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who spoke last had told them that Ministers were wrong for not staying in the Soudan, and that it was their duty to civilize that country. He (Mr. Labouchere) contended that they had no such duty, either with regard to the Soudan or with regard to any other country on the whole habitable globe. Many hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House were somewhat at variance with the Government so long as the Soudan War continued, and they were glad when it was announced that the occupation of the country was to be speedily brought to a close. They hoped nothing would interfere with that intention of the Government, and that, if Suakin could not be handed over to some other Power, at least we should not remain there ourselves, but leave it to the Soudanese, because it happened to belong to them, and not to this country. Then, it had been stated that there had been a disgraceful surrender on the part of this country in the case of *The Bosphore Egyptien*. He admitted that Lord Granville was wrong at the commencement of that matter; but the noble Earl (Earl Granville) had recognized that he had made a mistake, and he (Mr. Labouchere) did not know what else could be expected of a Minister when he made a mistake but that he should recognize and acknowledge it. It seemed to him that Earl Granville was an exceedingly able diplomatist, and it was remarkable how clever he was in getting out of difficulties, and also how he occasionally got into them. It was pretty clear from the Blue Books that *The Bosphore Egyptien* was a very objectionable journal. Sir Evelyn Baring had written to Her Majesty's Government to complain of *The Bosphore Egyptien*, stating that it ought to be suppressed, and Her Majesty's Government had entered into a discussion on the matter with the Government of France, who appeared to have taken up a very reasonable attitude. But, on April 1st, Lord Granville had written to Sir Evelyn Baring stating that, as there would be an opportunity of trying the question by law, he should inform Nubar Pasha that Her Majesty's Government saw no reason for interfering. On the same day a telegram was sent to Sir Evelyn Baring, saying that instructions would be sent to Lord Lyons on the matter, and on the 2nd a despatch to that effect had been sent to Lord Lyons at Paris, who had spoken to M. de Freycinet. But, in the meanwhile, before he got a reply from Lord Lyons as to the consent of France, Sir Evelyn Baring had caused this newspaper to be suppressed, and M. de Freycinet had naturally inquired why we had asked him to agree to its suppression, when we had actually suppressed it. Lord Granville should have telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring to tell him to wait before taking action, until he had received a reply from the French Government on the subject. That was an error of procedure, and one which had arisen merely from Lord Granville not understanding precisely the rights of Frenchmen under the Capitulations. The difference between the Conservatives and the Liberals was this—the Conservatives were habitually seizing every chance they possibly could to get us into trouble, and to promote war with Foreign Powers; whereas the Liberals, when they considered that a mistake had been made, frankly said so, and endeavoured to avoid giving cause for a quarrel. There was one point upon which he would appeal to the Prime Minister, and that was that he would fairly and seriously consider the state of the affairs of Ireland during the Recess, and, if he possibly could, act in the most generous spirit to that country, and not do that which was contrary to the feelings and desire of a very large number of his supporters in the House. Since 1856 exceptional legislation had been passed for Ireland, and, three years ago, the Government had brought into the House the most stringent of all the Coercive Acts, which was passed for a period of three years—a longer time than any Crimes Bill before. The three years were over. The plea in favour of that Crimes Bill was that there were numerous agrarian outrages in Ireland—there were no agrarian outrages at present. Ireland was the most tranquil of Her Majesty's Dominions. Let hon. Gentlemen look at the Returns, and they would find that, with the exception of threatening letters, there were, to all intents and purposes, no agrarian crimes in Ireland. It was perfectly monstrous that the Irish people were to be told that if there were agrarian outrages, that was a reason

for a Crimes Act; and that if there were no crimes, that was the effect of the Crimes Act. Whether there were crimes or not, they were wrong to apply this legislation to Ireland. Ministers had done much of a remedial character for Ireland; but they had destroyed the effect of their remedial measures by their perpetual attempts to pass Crimes Bills, and to govern Ireland in this exceptional manner from year to year. So far as he could gather from the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), which he had read that morning, and which was delivered at some Conservative Club in the neighbourhood, the noble Lord, who occupied a considerable position in the Conservative Party, and who probably would be followed by a considerable number of Conservatives, intended to oppose the Crimes Act tooth and nail. They had heard that there was a strong feeling in the Cabinet against the renewal of the Act; and, taking that feeling with the feeling amongst the Conservatives, it did seem a little ridiculous that they should perpetuate ill-feeling between Ireland and England by endeavouring to pass a few of the clauses of the Act. They were told that owing to the Crimes Act there was no time for other legislation. The Prime Minister replied to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) that he could not give him a day for an Affirmation Bill. He (Mr. Labouchere) thought it would be much better that the Crimes Bill should be set aside, and that they should have an Affirmation Bill, so that, at least, in the next Parliament all religious tests should be set aside, and that anyone duly elected by the country should be allowed to take his seat in that House. There was the strongest feeling against the Crimes Bill, certainly in Ireland, and a very strong feeling in England, that there should be an Affirmation Bill, and that the House had acted with considerable injustice towards his Colleague (Mr. Bradlaugh). He would again express the hope that the Prime Minister would, during the Recess, fairly consider the case of Ireland, and that he would, if he possibly could, act in the most generous spirit towards that country, and not do what was contrary to the desire of a very large number of his supporters in this House by renewing any single one of the clauses of the Crimes Act.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Labouchere) had, while accusing his (Mr. Chaplin's) hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) of discursiveness in his remarks, been somewhat guilty of the same thing himself. The hon. Gentleman had eulogized the peaceful tendencies of a Liberal Government, and condemned the warlike proclivities of a Tory one, accusing them with being guilty of seeking every opportunity to create war. If the hon. Member had studied the history of the wars in which this country had been engaged during the last 50 years, he would find that out of 29 or 30, 23 or 24 had been made by the Liberal Party, and only about six by the Conservatives. If, when the hon. Member again taunted the Conservatives with rushing into wars, he would bear this fact in mind, it might have some influence upon the accuracy of his statements. With regard to Ireland, it was a rather curious commentary on the policy of the Prime Minister that at the end of 15 years legislation for Ireland he was compelled again to ask Parliament to renew Coercion Acts. They had been told, over and over again, that if Parliament would accede to all the remedial measures which had been proposed for Ireland, all the ills of that country would vanish, and that they would see a totally different state of affairs; but instead of the country becoming more tranquil and more pacified, each Coercion Act seemed to surpass all others in severity; and the truth was that the Prime Minister's Irish policy, like his policy elsewhere, had turned out to be one ghastly and disastrous failure. Many Members of the Tory Party regretted the necessity for these Coercion Acts as much as the hon. Member for Northampton himself, and with him desired most earnestly to see that necessity pass away; but before they could join with the hon. Member in declaring that they intended, under all circumstances, to oppose the Coercion Act tooth and nail, as the hon. Member had said the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) intended to do, they required to hear from Her Majesty's Government, who were responsible for the state of affairs there, what was the precise condition of that

country at the present time, and what alarming state of affairs existed that compelled them to renew those Coercion Acts, the necessity for which they all viewed with so much regret. The present state of affairs in Ireland was brought about entirely by the action of the Government, and he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman before the close of the debate would inform the House of the precise condition of the country now, and what were the grave and even terrible reasons, for some such there must have been, which induced them to come again, and at the last moment, to Parliament, with the intimation that it was absolutely necessary in the best interests of the country that exceptional legislation should again take place. What was to be the character of the measure, and when would be the precise time of its introduction? The hon. Member for Northampton said that Ireland was perfectly tranquil at this moment; but, he (Mr. Chaplin) asked, how much of the tranquillity now apparent on the surface was owing to any real or permanent amelioration of the state of that country, and how much of it was owing to the exercise of those very measures the renewal of which the hon. Member denounced? The hon. Member also told them, in regard to the frontier affairs of India, that the Government had definitely secured for the country "peace with honour." He (Mr. Chaplin) said nothing of the honour which was likely to devolve upon the country from these transactions; but he was not aware, nor was the country, or the House, yet aware, that even peace had been secured, whether with honour or dishonour. On the 12th of this month, upon the eve of the division on the last Vote of Censure, the Prime Minister informed the House, in reference to the proceedings between Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley on the one side and the Russian Ambassador on the other, that the effect of those proceedings had been that they had arrived at an agreement which was satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, and satisfactory also to Lord Dufferin and the Council of India. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say, with intense satisfaction, that there had been no time to receive the final ratification of those proceedings on the part of the Russian Government, but that it was expected certainly from day to day. The House heard that announcement with the greatest gratification, and no doubt it had a very marked effect on the debate which took place on the same night; indeed, he was not at all sure that it did not secure the majority which the Prime Minister had upon that occasion. At all events, it was exactly the announcement which the right hon. Gentleman would have the most satisfaction in making on the eve of a critical division. But what happened? The division over, the majority secured, the right hon. Gentleman came down to the House the next day and said that he had made a mistake—that he had received a communication from the Russian Ambassador in this country, to the effect that the right hon. Gentleman was not at all warranted in having made that statement. Time went on, no answer was received from Russia, and that agreement, which they were told was so satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, to Lord Dufferin, and to Russia, had never yet been ratified. He (Mr. Chaplin) himself, on the 14th inst., asked the right hon. Gentleman whether any answer had been received from the Russian Government as to the proposed agreement; and whether the agreement met with the approval of that Government? The Prime Minister replied that he had no authentic information to give, that communications were proceeding; but he was not aware that they had reached such a result as could be communicated to the House of Commons. The right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition also put some Questions, the answers to which were so unsatisfactory that, on the 16th, he himself asked the right hon. Gentleman when the House would receive the Papers relating to the Penjdeh incident, and reminded him that the House had been previously told that the final ratification of the agreement was expected from day to day. The right hon. Gentleman then replied that he had never stated that he could name a day, within two or three days, when the negotiations would be concluded; but that what he certainly had said was that it would be desirable that the House should have the whole case before them. They would all agree in that. But the right hon. Gentleman had really told the House that the ratification was expected from day to day; and that had undoubtedly

warranted the hon. Member for Northampton in his belief that peace had been secured. It was only another mistake of the right hon. Gentleman. But the agreement had not even now—a fortnight later—been ratified; and they had a right, before the adjournment, to know whether the Prime Minister since he made the statement had received so much as a reply from the Russian Government. If the Government had received a reply, what was the nature of it? He asked the Prime Minister to take the House, for once, into his confidence, and to state exactly how the position stood as to this agreement. Was that agreement accepted by the Russian Government or was it not? Had the right hon. Gentleman any hope that it would be accepted; or was it only another of those arrangements which were unconfirmed, and which were not likely to be confirmed, though they waited until the day of doom? He entreated the Prime Minister to tell them what were the prosspects of that arrangement, which about a fortnight ago he spoke of with such confidence, being ratified by the Russian Government, and peace being finally secured. They now learned that the Guards had been stopped by the orders of Her Majesty's Government at Alexandria; and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, when questioned in the House on the subject, said that it was not desirable to give any information as to the reasons for that step. When the Conservative Government were in power, they were taunted day by day with the concealment of their policy, and withholding information on every occasion. It was therefore rather a strong thing for one of the authors of those taunts now to get up in his place and, when asked the Question in such critical circumstances, to say—"It is true the Guards have been stopped at Alexandria, and that for a very important reason; but we decline altogether to tell you anything further about it." The fact was, the authors of those taunts were themselves adopting the course they accused their opponents of following. Turning to the subject of the suppression of *The Bosphore Egyptien*, Her Majesty's Government, after due deliberation, either suppressed or agreed to the suppression of that newspaper. Within the last few hours, however, they had learnt that, either with or without their consent, that newspaper had been re-issued, and re-issued under circumstances not very different from those under which it was published before. When asked a Question on that point not long ago, the right hon. Gentleman said that although the proceedings had to some extent been illegal, and although he was willing to make some apology and some reparation to the French Government, yet that, as far as the re-issuing of the paper was concerned, nothing of the kind would occur. The hon. Member for Northampton said that Lord Granville had probably made a mistake, and it was right to acknowledge it. Lord Granville appeared always to be doing nothing but making mistakes. If Her Majesty's Government was right in suppressing *The Bosphore Egyptien* they were plainly wrong in allowing it to be re-issued. That was only another of those instances, unhappily so numerous of late, in which the Government had placed the country in a position in which it had to undergo nothing but unnecessary humiliation, and it was also one upon which the House and the country desired further information. Although they might be able to keep their mechanical majority in that House probably till the end of that Session, they might be sure that the blunders and humiliations which were following each other so rapidly day by day would entail upon them, he hoped at no distant day, the severe and bitter condemnation of the country.

MR. GLADSTONE: Various appeals have been made to me, in successive speeches, ranging over a very wide field, and I ought to take some note of those appeals, although they are, in some cases, of a character to which it is impossible to render a full reply. I observe the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down taunts the "mechanical majority" on this side of the House. He has borrowed that epithet, and uses it in the way of *tu quoque*, having obtained it, not from the wealth of his own resources, but from the history of a former Parliament. In that—the former—Parliament the epithet was applied to a majority which never saw fit to abandon the Government, or place it in a minority. Is that the case with the majority in the present Parliament? ["Yes!"] It is nothing of the kind.

Why, Sir, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth (Mr. T. C. Bruce), who contradicts me, was himself the triumphant Mover of a Motion of great importance, leading to a controversy of the most serious character, in which the Government had been placed, by the defection of a large number of their independent Friends, in a minority. They have been habitually placed in such minorities; and yet the hon. Member is surprised that I should say the application of the epithet "mechanical majority" to a majority the Members of which exercise their independent judgment, to the great inconvenience, unquestionably, of the Government which in general they so generously support, is not a proper application. That is not a mechanical majority; that is a majority which considers the grounds on which it stands, a majority which endeavours to weigh questions according to their merits. I must here observe upon the great disadvantage of the inequality upon which discussions of this kind are carried on. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) made a speech of the wildest declamation. Every opinion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman was received with silence and respect on this side of the House; but the moment an hon. Gentleman on this side of the House rises and begins to utter, in much more guarded language, opposite opinions, he is met with jeers, laughter, and cries and interruptions of one description and another. Mark me, that this state of things is too likely to grow habitual. I shall probably never refer to it again. I think I have noticed it sufficiently already, and you may rely upon it that the references which I have made to it will be themselves referred to in future years. Both the hon. Gentlemen who last spoke have made appeals to me in reference to Ireland. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down says that the policy of the Government for the last 15 years has been a perfect failure. I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman at all. I will not now refer to a matter which he says ought to be produced in the debate to-night, but which, I think, ought not to be produced in the debate—I mean the matter of proposing legislation with respect to the present state of Ireland with regard to crimes and outrage, and with regard to the confidence felt by society at large in the maintenance of order and the prosecution of the common pursuits of life.

MR. CHAPLIN: I beg pardon; what I said ought to be produced were the reasons of the Government for the necessity of re-introducing coercion measures.

MR. GLADSTONE: No doubt; but this is not the time, in my opinion, for producing the reasons which the Government may have even for proposing any legislation at all with respect to Ireland, or for proposing that legislation in the form in which they will bring it forward. We do not admit the failure of the legislation which has been attempted. It is not for me to say how long it may be before the woes and evils of Ireland, due to so many generations and to so many centuries of misgovernment and oppression, may be removed; but it is for me to say that progress has been made, and progress of a most important kind. The poison of religious ascendancy, the bitterest and the most virulent of all poisons, has been expelled from Irish life. In my opinion, that is a great achievement and a great advantage gained, and never, I hope, to be lost and surrendered. But I have another opinion, which may seem strange to the hon. Gentleman. In my opinion, the happiness of the masses of the people, the faculty they possess of insuring by their industry some decent return, sufficient to keep body and soul together, sufficient to lift them above the lowest level of human misery, is a consideration of the greatest and most vital importance. I firmly say that, so far as depends on law, never in any country within the same time has greater progress been made than has been made by legislation of this House with respect to Ireland during the last four years. I am not in the slightest degree afraid of the taunts of the hon. Gentleman; I am far from denying that there is much to desire, and much to cure; but I meet his taunts with courage and with confidence. The hon. Gentleman says that it is a dreadful thing that we should renew the Coercion Act. I am not sure what the hon. Member means by the Coercion Act. He is speaking of a Bill of which he knows nothing; and I have not described this Bill as a Coercion Act.

MR. CHAPLIN: I beg pardon. The right hon. Gentleman has announced his intention of renewing whatever may be valuable and equitable in the Prevention of Crime Act; and he would not say that there is anything in it that is not valuable or that is inequitable.

MR. GLADSTONE: If the hon. Member refers to my words, let him quote them with accuracy. My words were that there were various provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act which, in our opinion, were valuable and were equitable; that we had embodied them in a Bill, and that we intended to propose them to Parliament. I did not say they were coercive provisions; nor shall I now say anything on the subject whether they are coercive provisions or not. The time for us to explain them, and the time for the House to appreciate them, will appear very soon—I hope shortly after the Whitsuntide Recess. The hon. Gentleman asked at what time such a measure will be introduced, and that is the best satisfaction I can give him. He will then be able to form his own judgment, like all other Members of this House. The hon. Gentleman makes an appeal to history, and says that in the last 50 years only six or seven wars have been made by the Conservative Party. The hon. Gentleman appears entirely to forget that until within the last 20 or 25 years, or something like that period, the Conservative Party were the Peace Party in this country. Has he seen no change in the tone of the Conservative Party of late years, as compared with what it was? Does he think that the tone of his own Party at this moment, or at any time during the last 10 or 15 years, is the same tone as that of Sir Robert Peel, the tone of the Earl of Aberdeen, or the tone of the Duke of Wellington? The tone of his Party has undergone a complete and fundamental revolution; and it appears to be the object of too many Gentlemen on that side of the House to make the principal part of their political pursuits to stir up passions between nations, and not to allay them. The hon. Gentleman, perhaps, recollects the attitude of the present Conservative Party—but I decline to identify the present Conservative Party—on the subject of Denmark. Were the speeches then made speeches of a character to promote peace between the two countries? The hon. Gentleman, perhaps, recollects the attitude of the Party during the time of the American Civil War. Was that an attitude which tended to peace? He cannot form any just estimate of the question how far it is possible to distribute praise and blame in respect of the war between the one Party and the other; and especially he cannot appropriate to himself the character and the proceeds of the policy for the last 50 years without taking into view the enormous change that has taken place in the policy, conduct, and attitude of his Party. The hon. Gentleman refers to the last 10 years. In my opinion that is a matter too large for discussion at this moment; but I am ready to maintain the same argument. There is not a difficulty in which we have been involved during the last five years—I agree there have been many; I will not claim that we have always been right in judgment in dealing with them; I think the strong probability is that we have made various and serious errors—but not one of those difficulties was of our own creation. In our policy we have never made claim to an ambitious foreign policy; we have endeavoured to cope, as we could, with the circumstances which we found. I rejoice to say in many cases we have succeeded; but I admit there are other cases in which success is either far distant or incomplete. [*A laugh.*] I see no matter for laughing; and yet no person can be blamed, no creature of the Almighty can be blamed, either for utterance or action which is most congenial to him, and I cannot blame the application of laughter—which may appear to me most unsuitable—in those who find it most congenial to their own character. Reference has been made by the hon. Gentleman, and by my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) to *The Bosphore Egyptien*, and it appears to me that my hon. Friend is not quite accurate in his reference to that newspaper. Our desire has been, while we are in Egypt, to afford to the Egyptian Government to the best of our power all the advice which was sought by them, but in no case to interfere with their action, unless we found that it was an imperative necessity of their requirements. Under that imperative necessity it was that we made a very strong interference indeed with Egyptian action in regard to the Soudan,

and which led to the resignation of Cherif Pasha and a change of Government. Our rule has been to avoid such interference, and especially to avoid anything like pressure or compulsory interference; because we desired to leave Egypt as far as possible, and even now, to govern itself. With respect to *The Bosphore Egyptien*, the case is this. The Egyptian Government believed that a certain publication in *The Bosphore Eyyptien* was incompatible with peace and order in Egypt. They asked Sir Evelyn Baring's advice; he could not object to that opinion of theirs; he referred them to us, and we could not refuse to approve of it. We could not undertake the responsibility of saying to the Egyptian Government—"You ought to tolerate this offence and do nothing." That is the extent of Earl Granville's responsibility, and the extent of the responsibility of the present Government; but, still, the legality of the proceedings was not a question brought before us at that time, and it was not a question as to whether it was our duty, or in our power, to institute a minute investigation. It is said—"But you associated yourselves with the regret which you invited the Egyptian Government to express when it was found that the proceedings had been illegal." The hon. Gentleman calls it "a slight illegality." "A slight illegality," indeed! Let me tell the hon. Gentleman that in matters when the law happens to be international it is not so easy to define what is "slight illegality" and what is not "slight illegality." The proceedings were illegal; and, under the circumstances, we advised the expression of regret, and we associated ourselves with that expression, for we were unwilling to bring upon the Egyptian Government too great pressure, and to place it in a position of such disadvantage as it would have been in if it had had to make that expression alone. Our object was not to measure minutely, not to argue jealously, to show the limited nature of our own interference. Our object was to reduce to a minimum the evil which we felt must result from the error that had been committed. That is the state of the case.

MR. CHAPLIN: What about the re-issue of the paper?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am coming to that, if you will allow me. We can only entertain one thing at a time. With respect to the re-issue, I must postpone any definite declaration beyond that which I made to-day to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote)—I am not quite certain whether the words ascribed to me with regard to the re-issue were exactly those I used; but, undoubtedly, I think that as they paid attention to the declaration of the Government the House would have been justified in expecting that the re-issue of the paper should not have been arrived at at so early a period as appears to have been the case. Upon that question there may arise a case for further explanation at a future time. I stated across the Table to-day that it was now itself a subject of inquiry; but it was quite a proper subject to press, and it is one which may be of importance. I will not attempt to define it now. I certainly will not say anything now which can in any way aggravate the difficulties that exist. I quite admit that at the proper time—and that proper time will be when we meet again after the Recess—an account must be rendered by us as to the position in which we stand with regard to the re-issue of *The Bosphore Egyptien*. This I must, however, say in justice to the French Government—that at the commencement of the correspondence the French Government entirely declined to associate themselves with any resistance to the legal action of the Egyptian Government in putting down *The Bosphore Egyptien*, and disclaimed all fellowship with the tone which it was supposed to have adopted. The hon. Gentleman who commenced this debate defied me to state a great many things. If the time of the House allowed I should be perfectly ready to state every one of those things which he defied me, to state. He said he had never known a time when so little information was given, and so slowly, as recently. I have never known a time when so much information was given, and so rapidly. Looking back at the last few weeks, and at the pressure which has been brought to bear upon us to produce some part of the Russian Correspondence, my impression is that perhaps the public interest might have been better served if we had maintained greater reserve. [*Laughter, and* "Hear, hear!"] That is my deliberate opinion. There is one appeal of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the

Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) on which I think he is entitled to an answer, and I give myself the pleasure of speaking with cordial sympathy and approval of one portion of his speech—I wish there were more—as I know my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War would if he were now addressing the House. I allude to his references to the British Army; and I am also very glad that in comparing one class of British officers with another, he should have made it his special duty to bring to notice the great and honourable claims on the score of services which belong to the regimental officers and those less in the way than Staff officers of the notice of persons in Office. I thank the hon. and gallant Gentleman for that; and I can assure him that the Government are not sluggish in recognizing the merits of the Army, which have never been more conspicuous than at present. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said we spent three months in choosing between the Nile route and the Suakin-Berber route. That is true; but he did not mention that the months which we thus spent were months when we could not send an Expedition, when we had not the evidence on which to decide, and when the season would not have justified any Expedition being then sent. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman is chiefly anxious to know how matters stand between ourselves and Russia. The hon. Gentleman who last sat down refers to expressions of mine in which I stated in certain terms, which I cannot precisely repeat—but, no doubt, he gave the substance of them—that an agreement had been substantially arrived at—that, I believe, was the phrase used—between the Representatives of Russia on one side, and Earl Granville and the Earl of Kimberley upon the other; and the hon. Gentleman charitably says—in the spirit of that charity which believeth all things, only, unhappily, it happens to believe them on the wrong side in cases of this kind—the hon. Gentleman charitably says that that was stated in order to obtain votes in a division. But, Sir, it was exactly the wrong way to obtain votes. Setting out the activity of our exertions to secure peace may have been a way to obtain votes of which we could have believed ourselves to be already sure; because I believe that the Party on this side of the House knew that we had done our best. But certainly it did not appear to be the right way to obtain votes on the other side of the House; for, unless I am very much mistaken, it was on that night that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) rose and delivered a most deplorable jeremiad upon the degradation to which the Government had submitted in consequence of the concessions it had made to Russia. I must leave the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire to settle that matter between them. But then, says the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire—"You had to come down next day and say that all you had said was wrong, and to give the Russian version of the proceedings, which was entirely different from yours."

MR. CHAPLIN: I did not say that. What I attributed to you was that you had said that there had been no time to receive a final ratification of this agreement on the part of the Russian Government, but that it was certainly expected from day to day, and then I complained that we had heard nothing further of that ratification from that day to this.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman said more than that. He said I had to read or state an account of the matter given by the Russian Ambassador, which was at variance with the account I had given. There was no variance whatever. It did not contain everything that was in my account; but it stated still more strongly than either Earl Granville or I had done that the agreement had been arrived at. I quite agree that there was a confident expectation that what I had carelessly called a ratification, and what I next day called the approval of the Russian Government, would be received almost from day to day. I think that I was justified in using those words at that time. That they have been borne out completely by what has happened I will not say. The proceedings have not been so rapid as we could have desired; but I suppose that there are in Russia—as we sometimes suppose there are in this country—powerful, influential persons and classes who do not make it their object to promote the harmony of nations. I fear that a great struggle has been going on in Russia between those

parties and the more prudent and, as I think, the more patriotic members of society and Representatives of Office in Russia, who, I suppose, are liable to exactly the same battery of accusations as certain persons are exposed to here. We are constantly being told that we are sacrificing the interests of the country, and are truckling to Foreign States. That is what I believe is also going on in Russia; and I do hope the hon. Member and those among whom he sits will consider a little in the speeches they make and in the Questions they put, and will be put upon their guard against the danger of strengthening the hands of that party in Russia, whom I may regard, and which possibly the world at large may regard, as least likely of all the subjects of Russia, either to promote its honour or to maintain its interests. I cannot tell the hon. Gentleman when that agreement will be accepted. I expect it from day to day. But I can say that we are pursuing, I think with steadiness, a policy which I have described as a national policy, agreed upon by a long tradition of statesmen, and, as I think, sanctioned by the general concurrence of all parties. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) asks whether we can trust the Ameer? I presume the hon. and gallant Member does not attribute to those whom he thinks incompetent to manage the affairs of the country the gift of omniscience, or that by some Apostolic prerogative we can read the interior of the heart of the Ameer, or anybody else. We must trust to external sources and to such rational means as are at our command. Using such rational means to the best of our power, we must not strain them beyond what they will reasonably bear; and, acting on that view, in our judgment the action of the Ameer has been such as is not likely to add to the difficulties now before the House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman, no doubt, well knows that there are other things to be considered in Afghanistan besides the Ameer. The Throne of the Ameer is not always very firmly founded. I do not want to refer to the past; but under happier circumstances, in recent times, it might have been more firmly founded than it is. I believe that the sentiments of the people of that country are a most important element in the case; and we shall do all that we can to produce harmony and friendship in their sentiments towards us, and all that belongs to us. That is all that it is in our power to do; but I do not think justice will permit us to cast the smallest taint of suspicion on the words or acts of the Ameer at this important and difficult juncture. The hon. and gallant Gentleman asks about the boundary that is to be, and when the negotiations will conclude. I am not able to tell him. I cannot predict what the exact course of Russia may be with respect to one point or another. But if it will give some satisfaction to the hon. and gallant Gentleman, I will refer to the passage he read, and which my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War laid down as a sound doctrine of policy for the management of this question. I am not aware that my noble Friend or any Member of the Government has exhibited any disposition to recede from those doctrines. Beyond that I cannot undertake to say at what precise date these negotiations will come to a close. But I do not wish to spread alarm in the country. We are so accustomed to telegraphic machinery and to the astounding and incredible rapidity with which transactions are made known that we suppose the brains of men have quickened their movements in the same proportion. That is not the case. Unfortunately, the brains of men are not stronger—I sometimes fear they are rather weaker—in proportion to the hurry and confusion that now attend the transaction of business, and the incessant multiplication of reports and rumours which distract the mind of the public. But it must be considered that, after all, the time occupied in the transmission of information is small, though the time occupied in deliberation may have been great, and I trust that hon. Gentlemen will have some patience. I will not in the least degree blame the Russian Government for the time they are now taking. I believe that that country really labours at times under the same disadvantage, from want of adequate information and good maps, that we have done; but I will say that when the House comes to compare the dates of the different transactions and the different communications, they will see reason to believe that we have not been deficient in

promptitude in the answers which we sent, because our views and the bases of our action have been clear. The objects we hold up before us are simple, honourable, and well known; and as our principles of action are principles easily defended and difficult indeed to renounce, so the application of these principles does not involve a great many questions of difficulty. One word more. The hon. and gallant Member says that this Government is so liable to be squeezed, and that this is well known abroad. Well, the hon. and gallant Member had only to go one step further in order to come up fully to the level of the argument that I saw a few days ago in a daily paper of great influence and ability, which I will not name, because I think that it is very seldom that it writes such folly and nonsense. But that article, deliberately founded on this principle, illustrated and dilated and expanded this proposition—that the Government of this country was so weak that the Russian Government had only to persevere—[Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Hear, hear!]—aye, there goes the hon. Member for Eye—that they had only to persevere, they had only to hold out, and they will get everything they want. That sentiment is cheered by the hon. Member for Eye. I am not sure that the influence of the hon. Member on the action of the Russian Government will be very great; but if I did think so, then I would endeavour to answer his cheer, and say—"What in the world can be less agreeable to the dictates of wise patriotism than to tell a foreign country, with which your own Government is wrestling in a great conflict, that that Foreign Government has only to be strong, only to persevere, only to hold fast to its purpose, to gain everything it wants?" Such language, we are told, forsooth! is a form of patriotism. I know very well it is a great temptation to stir up lively and emphatic cheers. We may all have fallen into it on occasions; but let us remember that there is something else. You may be tempted to arouse those cheers. You may be tempted to say things because they wound your adversary and give pain. I do not think your adversary has any reason to complain; but do take care in these speeches that you do not wound your country and weaken its position in the assertion of its honour and the maintenance of its interests.

MR. GIBSON: The Prime Minister has stated that the policy of the Government and the principles upon which that policy is conducted are simple, and honourable, and well known. That is one of the most remarkable descriptions ever yet given of the Government policy. It is not the description given by any one of the supporters of the Government, by any Ministerial organ, or by the Continental Press. The Prime Minister reproved those who say that other countries have only to "be strong, persevere, and hold fast," in order to obtain all that they want. What right has the right hon. Gentleman to be ironical in using those phrases? I will ask when have the Government of this country proved that they are "strong," that they have "perseverance," and that they know how to "hold fast?" What right or title has the right hon. Gentleman to irony in this connection? Why, from hour to hour and week to week the Government change their policy? We heard yesterday that the Guards had been stopped at Alexandria. To-day we expected to be told that they have been allowed to go on, and to-morrow we may expect to be told that they have been allowed to go back again. Only this morning, Papers were published which shed a lurid light on the infinite power of change and the instability of purpose of the Government. Those Papers contain a despatch from Lord Wolseley commenting on the good deeds of the men who came to render us service from Canada, and expressing the hope that they would prove themselves useful, before the year should come to an end, in an Expedition down the Nile. Well, the contents of these Papers, only distributed this morning, have now become ancient history in consequence of the change of policy of the Government. Consider what the Prime Minister now says with regard to Russia. A moment ago the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) pointed out how a few days ago the Prime Minister intimated that we had a right to expect the completion of the agreement with Russia from day to day, it was so imminent. To-day, however, the right hon. Gentleman did not venture to tell us how soon we may expect the ratification

or conclusion of the agreement. Will any occupant of the Treasury Bench repeat to-day, after an interval of 10 days, the words which the Prime Minister used so readily when he last spoke upon this subject? Have we yet got any clear indication from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman just now of what is to be submitted to the arbitrator who has not yet been found? What is the agreement between this country and Russia? I do not know. The Prime Minister embarked to-day upon a new question at Question time. Formerly, he stated that it was the interpretation of the sacred contract that was to be submitted to the arbitrator. To-day, he states that it is not a question of the grammatical construction of the terms of the agreement, but something outside, and I am waiting with great curiosity to read what it is in to-morrow's papers. I should like to have it put into something like definite, plain English what is the point that is to be, in the present opinion of the Government, submitted as the duty of a capable and independent arbitrator. In a sentence endeavouring to convey a heavy charge against some parties in this House, the Prime Minister said — "There is a struggle in Russia, to which there is an analogy in this country, between those who are favourable to peace and those who are not favourable to it, and there are people in Russia who charge their Government with trucking to Foreign States." I do not believe anyone in Russia makes a charge so patently absurd. What sane man would at this time of day, make the statement that the Russian Government have for one solitary second, in any despatch with which we are at the present moment conversant, done anything or said anything which could be tortured by anyone into a readiness to truckle—to England, at all events? The right hon. Gentleman objects to our saying that his Government has been "squeezed." Well, I do not believe in harsh language, but I believe in fair language. How on earth are we otherwise to describe the action of the Government? Was there ever a Government that dismissed a House of Commons for the Whitsuntide Recess in circumstances of greater doubt, greater anxiety, and uncertainty? The only thing we know absolutely is that in almost every episode of their policy in which they could be squeezed they have exhibited an almost infinite capacity of squeezability. The Prime Minister in his speech dwelt on other topics, though I will not go into them in detail. He referred to the first origin of the phrase "mechanical majority." I will not go into that, but will merely pass on with this general statement, which no independent Liberal in this House will deny, that but for the "mechanical action" of the Government majority voting in silence, and often with heads bowed, the Government would have been out half-a-dozen times during the last two years. I shall not follow the Prime Minister, even in his guarded statement with respect to Ireland. I have ever taken, on that subject, as far as possible, a non-Party view, or what I conceive to be such. I have considered, for myself, what the best interests of the country required, and I have acted on my own conscientious views of what those interests were. The Prime Minister says that the conclusions of the Government have been embodied in a Bill. Those are his words, not mine. I have only to say that when the conclusions of the Government have advanced to that final stage that they are embodied in a Bill it is to be regretted that they are not submitted to the House in a way which would put an end to the cavil which has surrounded the Notice of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), which is suggested to have been put forward to strengthen one side of the Cabinet against the other in the controversy that is taking place. The Prime Minister went back on a point unworthy of him—I mean unworthy of a man of his ability. He went back on the stupid, foolish, old point, now worn threadbare, that not one of these difficulties were of their own creation. Surely, at this time of day it is silly childishness to talk to us in that way. What is the policy in the Soudan—reckless, wild, criminal as it has been—been guided by? What is answerable for what was done in the Soudan but your own miserable infirmity of purpose? You sent your Forces to the Soudan to slaughter madly, recklessly, criminally, unless you had a policy worthy of being accomplished by such unworthy ends; and then you withdrew without having accomplished anything except the loss

of thousands of human lives and the expenditure of millions of money. Why, every week that you remained undecided you were answerable for the bloodshed and appalling sufferings of the unfortunate Soudanese. The last attack made by General Graham, about which the Secretary of State for War sent a telegram of congratulation, was an appalling episode if it was not a part of a campaign, and would have been prevented if you had made up your minds the day before instead of the day after. The Prime Minister said, with reference to the Soudan, that the Government were not too late, because they were making up their minds for three months. I dealt with that subject on a former occasion, and I will not go into it again; but I leave it now with this open statement—which is notorious—that Lord Wolseley pressed you again and again to act, months and weeks before you took his advice, and the consequence of your culpable incapacity and inability to make up your minds was the death of General Gordon, and all the deplorable events which followed. I make that statement in the presence of the Secretary of State for War, because it is notorious that the Government were not supported by the authority of any of their capable military advisers. Against advice and warning they deliberately held back; and thus they are answerable for the weeks and months of delay which cannot possibly be thrown on the shoulders of other persons, and but for which Sir Charles Wilson might not have arrived a few hours too late at Khartoum. I will not go into the suggestion as to the non-responsibility of the Government for their action as to Afghanistan. What is the use of putting the right hon. Gentleman and his able Colleagues into Office and giving them full power for five years if they go now through the country crying like children—"We are not answerable for our own actions; we are unable, after five years of Office, to assume the responsibility of reasonable men?" The Prime Minister made the remarkable statement that at no time in the history of the country was information given so much and so quickly. No one has a greater respect for the Prime Minister than I have. We know him; but one may venture to say, with great respect, that when he speaks in that way he presumes a little on his own position and on our credulity. We have been endeavouring, helplessly, anxiously, after sleepless nights, to wrest some information from the Government, and we have always been baffled by the Prime Minister giving us information not quickly, and certainly not much. The Prime Minister passed on to *The Bosphore Egyptien*, and he dealt with the subject in a curious way. I have read the Papers, and read them with much attention. They are extremely easy to understand—it is almost impossible to misrepresent the facts or misconceive them. Sir Evelyn Baring, our own officer, an able man, the real Governor of Egypt—for there is no good at this time of day in dealing with shams, and saying that we are only to make suggestions and give advice — Sir Evelyn Baring said, in clear and unmistakable language, that this was a paper which could not be tolerated, as it habitually published false news about the Soudan. On March 29th, after asking whether Nubar Pasha could count on the diplomatic support of Her Majesty's Government, he wrote—

"I am of opinion that Nubar Pasha should be supported, for I do not think that in the present state of public feeling the misrepresentations of the French Press can be tolerated any longer without danger to the public tranquillity."

These are the words used by our own Agent. On April 11, Lord Lyons, writing to Earl Granville, used even stronger words. He stated that the cause of the suppression of *The Bosphore Egyptien* was the appearance in it of an incendiary Proclamation from the Mahdi, and that the publication of such matter as the paper contained could not be tolerated. Nothing could be stronger or plainer than that; in fact, the advice of both Sir Evelyn Baring and Lord Lyons was that the newspaper should be suppressed. That suppression received the deliberate sanction of the Government. [*Interruption.*] That interruption conveys with greater clearness what I want to bring out in naked simplicity, that the Government and the country is distinctly responsible for what was done in Cairo, and that it is a perfect sham to try and throw the responsibility upon Nubar Pasha and the Egyptian Government. On the 5th of May it was distinctly stated by our Ambassador at Paris that

the newspaper was suppressed by lawful decree of the Egyptian Government, and that the British Government gave its distinct sanction to the act on the grounds laid before it. There can be no doubt about that. The Prime Minister has argued that the British Government were bound to give their advice when it was asked for, and were bound to answer the question submitted to them at the time, and in that manner he has endeavoured to evade the responsibility. That is not the true position of the case. Our Agent in Egypt, Sir Evelyn Baring, gave the grounds on which we acted, and our Ambassador at Paris stated that no civilized Government could sanction the continuance of the newspaper, and that the Egyptian Government was proceeding in the matter with the distinct sanction of Her Majesty's Government. There is no going back from that. It is absolutely clear and distinct. Under the circumstances, I have a right to ask Her Majesty's Government this—Why did they not take advice before giving their distinct sanction to the suppression of this newspaper? Surely they must have known perfectly well that the state of the law in Egypt was very involved in such a state of facts, and that it required an examination of Egyptian and, possibly, of Ottoman law and of the Capitulations, to decide whether or not the suppression was legal. We know that the Government afterwards took legal advice; but it was then too late. Why did they not take legal advice in time, so that there might be no illegality about what the Egyptian Government was doing? I think that is an observation I have a right to make. The consequence of what they have done has been to involve the Egyptian Government in a position not calculated to give it strength. It is also calculated to put our Government in a degrading position in Egypt. By sanctioning what the Egyptian Government did we have associated ourselves in the submission of the Egyptian Government to the demand of a Foreign Power which did its best, under the circumstances, to humiliate the Egyptian Government and the English Government that sanctioned its proceedings. In answer to a Question of the Leader of the Opposition on the 5th of May, the Prime Minister stated that the paper was not to be re-issued. He said—

"A question may arise as to the method of suppressing the newspaper, but the re-issue of the paper is not included in the arrangement."

Nothing can be more absolutely clear than that statement. Well, what is the present position? We know that that statement has not been carried out. The "agreement," if the Prime Minister chooses to use the word, the arrangement, the assurance, or the sacred covenant of the French Government, or whatever it was, has not been carried out. It has been distinctly broken, and the paper was re-issued last night. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said that the paper was to be watched and looked after on the part of the Government, and, if necessary, again suppressed. It was stated that, notwithstanding its suppression, it might, if necessary, be re-issued. Surely that is not a necessary state of things. The paper has not erred once, or twice, or three times, but many times; and now, contrary to the statement of the Prime Minister, it has been re-issued without one solitary guarantee as to its future good conduct. Suppose this paper is again suppressed on some question of political criticism, and the French Government differ with Her Majesty's Government on the question, there is then an issue between two Great Powers. We have an issue now between England and Russia, and this paper may, at any time, cause one to arise between France and England. Would that be another subject to be submitted to another independent arbitrator? There is another point, as to which we have no information. We know from the newspapers that the Representatives of Germany, France, Austria, and Russia have waited upon Nubar Pasha, and have informed him that they have received orders from their Governments to protest against the illegality of the Decree of the 14th of April, imposing a reduction of 5 per cent on the coupons. What steps are going to be taken in that matter? We are now on the eve of adjourning for the Whitsuntide Recess, and we do not know what steps are to be taken on that subject. The English Government sanctioned the Decree of the Khedive of the 14th of April, putting the tax on the coupons. England again will be put in the humiliating position of recalling the Decree, and

reversing that state of facts. Have Her Majesty's Government yet considered and decided what they will do in consequence of the difficulties which have arisen? Before the Easter Recess we were coerced into giving a Vote on finance with reference to Egypt by being told that bankruptcy was a question of hours and days. On the strength of that the British House of Commons was coerced into doing what no European Power has yet been called upon to consider; and under the pressure of the English Government and the debates in this Parliament the Khedive, poor man! was called upon to issue the Decree of the 14th of April, and to put into operation the Government view of the financial agreement. Now, the poor Khedive —this independent man!—who has only a right to ask for advice and take it or not as he pleases, will be bound to-morrow, or the day after, to reverse the Decree, and upset the entire arrangement, so far as we know. I want to know have Her Majesty's Government decided how they will cope with this difficulty? Do they intend to retire altogether from the financial proposal? I daresay they might do so without any loss to Egypt or to England. There is one point of good argury in this frightful mass of confusion in which the present Government have involved the country. The Government will be compelled to make up their mind very soon as to whether they will assume the responsibility that lies upon them in Egypt, or whether they will submit and surrender all their rights in Egypt to be dealt with by all the European nations. That is a very serious question, and a question they might very rapidly decide; and I do hope that to-night, before this debate closes, we shall hear from some Minister something like a statement as to the conditions on which *The Bosphore Egyptien* is to be allowed to appear in future; whether those conditions are to be found in any document; what that document is; why it has not been included in the Papers laid on the Table; and whether it can now be stated and submitted to the judgment of Parliament; and, with reference to this Decree to which I have referred, and the protest of the four Great European Powers whose names I have given, what steps the Government have taken, or intend to take; or whether, indeed, they have yet considered what decision they are likely to arrive at?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I really do not wish to detain the House; but I think it is somewhat remarkable, after the direct and fair appeal of my right hon. and learned Friend, that there is no word of reply from the Treasury Bench. My right hon. and learned Friend has raised in the course of the latter part of his speech two questions of very great and pressing importance. He has alluded to circumstances which are fresh in all our minds. He has alluded to the position of affairs in Egypt, and he has asked questions of Her Majesty's Government as to the position of those affairs, and as to the way, so far as they are able to announce it to the House, in which they intend to deal with them. Let me take the last point raised by my right hon. and learned Friend. Sir, on the question of the International Guarantee of the Egyptian Loan, no one can deny the accuracy of the statement of my right hon. and learned Friend that we were practically coerced by Her Majesty's Government in April last into voting our share of the International Guarantee on their statement of imminent bankruptcy in Egypt and the terrible circumstances that would arise unless we acceded to that request. We know, for it is a matter of notoriety, that in not one single Parliament of Europe except our own has this question yet been considered, and that, so far as we can tell, no European Government has taken any active steps to carry out that arrangement. Indeed, so far from taking any active steps to carry out the arrangement, they have actually appealed to the Khedive of Egypt to revoke that part of it which was all that we received in return for that International Guarantee. What, then, do Her Majesty's Government intend to do in that state of affairs? Have they any hope that this arrangement will be carried into effect? What advice have they given the Khedive on the subject, or have they given him any advice at all? Is this Decree to be revoked with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, or without it; and what is the position of affairs in this important matter? Sir, I trust that before this Motion is finally agreed to, we may have such an answer as

I think this House is entitled to have from the Government to the questions of my right hon. and learned Friend. We are adjourning for a fortnight, and surely it is reasonable that we should ask Her Majesty's Government, without wishing them to tell us anything which may be injurious to the Public Service, to assure us, if they can, that their policy in this matter will be carried into effect, and that this undertaking will not be thrown aside as mere waste-paper.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should have risen before to reply to the questions of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) if I had not conceived that they had been practically answered, in anticipation, by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government. The right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) stated that the Opposition was coerced into supporting the arrangement made with regard to the International Guarantee.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No; I said the House was coerced.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The House was coerced! That is a very different thing. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite have no right to say they were coerced. They voted against the arrangement; and, therefore, I think they can hardly now complain of being coerced into supporting it when they did all they could to resist it, and endeavoured to overthrow it and the Government at the same time. Now, as to the questions of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite. I think he a little misapprehended the position of the Government with reference to *The Bosphore Egyptien*. He stated that the English Government had been a party to the determination of the Egyptian Government to suppress *The Bosphore Egyptien*. Well, that is perfectly true; and he says that the suppression was illegal, and asks why the Government did not take advice before they became parties to the transaction, which would have shown that it was illegal?

MR. GIBSON: I said the method in which the suppression was carried out was illegal.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: We could not take advice beforehand as to the manner in which the suppression would be carried out, because we did not know what method would be adopted. We were never asked about the closing of the Press. That was the illegal part of the transaction, and we could not take advice on it, because we had no knowledge whatever that that particular method would be adopted. That illegal method of carrying out a proceeding legal in itself was the unfortunate circumstance which has led to all the present embarrassments. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman will also see that, if an illegal act has been done, it is impossible to make conditions with reference to an act illegal in itself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says —"Have you reason to believe that *The Bosphore Egyptien* will not re-appear in its former shape?" Well, my right hon. Friend has already stated that on the subject of its re-appearance we are in communication with the French Government. That was what I referred to when I said the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite had been answered by anticipation. Is it reasonable upon a transaction of this character, which is not 24 hours old, to demand an answer from the Government whilst they are still in communication with a Foreign Power with regard to it? Unless the right hon. and learned Gentleman desires—which I am sure he does not—to force on a hostile attitude between the Government of England and the Government of France, it is surely unreasonable to insist upon a categorical public statement upon this subject. That is my answer to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's first question. The Prime Minister has indicated to him how it is impossible to give an answer to that point. My answer on the second point is precisely the same. What is this event with reference to the revocation of the Khediveal Decree? Why, it is not 24 hours old yet! It is a question which involves the Government of Egypt and the Government of England and the Great Powers of Europe, and yet the right hon. and learned Gentleman comes down and says—"We demand that you shall give us an answer before the face of the House as to the course you intend to take in reference to all these Great Powers, and we shall consider you have done us a great wrong if you do not give an answer to that question, although the matter is only 24 hours old." It would be unstatesmanlike to give an answer. A course of that kind could

only lead to great International embarrassment, and possibly to grave International consequences. I say that it is not fair on the part of men occupying the responsible position which the Gentlemen sitting upon the opposite Bench do to seize upon every difficulty which arises for this country instantly, and to say, "Give us an answer," when they know that an answer cannot be given without leading to grave International complications. I say that is not fair conduct on the part of any Opposition, and it is not conduct in which any responsible Government can consent to acquiesce.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: We are accustomed to lectures from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt); but there are one or two considerations which the House ought to bear in mind. With regard to the first of the two points to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred, and which were touched on by my right hon. Friend the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and by my right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr Gibson), as to the course of the Government in supporting and advising, and prompting, I may almost say, the Egyptian Government in this matter, and inducing — which they distinctly did — the Government of Egypt to put itself in a false position, from which it had to withdraw with an apology, with which Her Majesty's Government very necessarily, I think, but very painful to the country, had to associate themselves, what we say is this—"You may be right in finding at the end that it was necessary that an apology should be offered for the manner in which *The Bosphore Egyptien* was suppressed, but you ought to have known that before; and it is no excuse to give the sort of answer which the Home Secretary gave, 'that we did not advise with regard to the mode in which this thing was to be done.'" We knew beforehand that the Government of Egypt thought it necessary to take steps against this newspaper on account of its language. The Government of this country assented, and encouraged the Egyptian Government to go on and suppress the newspaper. They must have known that in a matter of that kind everything turned—the main question upon which most things turn—on the manner in which this was to be executed; and it is absurd, and it is more than absurd, for them to withdraw themselves, and to think they get out of the responsibility by saying—"Oh, we never went into the question of how this particular thing was to be done." Well, that is what we say has characterized your conduct with regard to Egypt all through. You have always been getting Egypt into a difficulty, and then withdrawing yourself from responsibility by saying—"Oh, that was a question of the manner in which the thing was to have been done, and we were not responsible for that." Take that serious question we have so often referred to—the abandonment of the Soudan. There was a question as to which, it being one of the highest importance, Her Majesty's Government said—"This is to be done; but we need not say how it has to be done." And then they would keep themselves out of the responsibility, and would not give any advice as to the manner in which it was to be done, and their failing to do so led to the great misfortunes which have happened since. The same has been the case, on a different scale, with this newspaper. You were responsible for the act of the Egyptian Government. You failed to point out to them what you might have pointed out—the difficulties and dangers to be avoided in the manner of executing the Decree—and then, when the thing comes to the last, you have to humiliate yourselves in the eyes of the world and in the eyes of the Egyptian Government themselves by having to confess—"We did not give sufficiently good advice; we had not considered the matter sufficiently; when we came to look into the matter and take the opinion of our Law Officers, we found that the way this was done was illegal, and therefore we have to associate ourselves with an expression of regret." Sir, that is not the position which we think Her Majesty's Government should take up, and I do not think that the country will be satisfied with the explanation which has been tendered by the Home Secretary. But, Sir, we have the other point, which is the re-appearance of *The Bosphore Egyptien*. When we had that not particularly agreeable statement made to us of the terms to which Her Majesty's Government had agreed, and the apology with which they were to asso-

ciate themselves, they were distinctly asked—I myself asked the Prime Minister—whether, as a part of the arrangement, the paper was to be suppressed, or whether it was again to appear? The Prime Minister gave me, in a most distinct manner, the assurance that it was not to appear. I see now—and I put a Question on the subject at the beginning of the evening—that in the very last of Earl Granville's despatches on this subject he tells Nubar Pasha, or desires Sir Evelyn Baring to tell Nubar Pasha, in the most distinct terms, that although the opening of the printing office should be unconditional, Her Majesty's Government have reason to be convinced that *The Bosphore Egyptien* will not appear for a certain time, and that, meanwhile, the French Government will be ready to exchange views on the question of the application of the Press Laws to newspapers published by French citizens in Egypt. Well, I asked whether any communication had taken place, whether any exchange of views had taken place, in conformity with that which we were told Her Majesty's Government expected as far back as the 28th of April? The answer we get is—"Oh, this matter of *The Bosphore Egyptien* is only 24 hours old, and how can you expect that we should answer in 24 hours upon this matter? Communications are going on, and views are being exchanged upon this subject." But we want to know what has been going on between the 28th of April and the 20th of May? We were told, as part of this arrangement, that there were to be negotiations and an exchange of views, and we want to know has there been such exchange of views—has the matter been touched since the 28th of April, or has it been left until now, when we have had it forced upon us? I think the House has every reason to complain of the manner in which they have been dealt with with regard to this incident. It may, in itself, be considered as a comparatively small incident—but it is not so when we consider all the points raised by it—the responsibility of the Government both with respect to the Government of Egypt, which they have misled, and the credit of this country, which they have, I think, so deeply involved. We ought, therefore, to have explanations on this matter. As to the other important question of the proceedings as to the Guaranteed Loan, I do most distinctly say that the House was coerced by the majority, who in their turn were coerced—the minority was coerced by the majority, who were in their turn coerced by the Prime Minister and his Colleagues by the statement which we believed, and by which we were strongly impressed with all the authority of the Government, but which we now look upon in a somewhat different light. We were led by the statement of the Prime Minister as to the urgent necessity for our passing at once this Resolution forming the financial arrangement, without which we were told that foreign nations would not proceed with the business, and we were given to understand that if we did so proceed and did give the guarantee further difficulties were not to be expected, and the Foreign Governments would proceed with the matter. Well, they have not proceeded with it, and we see the difficulties which have now come upon us. We want some advice and information from the Government on these matters. We are told it is unreasonable to ask it. I think we are closing the Session for the present adjournment in a very unsatisfactory manner. I think the House and the country have every reason to complain of the position in which, as it now appears, we are placed with regard to this particular question of the newspaper and the fair settlement of the financial arrangement; and we are placed, let me add also, in an unsatisfactory position with regard to a very important question which I do not think has been mentioned to-night — I mean the arrangement with regard to the Suez Canal. Upon that question we ought to have more assurances than we have yet received; and I am bound to say that I do not think that the Government have a right to use to us the language of rebuke in which both the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary have so freely indulged.

MR. O'KELLY said, the Government asserted that they had no means of informing themselves as to the mode which would be adopted of suppressing *The Bosphore Egyptien;* but, as a matter of fact, the suppression of the paper, as it had taken place, was merely a second edition of a former suppression that was attempted in February, 1884. On that occasion the Egyptian Government sup-

pressed the paper by Decree; but that Government was informed by its Legal Adviser that the action they had taken was illegal. When they went to the office of the paper they were told that if they attempted to put their Decree into force they would be met by armed resistance. The French Consular authorities had not been notified. Information was sent to them, and they despatched an agent to the newspaper office, upon whose representation the Egyptian Government withdrew. That was the history of the first effort to suppress the newspaper, and that, so far as he was aware, was the only authority for the later suppression. Those facts were notorious in Egypt—in fact, all over Cairo—and they must have been pretty well known to Sir Evelyn Baring and those who acted on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. Therefore, the Government had no right whatever to come to the House and say that they were not aware of the illegality of the course they were pursuing in connection with this paper. Now, with regard to the character of *The Bosphore Egyptien*, he must say that he had felt very much astonished at the statements made both in that House and by the Press of this country on the subject. He had been a very constant reader—almost a daily reader—of the journal, and he thought that if there was any real ground of objection to it, or any sufficient ground for its suppression, it would be the invariable support it had given to Her Majesty's Government in their conduct of the affairs of Egypt. With regard to the statement that what was done was done by the action of the Egyptian Government, and that Her Majesty's Government were not responsible, that was a mere play upon words. It was perfectly well known that there was no real Egyptian Government—that the Egyptian Government was a mere marionette; we pulled the strings and it jumped. As to Nubar Pasha, he was not an Egyptian but a Christian Armenian officer, who was kept at the head of affairs in Egypt by our bayonets, and who would not be allowed to remain 24 hours in Egypt after those bayonets disappeared from it. And that was the man whose action Her Majesty's Government called the action of the Egyptian Government. If there was anything that was absolutely plain to anyone who was not a thick-and-thin supporter of the English clique in Cairo, it was that *The Bosphore Egyptien* represented the opinion not only of the Egyptian Government and the French Colonists, but of all other Colonists with regard to the British Government and their acts towards the officials in Egypt. Therefore, the action which had been taken in the case of this newspaper was not the action of any real Egyptian Government, but was an action for which Her Majesty's Government were primarily responsible. It was an act done by an Agent of theirs who called himself a Minister of the Khedive, and it was upon that ground that France had demanded from them, and had compelled them to join in, the expression of regret which had been made for this act of invading the domicile of a Frenchman in Cairo. With regard to the question as to the legality or illegality of this act, it did not require any very extensive knowledge of the laws under which Englishmen lived in Egypt to know that any violation of the domicile of a foreigner in that country would be a breach of International Law. That must have been patent to the British authorities and to those who advised this action in Egypt, and he supposed that it was something that was not unknown to the gentlemen who ruled over the destinies of the foreigner. He supposed they knew enough about foreign affairs to know that the laws under which foreigners lived in Egypt were different from those under which they lived in any European country. And now he meant to pass from that point. He just wished to say one word with regard to a phrase the Prime Minister used as he (Mr. O'Kelly) came into the House with respect to the Soudan Expedition. There were plenty of books concerning Egypt which would supply the right hon. Gentleman with all the information about that country which he could possibly desire to have. If the British Government had it in contemplation to send an Expedition up the Nile, it was evident that the only time at which such an Expedition could have been properly sent was the time when the Nile was at the flood. That time the Government deliberately let pass. They said they had no notice of it. Perhaps it might appear a little egotistical; but he, in some letters he

had the honour to write, called attention as early as May to the necessity of sending the Expedition up the Nile not later than the 1st of July. His letters, no doubt, escaped the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers; but still Her Majesty's Ministers must have had agents who were able and clever all throughout Egypt. They had the officers of their Intelligence Department scattered throughout Egypt at that time; and, therefore, how could the Government have been ignorant as to what was the proper time to send an Expedition up the Nile? If they were ignorant it was because they did not take the trouble to inform themselves on a matter of vital importance to the safety of the garrison of Khartoum. The excuses they attempted to make to the House were lame and ineffective, and if the country were satisfied with them they were very easily satisfied.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the matter of *The Bosphore Egyptien* was not important in itself, but it was important as showing the want of benevolence on the part of the French. It really seemed that there was a combination of European Powers against us, in spite of the continual assertion of Her Majesty's Government that they did not seek any special privileges in Egypt, but that they wished to get out of Egypt as soon as they could, and that they wished to make the Suez Canal a channel of commerce open to all nations. This country spoke before Egypt with two voices—one the voice of Her Majesty's Government, and the other the voice of an irresponsible Press, a voice which was mistaken for that of the public opinion of the country. The Press was continually hounding on the Government to take in Egypt a position superior to that which other Powers had. He did not think the Government had any grounds for doing so. It was argued by the Press of this country that they had, in the exercise of their discretion, gone to Egypt; that they had several times spilt their blood and treasure there; and that, therefore, they were entitled to remain there. The Government must decide either that they would remain in Egypt, or tell the European Governments that they need not be jealous. Personally, he thought the Canal ought to be subjected to International control.

MR. WARTON said, the time spent upon this Vote had not been wasted, because the discussion had elicited from the First Lord of the Treasury his approbation of the language which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) used in 1881 in the Candahar debate, and which had been quoted that night by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). It was not, however, his (Mr. Warton's) province to interfere in matters of high policy. He had tried to do what he could to improve in a small degree the procedure of the House. In the matter of the introduction of Bills brought down from the other House he had already succeeded. In consequence of his humble efforts, it was now the practice of the Speaker to announce from the Chair when the first reading of a Bill brought from the other House was to be taken: formerly such Bills used to be introduced in the House of Commons without anyone being aware of the fact. There was another little matter which still awaited settlement—namely the appointment of casual Chairmen. At present, when the Chairman (Sir Arthur Otway) was not in the House, and the Committee on a Bill was reached, some hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench, or it might possibly be someone on the Front Opposition Bench, quietly slipped into the Chair. The consent of the House was in no way asked with regard to the hon. Gentleman who should fill the Chair. He maintained that that was a state of things which ought not to be. That was not his view only, but of the First Lord of the Treasury, because, in 1882, that right hon. Gentleman said he intended to bring forward some Rules with regard to that important question. At a later period the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) asked the Prime Minister when he would be able to put on the Paper the proposed Regulation regulating the appointment of casual Chairmen. The answer the right hon. Gentleman returned was that the Government had no intention at present to make any proposal on the subject. A hint was thrown out from the Government Bench that it would be a good thing if there was a panel of Gentlemen capable of sitting in the Chair. If that suggestion were acted

upon, they would not see what positively happened on some occasions—a kind of scramble for the Chairman's seat. He had not a word to say against any of the hon. Gentlemen who occasionally occupied the Chair; but, nevertheless, he thought there should be some Rules to regulate the appointment of Chairmen.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the indulgence of the House for a few minutes. He should not have done so if it had not been for a remark which fell from the Prime Minister in the course of his speech that evening. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) ventured to cheer, not immoderately, but in the ordinary way, a quotation from a newspaper, with regard to the squeezability of Her Majesty's Government, which the Prime Minister was then reading to the House. The right hon. Gentleman at once founded the enormous charge against him of want of patriotism; he said there was a great want of patriotism in cheering the statement that the Government was squeezable by foreign nations. Well, were they not squeezable? Could any intelligent man on the Ministerial side of the House say they were not squeezable? When he and his hon. Friends drew attention to the squeezability of the Government, their object was not to encourage foreign nations to squeeze the Government, but to encourage the Government to resist the squeezing. They wished, if they could, to arouse what latent sense of shame was in the Government. The squeezability of Her Majesty's Government was nothing new. The whole Continent of Europe was well acquainted with it. Every foreign organ of intelligence was at that moment writing about it. The only way which the House had of checking that fatal squeezability of the Government and averting war—for it was certainly bringing about war—was to put such pressure upon Ministers as would prevent their being squeezed. It was remarkable to listen to the Prime Minister indulging in a eulogy of peace. Did the Prime Minister or hon. Gentlemen opposite really think that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been peaceful? Did they not know that these constant surrenders to a Power which only respected force were the certain means of leading to war? As a matter of fact, the only war in which this country had been engaged with Russia was caused by a Liberal Government, of which the present Prime Minister was a Member, and was caused by the same course of feebleness and inability to speak their own mind which the present Government were now following. The more they gave up to Russia the more she would demand. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the course which he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) was following was detrimental to the public interest. He confessed he had, with very little support, tried to induce Her Majesty's Ministers to declare what their policy with regard to the Afghan Frontier was. He deeply grieved to be at variance with the Prime Minister on that point. He believed, however, that what he wanted was not at variance with the public interest; because, in his opinion, the only means of preventing war was to make the Government lay their hand on the Table and state how much they were prepared to defend, and see whether public opinion would support them in what they called a national and Imperial policy, but which, so far, had been nothing of the kind. He asked the Prime Minister whether he could deny that if the Russian despatch of the 16th of January had been made known to this country at the time such strength would have been given by public support to Her Majesty's Government as to make the invasion of Afghanistan and the attack on and slaughter of their allies absolutely impossible? On the 16th of January last the Russians demanded Zulfikar, Penjdeh, and other places; and, furthermore, that the Ameer should not have the right to fortify his own country. Was there a Minister on the Treasury Bench who could deny that if the despatch containing those demands had been made known to the country at the time there would have been such a display of public feeling as would have made the Government's subsequent surrender impossible? In conclusion, he asked the Government to state what was the Frontier agreed upon last Monday or Tuesday between Earl Granville and M. de Staal, so that the country might know how much further pressure was being put upon Ministers, and where this insidious encroachment of Russia was to make its next move? The Opposition were told that they were a War Party. That they were told

by a Government who had just spent £13,500,000 on war preparations; who had a Budget of £100,000,000 and a deficit of £15,000,000; a Government who had involved them in wars in the Transvaal and the Soudan, who had rendered war with Russia all but inevitable—yes, in spite of the sneers of the Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt), he maintained that the yielding policy of the Government was making war with Russia absolutely certain. There were no possible means of preventing war with Russia but by telling her she was not to overstep a certain line. Let Russia know clearly that if she continued to encroach she would be confronted by the whole Forces of the Empire—in India, the Baltic, and the Black Sea; and by every ally we could get—in Turkey, in China, and wherever we could obtain support, would be used against her. That was the only way in which war was to be prevented. There was no Peace Party in the Russian Government; there were two Parties—one which believed that more could be gained in the future by temporary delay now, and another which thought that Herat ought to be seized at once. As to M. de Giers, of whose peaceful intentions the House had heard so much, he asked hon. Members to read the Blue Book and see whether M. de Giers was not the most convenient stalking horse that any War Party in any country ever possessed.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House, at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Postponed Resolution [7th May] *considered.*

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £38,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Administration of Military Law, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886."

MR. SEXTON wished to know what steps the Government had taken, or meant to take, respecting a series of outrages committed in Downpatrick on the night of the 30th of April by a number of men of the Down Militia? As far as he could ascertain, the outrages had been followed by complete immunity. When he last brought the subject under the notice of the House he pointed out that the Government had deliberately abstained from using the best ground in the vicinity of Downpatrick for the Militia; that they had not made use of any of the unoccupied houses in the town for the billeting of the men; but that they had billeted them promiscuously through the town, which meant the complete destruction of military discipline and opening the door to a breach of the peace in a part of Ireland where Party feeling ran notoriously high. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), in replying to his complaint, said that the private houses were not suitable to the purpose. He (Mr. Sexton) had since ascertained that the unoccupied houses in the town of Downpatrick had been actually inspected by a sergeant of the Staff, who found that one of them was capable of accommodating 80 men—that, in fact, there was abundant accommodation in such houses for the whole of the men, 190 in number. However, the War Office refused to accept the suggestion which he (Mr. Sexton) made, and, as he had said, the men were billeted promiscuously through the town. The conduct of 15 of them who were billeted in one house was so bad on one occasion that the sergeant was obliged to remove 13 of them to other quarters. The War Office refused to take warning from that circumstance. The moment the regiment came into the town early last month disorder and breaches of the peace were feared. That might have been because the character of the regiment was known to the townspeople—it might be due also to the political character of the Commanding Officer. Colonel Waring was an extreme Orangeman; he was one of the magistrates who signalized themselves in the matter of Lord Rossmore's removal from the Commission of the Peace; he was the man who led an armed and violent mob at Saintfield some two or three years ago; and he was only prevented by Mr. Clifford Lloyd from making an armed and murderous attack upon an orderly organized public meeting. Major Stewart, the Adjutant of the regiment was also a partizan, and after the Militiamen had been allowed to march through the town drunk and shouting "to Hell with the Pope," he was the officer who had not the courtesy or the common sense of duty to reply to the complaints made by

the Catholic clergy. He (Mr. Sexton) made a complaint of these proceedings in that House; but he was met with a "categorical denial," and the Government took no steps to inquire into the condition of affairs or what was taking place. On the evening of the 30th of April, about 40 men from the regiment formed themselves into military order, and, headed by two civilians, they marched through the town attacking every Catholic in the streets and the houses of the Catholics along the line of route. During the evening they made an incursion upon the premises of a man named Gilmore, and violently attacked and beat some people who were in the shop, and then made their way back to barracks after breaking the glass in Mr. Gilmore's windows. The noble Marquess seemed to think that that was a proper kind of conduct. It was well known in the town of Downpatrick that the police had orders not to arrest Militiamen, and the result of that was very naturally to try the tempers of the population of the town and to bring about ill-feeling. He did not know which side got the upper hand in the disturbances which took place; but this they did know—that the civilian invariably got punished and the Militiaman went free. Why did the noble Marquess mention this "categorical denial" at all unless he had meant it to go in palliation of what had taken place? He met his (Mr. Sexton's) statement by saying that a "categorical denial" had been made; but he did not say who had made that "categorical denial." Was it Colonel Waring or Major Stewart, for he held that a denial from such men was entitled to no credence? It was one of the grievances in the town that such a man as Major Stewart should have been allowed to occupy his position for eight years. He wished to inform the House that he had declarations proving the accuracy of his statements, and therefore he was anxious to know who had made the denials. He had a declaration made by Mr. Gilmore himself, saying that every one of the statements he (Mr. Sexton) had made was correct, and going particularly into the question of how the people in his shop were knocked down by these drunken Militiamen. It was a very serious thing when people got up in that House and denied statements which were so undeniable as that he had made there that evening without being able to give some substantial authority for their denial. He did not rely altogether on the statement of Mr. Gilmore; but he had in his possession a great many other declarations which fully corroborated Gilmore's testimony in regard to the breaking of his windows, &c. One of the persons in the house at the time of the occurrence, Patrick John M'Intosh, gave corroborative testimony, and so did another man, Patrick Cunningham; but it was useless for him to go into any more of those statements. Would the noble Marquess repeat his denial, or would he get up and admit that it was no longer tenable? Colonel Galbraith, an official of the Government, had been sent down to make an inquiry into those statements; but he should like to know what was the result of the inquiry? Would the noble Marquess get up and state what the result of that inquiry was? Everybody knew what was coming. All those Militiamen were connected with the Orange Society, and the people were Catholics, and when the former were given liberty to go about as they liked the result was inevitable. Ever since they had been in the town of Downpatrick they had gone out of their way to insult the people. One of their favourite amusements had been to stand outside the places of worship of the people as the people came out and insult them and their religion. Now, he wanted to know whether the denial was maintained, and whether if the case he had made out was admitted—and it was vouched for by all the priests in Ulster—would the Government free the town from all this riotous element? If they refused, and this conduct was allowed to be continued, he could not believe but that those outrages would be renewed and the peace would be broken. The magistrates had refused to go into the provocation which the people had received, and nothing had been done to bring the Militiamen to justice. When would those men be taken away? Would the Government be good enough to take those men away from Downpatrick, where the fear of those riots occurring was constant? They might take them away to Limerick or any other place where there would be no fear of their breaking the public peace or raising riots. What steps had ever been taken to

find out the Militiamen who had committed outrages? Civilians had been punished; but, as he had said before, Militiamen went free, and he contended that it was the immunity from punishment that gave an impetus to those men to commit outrage, because they knew perfectly well that they would not be charged with their crimes. He thought that the Military Authorities ought to co-operate with the Civil Authorities in this matter, and endeavour to punish the real culprits. He should be very much surprised if any of the claims he had put forward that evening were shown to be unreasonable. It was almost hopeless for them to expect to obtain justice from the Military Authorities in those matters; but he should use every effort on that and every other occasion to obtain justice for the people. The effect of allowing people in the Service of the Crown to do as they liked must produce bitterness in the minds of the people, and induce them to retaliate. If the War Office took steps to put a stop to this kind of thing they would probably have no more trouble; but if not they might depend upon it there would be much rioting, and many heads broken. As long as this state of things existed the prospect of anything like peace was anything but certain.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he regretted that the hon. Member appeared to attach an exaggerated importance to this matter. He was not aware of what was the direct bearing of the hon. Member's speech, and he could not remember what were the statements to which he had given a categorical denial. The War Office had referred the matter to Colonel Galbraith, and had directed him to inquire into the disturbances. Although they had not yet received his full Report, they had received a telegram from Colonel Galbraith on the subject, in which he said that the disturbances were not commenced by the Militia, and that they had been greatly exaggerated. The telegram was not a very long one however, and he would not altogether rely upon it, for Colonel Galbraith might, of course, be led to modify his opinion by subsequent information. He regretted that the hon. Member had thought it necessary to impute bad conduct to the Militia on this particular occasion, and in this partiular way. The fact of Militia regiments being billeted on the towns was not generally deprecated by the people, but, as a rule, was regarded as a matter to be desired, as it brought money into the town, and was a source of profit to some of the poorer classes of the townspeople. Those men had been previously quartered in Downpatrick, and Major Stuart desired to obtain the same barrack accommodation which they had had before in order to have the men the better under his control. That, however, was found to be impossible. The billeting, therefore, was not a matter which was altogether under the control of the Military Authorities. Nevertheless, the recruits assembled in the town on the 6th of April; and, as far as he could ascertain, no disturbance occurred until the 29th of April. The hon. Member had said that a disturbance occurred the day before the races; but he understood that that disturbance was caused by an assault on a Militiaman, and was caused by a well-known disturber of the public peace, who was now undergoing punishment for offences of that kind. On the following day, as he understood the hon. Member, the disturbance in regard to Mr. Gilmore's shop took place. Neither he nor anyone else had been able to identify any of the civilians who took part in the disturbance. It was true that the windows of several houses were broken; but he (the Marquess of Hartington) was informed that some of the houses were inhabited by Protestants. Since the occurrence, however, the regiment had been in camp outside the town, it was now under strict military control, and the Commanding Officer did not apprehend a renewal of the disturbance. The hon. Gentleman asked what measures had been taken by the Military Authorities to prevent any further breaches of the peace. He (the Marquess of Hartington) was informed that the town had been patrolled at night by a strong picket under the command of an officer, and that, in addition, other precautionary measures had been taken. He had not obtained full information on the subject; but there seemed to be no reason whatever to doubt that what took place on the 30th of April had been very greatly exaggerated. It was perfectly clear to him that the disturbance was provoked not by the Militiamen, but by certain civilians of

the town. Every facility had been given by the officers for the identification of those who took part in the breach of the peace, but up to the present without success. As to the Commanders of the regiment being Members of the Orange Society be knew nothing; but he did not think that Colonel Waring or any one of the officers would allow their political opinions to interfere with the discharge of their military duties. If anything in the nature of Party spirit or feeling entered into the discharge of the duties of Militia officers a Report to that effect would be immediately made by the superior officer, and proper steps taken in the matter.

MR. SEXTON asked if compensation had been granted to the people whose property had been destroyed?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was not aware that any claim for compensation had been made.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said the statement of the noble Marquess was not altogether satisfactory. The noble Marquess, who had been Chief Secretary for Ireland, and therefore must know very well what the Party feeling in that country, especially in the North, was, was scarcely justified in instituting an analogy between the riots which took place in English and Scotch towns, and the riots which took place between the Irish Parties. If there were merely drunken rows between Militiamen and low-class civilians no one would say anything about them. But the complaint of his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) was, in the first place, that this Militia regiment was commanded by an officer notorious for his Orange proclivities, and his participation in Orange manifestoes and Orange proceedings of all kinds. Under the influence of an officer of that kind, the regiment had been led to insult and provoke the Catholic inhabitants of the town of Downpatrick. He put it to the noble Marquess whether it was good for the Militia, for the Army generally, or good on any ground of public policy that such a state of things should be allowed to continue in the town? The noble Marquess had said he knew nothing of the Orange proclivities of Colonel Waring. It was strange he did not, for there was not a man in Ireland who did not know Colonel Waring. Colonel Waring, as the Deputy Grand Master of the Orange Society of County Down, had lately affixed his name to the most inflammatory placards; he was undoubtedly a most active member of the Orange Society, and therefore it was the duty of the War Office to remove him from the command of this Militia regiment. The noble Marquess complained that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had led the House to suppose that there was some Party or religious feeling mixed up with this matter. There was no one who regretted Party conflicts more than the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton); but the facts remained. There was no doubt that Party feeling was mixed up in this matter. One woman of the town had deposed that she was terrified on account of her young children. Was it not an intolerable state of things that a woman, whose respectability was attested by a clergyman, should be afraid of her own life, and of the lives of her children, because a Militia regiment was allowed to go about insulting and attacking the Catholic inhabitants of the town? As a rule, the Orange body, bad as they were, drew the line at insulting the ministers of the Catholic faith; but Father O'Hara, of Downpatrick, had been publicly insulted by some of those men, one of whom cursed the Pope twice. Those might appear very small things; but they were things which ought not to be allowed to occur with impunity. Though those matters were small in themselves, they became greatly exaggerated in a town like Downpatrick, where religious and political feeling ran extremely high on all occasions. Now, as to what should be done in the future. The only thing that the noble Marquess could do to save the people of the town from those annoyances was to show them that the law was supreme in Ireland, and that the Authorities were determined to protect all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and that could only be done by removing the regiment from Downpatrick or its vicinity. The noble Marquess said that the regiment was in camp outside the town. That was true; but a large portion of the regiment came into the town every evening, and anyone who was at all acquainted with the state of feeling there must be convinced that those nightly incursions or excursions of the Militia were attended with the most serious dangers to the peace of the towns, and especially

to the safety of the property and persons of the Catholic inhabitants. What the noble Marquess had said was sufficient to show that there was great danger of the peace being broken; he had said a strong picket, under the command of an officer, patrolled the town every night. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not know enough about military matters to know whether that was unusual. ["It is not unusual."] He had been in garrison towns, and he had always understood that a sergeant was the highest officer sent out with a picket. That a picket was sent out in command of an officer showed that in the case of Downpatrick it was necessary to take exceptional measures — he interpreted the allusion of the noble Marquess to the picket to mean that exceptional precautions for the safety of the town had been taken. Why should the noble Marquess put the regiment or himself to the trouble of taking those special precautions for the preservation of the peace of the town, when there was the much more ready and satisfactory means of doing so—namely, the removal of the regiment from the town? Whatever feeling there was in the town itself, he could assure the noble Marquess that on his (Mr. T. P. O'Connor's) part, and that of his hon. Friends, there was no Party feeling whatever in the matter. They deplored the existence of Party spirit, a great deal of which was irrational and barbarous; but they must take things as they were, in Ireland. He thought that nothing tended to produce that spirit more than the feeling that the lives and liberties of Catholics were at the mercy of a number of Militiamen and Orangemen, and that the law would not step in to protect them.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he thought the inhabitants of Downpatrick would feel, after the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), that they had no chance of getting justice done between them and those Militiamen. The Irish Members were entitled to press the noble Marquess to remove the regiment to some place where its presence would not be so objectionable. Nothing could be more unfortunate than that an officer, so well known in Downpatrick for his Orange propensities as Colonel Waring, should be in command of a regiment in that place. He would like to know what the noble Marquess would say if he found a gentleman, equally outspoken in Nationalist opinions, in command of a regiment? He did not hesitate to say that such a man would be immediately removed from his position. The War Office ought to administer even justice between the two Parties. For some time to come Party conflicts in Ulster were almost certain; and if this regiment was not to be removed, every measure should be taken to keep the men out of Downpatrick. If they were allowed to enter the town, it should be under such conditions as would prevent them insulting and provoking the people.

Resolution *agreed to.*

HONORARY FREEDOM OF BOROUGHS BILL [*Lords.*]—[BILL 153.]

(*Mr. Norwood.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. WARTON proposed, in page 1, line 7, to leave out the words "a majority of the," and insert the words "not less than two-thirds of their." The object of the Amendment was to bring the Bill to its original form in this respect. He felt that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) accepted the words "a majority of the" without due consideration. The hon. Gentleman must see that if a mark of distinction was to be conferred by a borough upon an eminent person, that mark of distinction would come with much better grace if there were two-thirds of the people in favour of bestowing it than if there were only a bare majority. If he (Mr. Warton) were an eminent person, and a borough wished to confer a mark of distinction upon him, he should feel very annoyed if he thought it was only carried by a mere majority of one vote. He had great confidence in submitting this Amendment to the consideration of the House.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 7, to leave out the words "a majority of the," and insert the words "not less than two-thirds of their,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. NORWOOD said, that the Amendment was made in Committee upon the suggestion of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who, in a speech of some force, pointed out that the body who had the power to elect a Sheriff and Mayor by a majority of one ought to be competent to decide by a mere majority whether a mark of distinction should be bestowed upon anyone. He (Mr. Norwood) did not think that the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Warton) need have much fear on that score, because honours and distinctions would never be conferred when there was only a majority of one in favour of conferring them. It would be a distinction worth nothing, and would be scarcely acceptable.

MR. TOMLINSON said, there was a difference between conferring appointments such as that of Mayor and Sheriff and the bestowal of the honorary distinctions dealt with in the Bill. It was the duty of the Corporation to appoint those officers, and, therefore, it was right that a majority should suffice; but, in regard to conferring the honorary freedom of towns, that was a mere complimentary business, and the circumstances were very different. He would say that not only in the interest of the distinction conferred, but in the interest of the towns themselves. A compliment of this kind ought to carry with it the general sense of the town, and that could not be expressed by a bare majority of the Corporation. It could only be shown by the fact of a considerable proportion of the Corporation being in favour of it. He thought that must have been the idea of the other House of Parliament in drawing the Bill in this form.

MR. SEXTON said, that it was a little absurd to question the authority of the Corporation of the City of London to confer its freedom upon a distinguished person when a majority of one could confer upon Mr. Speaker the dignity of First Commoner of England.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. NORWOOD: I would now ask the House to permit the Bill to be read a third time.

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with an Amendment.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 152.]

(*Mr. Daniel Grant, Mr. Torrens, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. William Lawrence, Baron Henry De Worms.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Daniel Grant.*)

MR. WARTON said, that with regard to this Bill, he only wished to make this final complaint—namely, that it had passed through a curious change in its passage through the House. ["Divide!"] He would merely say that he had hoped the Bill would have been kept in its original form, and, as it had not been, he trusted that it would be put back into that form in the House of Lords.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION, WALES, BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

MR. MUNDELLA: At this late hour I will confine myself to explaining only two or three points of the measure which I am about to introduce. I should have been glad, if the opportunity had been afforded me, to have made a statement in detail; but as that is not possible at this hour, perhaps the House will permit me, just very briefly, to state two or three of the leading features of the Bill, and to defer to another stage the opportunity of explaining more fully its provisions. It is not necessary to remind the House, and I shall assume for the purposes of the Bill that the House is fully aware, of the great deficiency in intermediate education in Wales, which is of an exceptional character, and far beyond anything we are acquainted with in any other part of the United Kingdom. Briefly, there are two points I would lay before the House—first, that it was shown clearly by the Report of the Departmental Committee presided over by Lord Aberdare that only 16 children in

1,000 attend intermediate schools in Wales, and only one in 1,000 attend public intermediate schools. The total number was so small that there was no parallel for it in any other part of the United Kingdom. The other point is the small amount of the endowments in Wales and the utter inadequacy of them to meet the requirements of intermediate education in that country. The whole endowment in North and South Wales for educational purposes is only £10,000 a-year. The endowments of Wales and Monmouthshire are covered by £14,000 a-year, a sum less in itself than that possessed by the town of Coventry, and only half the amount that a scheme now before the House—the Elliot scheme in Edinburgh—will cost. It is not to be wondered at that the condition of intermediate education in Wales is as deplorable as I have stated to the House. The Departmental Committee have made a recommendation that the whole of the endowments of Wales, including educational endowments, should be made available for intermediate education, and that there should be a small fixed rate also, limited to something like a halfpenny in the pound, and a draft on the Treasury for the establishment of intermediate education, and to meet the defects of the present system. Now, in order to meet the existing deficiencies we are bringing in this Bill. The 4th clause practically states the whole scheme of the Bill—which will be in the hands of hon. Members on Saturday morning, I hope, when hon. Members will be able to see the whole scope of the measure. The clause runs to this effect—

"An Education Committee shall be established in every county in Wales, and in the county of Monmouth; and it shall be the duty of such Committee to submit to the Education Commissioners for Wales, appointed as in this Act mentioned, a plan or plans for the intermediate education of the inhabitants of their county."

What we were met with on the threshold of this measure was the difficulty of calling into existence some Local Authority to deal with the question of education. We have now, we hope, surmounted that difficulty, and the 4th clause of this Bill creates an Education Committee in every county in Wales and in the county of Monmouth. This special Committee will consist of the Members of Parliament for the time being in every county; the Members for the time being of every Parliamentary borough in the county; two Members for every municipal borough of over 50,000 inhabitants; one Member for every municipal borough under 50,000 inhabitants; the representatives of the School Boards, &c. Well, then, Sir, to this county Committee is remitted the duty of recommending plans for the providing of schools, for the establishment of new schools and alterations or additions to old ones; also the providing for scholarships, the recommendation of the rates, and the providing of all things necessary for the establishment and successful working of schools in Wales. They will also have the power of dealing with such endowments as are necessary for the working of this Act. Another feature, and a most important feature, of this Bill, is that the Educational Committee will have power to give the consent which was formerly vested in the Trustees of the endowments. That is the recommendation of the Departmental Committee of the Schools Inquiry Commission. In ordinary circumstances, the powers of this Bill would have been worked through the Charity Commissioners; but we have had some experience which goes to prove that we shall do more to meet the exigencies of Wales in appointing a Special Commission. Therefore, we propose to provide such a Special Commission for Wales as exists in Scotland, where we appointed a Special Commission, which has rapidly reorganized the whole of the educational endowments of Scotland. This Committee will have the advantage of the assistance of six gentlemen who have rendered valuable assistance in the inquiry, and who know all the wants of Wales in respect of education, and who know all its resources. We think we may be fortunate enough to obtain some of these gentlemen in this connection, and we shall bring to bear on the Committee that knowledge of schools which will be so useful. Well, Sir, these two bodies—the local Committee to initiate, and the Royal Commission to frame the plans and deal with the schemes—are the two bodies, both Welsh, both conferring together in the locality,

who are to have the power of reorganizing the schools and making provision for the locality. The power of rating will originate with the Local Authorities, and the rate is strictly confined to the sum of a halfpenny in the pound. To meet that there is a clause in the Bill in which the Treasury is empowered or required to pay annually, out of the moneys provided by Parliament in aid of the county schools, a sum that shall be equivalent to the amount of the rate levied in the county. There is also a borrowing power for building purposes, on the same terms as those granted to the School Board, by which the Loan Commissioners lent for a term of 50 years. I should like to explain the operation of this. Let me take the case of the county of Glamorgan. The population of that county is 550,000. We will say that the educational endowment of the county amounts to £1,500 a-year; a halfpenny rate under the Bill will supply an additional £4,600, and the Government grant will give an equal sum. That would give a sum of £10,700 a-year for intermediate education in Glamorganshire. The result for the whole of Wales will be that there would be an annual sum of £536,000 obtained for this purpose; and, in addition to this, there will be the increase of fees and the increase of scholarships and local aid due to the increased confidence of the people in the schools. There is one other point, and that is this—it is provided that the meetings of the Governing Body should partake much more of a public character than hitherto. I regret that I have been compelled to make so brief and hasty a statement; but I should like to say, in conclusion——

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. MUNDELLA: I beg to move that the Bill be brought in.

Bill for the promotion of Intermediate Education in Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MUNDELLA, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, and Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 195.]

Mr. Mundella

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made under "The Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867," relating to the Burgh and Parish of North Berwick, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 194.]

DRAINAGE AND IMPROVEMENT OF LANDS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order, under "The Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Act, 1863," relating to the Ballyteigne and Kilmore Drainage District, in the county Wexford, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 192.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 22nd May, 1885.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered—First Reading* — Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [196]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [197]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) * [198].

Second Reading — Telegraph Acts Amendment [121]; Criminal Law Amendment [159], *debate adjourned.*

Considered as amended — Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 1) * [131].

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CAVAN UNION —MR. JAMES HARTLY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it a fact that Mr. James Hartly, J.P. is an ex-officio guardian for Cavan Union, and also a contractor with the guardians; whether Mr. Hartly has signed an undertaking to act as guardian; and, whether it is not illegal for him to be a member of the Board and also a contractor; and, if so, will he take means to have the Law enforced?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It appears that Mr. Hartly is qualified

as an ex-officio guardian, but it is not known that he ever acted, or signed an undertaking to act, as a Guardian. He holds some contracts from the Guardians, but has not yet supplied any goods; and there has consequently not yet been any infringement of the law, so far as the Local Government Board are aware.

DEFACEMENT OF FRENCH COIN.

MR. BROADHURST asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the defacement of French copper coins in circulation in this Country by having the advertisement of "Pears' Soap" stamped upon them, and to the inconvenience and loss thus inflicted upon a large number of working people through the coins thus stamped being refused in many cases as payment, and notably so on the Tramway lines in South London; and, whether he will adopt means to stop the practice and to punish the guilty parties?

MR. HIBBERT: I quite agree with the hon. Member that the practice referred to is a most reprehensible one. I fear, however, the Government are powerless in the matter, as there is nothing illegal in defacing any coins, except those of the Realm. French coins are not legal tender in this country; and, therefore, no one is bound to accept them, whether defaced or not. The remedy is in the hands of the public, who can, if they choose, refuse to receive French coins. I trust that those who have adopted this practice will discontinue it.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — BALLYMOTE NATIONAL SCHOOL, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in September last, Mr. Doyle, principal teacher of the Ballymote (county Sligo) National School, having been selected, with the approval of the Commissioners of National Education, to attend a course of lectures at South Kensington, the manager of the school, the Very Rev. Canon M'Dermot, applied to the Commissioners for leave to appoint a substitute during the absence of Mr. Doyle; but they refused, and suggested that Mr. Doyle should resign, and a new principal be appointed by the manager; whether, accordingly, Mr. Doyle resigned, and the manager appointed Mr. Cunningham principal on the 26th October; whether, after a period of less than three months, namely, on the 9th January last, Mr. Cunningham resigned, and the Commissioners paid him his salary for the time he had served as principal; whether, thereupon, the manager, having no option but to close the school till Mr. Doyle's return from London or appoint a new principal ad interim, appointed Mr. Bernard Cogan, monitor of the school, to be principal during the interval; whether, on the return of Mr. Doyle to the school on the 16th February, Mr. Cogan vacated the principalship, Mr. Doyle was re-appointed to that post, and Mr. Cogan was appointed assistant teacher; whether, about two months after the return of Mr. Doyle, and subsequent to their allowance of Mr. Cunningham as principal from 26th October to 9th January, the Commissioners refused to recognize Mr. Cogan as principal from the 9th January to the 16th February, not upon any question of character or general qualification (as specified in Rule 110), but upon the plea that Mr. Cogan having been in January a paid monitor, serving for a fixed course, his appointment as principal was a breach of service, and salary would not be allowed; how the Commissioners reconcile this view with their allowance of the appointment of Mr. Cogan to be assistant teacher on the 16th February, his "fixed course" still being unexpired; whether the Commissioners insist that Mr. Cogan was locum tenens, though there was no other principal while he held the post, and whether they endeavour so to apply the three months' notice Rule (111) as to prevent a manager from appointing a teacher for a less time than three months, even with the assent of the teacher, and to meet an educational emergency, and after the Commissioners had themselves recognized and paid salary, in the case of the same school, to a principal whose term had not reached three months; whether one effect of the course adopted by the Commissioners will be to nullify the annual results examination in this school, and cut away a main part of the income of the teachers, by excluding from the account of the attendances of

pupils during the year all the attendances made during the period of five weeks in which Mr. Cogan was principal; and, whether the case will be reviewed as to its effect on the next annual results examination in the school, and in its bearing upon the right of managers to appoint a teacher, with his assent, for a limited period, in circumstances of urgency?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The facts as regards Mr. Doyle are substantially as stated. The cases of the other two teachers, Messrs. Cunningham and Cogan, differ in this material respect—that in the one an agreement was made between the manager and the teacher, which was in accordance with the Commissioners' Rules, and which there is legal power to enforce if it has been broken; while in the other the agreement entered into, or appointment made, was totally at variance with those Rules. The points have been very clearly explained by the Commissioners to the manager of the school, and I see no cause for any review of the case.

EDUCATION (IRELAND)—BANAGHER ROYAL SCHOOL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is intended to withdraw the grants made to the Royal School at Banagher for education in that district; and, if so, whether the purpose of education in that district will be regarded in the use of the school buildings and the future application of the grants?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware of any present intention to withdraw the provision for this school, but the case is undoubtedly one of those which would be dealt with under the Bill now before the House, should it become law; and in any scheme which might be formulated with respect to it, the educational requirements of the locality would, of course, be a primary consideration.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—DR. NEWELL, SENIOR SECRETARY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that in a paper called *Ireland's Gazette*, of 30th January 1884, a letter, written on the 28th of the same month by Mr. J. G. V. Porter, was published, in which it was stated that Dr. Newell, Senior Secretary to the Board of National Education, had "abetted improper action on the part of his Board, and that if an inquiry were held he would be compelled to resign;" whether the said Dr. Newell did authorise Mr. Matthew Kenny, of 42, Mountjoy Square, Dublin, to issue a writ in reference to the letter in question; whether any such writ was served upon Mr. Porter or on his solicitor; whether all further action was abandoned by Dr. Newell; and, if so, on what grounds; and, whether the alleged charge was in any form submitted to the consideration of the Commissioners or of their Sub-Committee?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The action in this matter was abandoned by Dr. Newell on Mr. Porter making an ample apology and withdrawal in the paper in which the libellous statements originally appeared, and paying the costs incurred.

POST OFFICE—CHARGES AGAINST POST OFFICE SERVANTS.

MR. KENNY asked the Postmaster General, Whether postmasters or the superintendents of postal or telegraph departments in the larger offices are allowed the right of withholding from their subordinates official papers which are not marked "confidential" by the secretary, and which affect the characters and reputations of those subordinates; whether this system is pursued in order to conceal from those affected by these papers the nature of the representations made to the secretary or the surveyor, as the case may be, in cases of petty irregularities, and in consequence of which punishment in the way of fines and cautions are inflicted; whether these fines and cautions militate against these officers when the question of their promotion comes to be considered; whether the system has his approval; whether he is aware that clerks and other subordinates are frequently required to sign official papers without knowing anything of the nature of the representations upon which the secretary or surveyor decides to subject them to punishment; and, whether, if illustrative cases are brought under his notice, he is prepared to state how he will deal with them?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No charge is ever entertained against a Post Office servant until he has had full opportunity of answering it; but, of course, in forwarding the answer the superior officer, whether a postmaster or superintendent, is required to express his own opinion on the case, and to state the general character of the officer whose conduct is impugned; and the report in which these particulars are given, though not marked confidential, is of a confidential nature. The same practice prevails, I believe, in other Public Departments, and I see no reason to alter it.

BOARD OF TRADE—HARBOUR APPOINTMENTS IN DUBLIN.

MR. KENNY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there are any situations, under the Harbour Department of the Board of Trade in Dublin, filled by persons who have been in the Royal Navy, and who have received therefrom a commutation allowance or pension; if so, how many; why they left the Navy; what their ages are; what rank they held in the Navy and what rank they hold now; on what qualifications and by what authority they were re-appointed to the public service; and will they receive any commutation allowance or pension on giving up their present appointments?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN not being in his place, the following M.S.S. reply was read to the House for him:—

"There are two appointments under the Marine Department (not Harbour Department) of the Board of Trade in Dublin filled by persons who have been in the Royal Navy. One holds his appointment direct from the Board of Trade, and is in receipt of retired pay; the other is appointed by the Local Marine Board for duties connected with the mercantile marine, and has commuted his retired pay. In the first-named case the officer retired in 1873 at his own request, being then a Staff commander. He is at present 61 years of age, and holds the appointment of principal officer at Dublin. He was specially appointed in 1875 by the then President of the Board of Trade as one of the inspectors to detain unseaworthy ships. He will be entitled to pension, subject to the regulations applicable to naval officers holding civil appointments. In the second case the officer was in 1877 placed on the retired list as physically unfit for service, he being at that time a navigating lieutenant. He is now 41 years of age, and has since 1878 held the appointment of superintendent of the mercantile marine office at Dublin, examiner for certificates of masters and mates, and secretary to the Local Marine Board. He was appointed by the Local Marine Board in 1878 after advertisement, and his appointment was recognized by the Board of Trade after he had passed a satisfactory technical examination. He is regarded as entitled to pension."

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE—INDIAN CANDIDATES.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS (for Mr. R. N. FOWLER, Lord Mayor) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Secretary of State has received a communication from the Council of University College, applying for his sanction to their announcement, in the Circular which is on the point of being issued by the Civil Service Commissioners to candidates selected for the Civil Service of India, that residence at the College is permitted in the houses of persons approved by the Council, on the same terms as have been sanctioned at other places of education; and, whether it is the intention to refuse such sanction?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Secretary of State has received a communication from the Council of University College asking that selected Indian candidates passing their two years' probation at that College may be allowed to reside either in the University Hall, or with one of the Professors, or with a person approved by the Council. That application is now under consideration.

CRIMES (IRELAND)—RETURN OF STATISTICS, JANUARY 1 TO APRIL 30, 1885.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will furnish a Return, similar to that presented for 1880, showing all crimes against public life, firing into dwelling houses, administering unlawful oaths, demands for money, threatening letters or other intimidation, incendiary fires, robbery of arms, which have been reported by the Royal Irish Constabulary between the 1st day of January 1885, and the 30th day of April, inclusive, distinguishing, as far as possible, Agrarian Crimes, and showing (1) number and names of persons convicted, (2) number and names of persons made amenable, but not convicted, (3) number of cases in which no person was made amenable?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There is no objection to the production

of the Return, if the hon. Member will move for it.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—BANFFSHIRE ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the statement reported to have been addressed to the 4th (Portsoy) Battery, Banffshire Artillery Volunteers, to the effect that Lieutenant Findlay was to be promoted to the rank of Captain; whether it is true, as reported, that in consequence of that announcement, fifty-seven men belonging to the battery had resigned; and, if so, whether, before promoting Lieutenant Findlay to the command of the battery, he will institute inquiries as to the cause of his unpopularity with the men?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The facts are as stated in the Question; but at present no promotion to the command of the battery has been submitted to the War Office. I should prefer not to express any opinion until all the circumstances are before me.

PUBLIC HEALTH—CHOLERA VACCINATION.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the experimental test of the efficacy of the system of protective vaccination against cholera, at present being carried on by Dr. Ferran at Alcira, an insular town of the province of Valencia; whether he has been made aware that, of the 16,000 inhabitants of Alcira, Dr. Ferran asserts that between the 1st and 18th of the present month 5,432 have been inoculated according to his method, and that among them the number attacked with cholera has been 7, or 1 in every 776 persons, and the number of deaths nil; while, among the uninoculated remainder, the number of attacks has been 64, or 1 in every 163 persons, and the number of deaths 30, or 1 in every 352 persons; whether he is aware that Dr. Ferran is desirous that an English Commission should be appointed to verify the results he claims; and, whether, in view of the re-appearance of cholera in the South of France, and the special importance of questions relating to that disease to Great Britain as possessor of India, he will consider the propriety of nominating a small Commission to visit Alcira, and Report?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: I am aware that Dr. Ferran is testing the efficacy of the system known as "protective vaccination against cholera;" and I have seen a telegram from him containing the statement of facts mentioned in the Question, and asking that an English Commission may be sent out. We are considering whether we can comply with this request; but the telegram was only placed in our hands yesterday. I will, however, at once bring the proposal under the notice of the Secretary of State for India, as India is even more directly interested than England in means for the prevention of cholera.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE (YORKSHIRE).

COLONEL GUNTER asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If his attention has been called to the alleged outbreak of foot and mouth disease at Settle, in Yorkshire, on the farm of Messrs. Dugdale, as stated in *The Yorkshire Post* of Thursday, and if the report is true; and, if so, if this is the only known case at present existing in the United Kingdom?

MR. TREVELYAN: An outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease was reported on Wednesday at Settle, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in a herd of 10 cattle, of which one only was attacked. This was at a farm belonging to Messrs. Lord. Yesterday a further outbreak on adjoining premises, belonging to Mr. Dugdale, was reported in a herd of 189 cattle, of which two are affected. The Department have telegraphed to one of the travelling Inspectors to visit the place and see that all precautions are taken. These are the only cases in which foot-and-mouth disease is reported to exist.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—EUROPEAN PRISONERS OF THE MAHDI.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will telegraph to General Buller authorizing him to send a Native Emissary to the Mahdi to offer a ransom for M. Cuzzé, General Gordon's Agent at

Berber, Lupton Bey, and other European prisoners of the Mahdi?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to a question I addressed to Lord Wolseley on the subject of White prisoners said to be surviving at Khartoum, he forwarded, on the 2nd of May, a Report from Sir Charles Wilson, in which the following passage occurred:—

"Our messengers have been told they would receive large present if they brought back letter from any surviving European; they have brought none, and have never mentioned any European women except the Sisters. No means of communication with view to ransom."

Under these circumstances, I doubt if anything more can be done at present; but I will address a further question to Lord Wolseley on the subject.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I am sorry to press the noble Lord, but this is a question of great urgency, because the Forces are about to retire from Dongola; and we have information that not only is M. Cuzzi, General Gordon's agent at Berber, a prisoner, but several ladies, the families of Turkish officers and other Europeans resident in Khartoum, have been placed in a state of slavery by the capture of that place. I would, therefore, beg the noble Lord to telegraph to Lord Wolseley to communicate directly with General Buller, authorizing him to send a Native messenger to the Mahdi with a distinct offer of ransom. Surely that could be done at once.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have already stated that Lord Wolseley's attention was called to the subject at the beginning of the month, and that he then stated that, having consulted Sir Charles Wilson in reference to it, the latter replied that no means of communication with the Mahdi then existed. I cannot pretend to say that I know better than Sir Charles Wilson; but I will make further inquiry of that officer in reference to the matter.

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN."

MR. GIBSON (for Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any steps were taken by the Government, before the sending of the Despatch of the 1st of April by Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, to ascertain what steps could be legally undertaken to suppress *The Bosphore Egyptien?*

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government accepted the assurances of the Egyptian Government that they were entitled to suppress *The Bosphore Egyptien*, and that, if any illegality were committed, the case could be tried before the International Tribunals. No question arose as to the legality of the suppression, but only as to the procedure adopted. Her Majesty's Government were not informed that the French Consul opposed the measure, or that what amounted, at least technically, to the use of force would be made against him.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN — THE RUSSIAN ATTACK AT PENJDEH—PROCLAMATION OF THE AMEER.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has Her Majesty's Government received confirmation of the statement in *The Times* of May 19th, that the Ameer had issued a proclamation complimenting his troops on their gallantry at Penjdeh, and laying stress on the value of the British alliance; and, whether he will lay a Copy of the Ameer's Proclamation upon the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I can only refer the right hon. Gentleman to the reply on this subject which I gave yesterday, when I stated that Her Majesty's Government had received no information respecting the contents of this Proclamation. The question of its publication must be deferred until the receipt of the text; but I do not anticipate that there will be any objection.

MR. GIBSON: The reason I put down the Question again was to ascertain whether the noble Lord had written out to ask for the terms of the Proclamation. Will the noble Lord undertake that his department will telegraph out for the terms of the Proclamation and lay it upon the Table when the House re-assembles on the 4th of June?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I imagine that any such direction would more properly come from the India Office; but, be that as it may, I have no doubt whatever that no special instructions are necessary. An important Proclamation of this kind will naturally be sent home in the ordinary course.

MR. GIBSON: I will renew the Question on the 4th of June.

EGYPT—THE SOUDAN—
ORGANIZATION OF A LOCAL FORCE.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the great sacrifice of life and treasure incurred in the Soudan, and the decline of the movement in favour of the Mahdi, Her Majesty's Ministers will organise an Asiatic or African force under British officers in order to restore order and put down slavery in the Soudan?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. We are not aware of any rational plan by which the Force described in the Question could be organized.

THE EGYPTIAN LOAN—THE JOINT GUARANTEE.

MR. M'COAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether any steps have been taken by any of the other Powers joining in the guarantee of the Egyptian Loan to obtain the sanction of their Legislatures; and, if not, what is the cause of the delay, and what steps will be taken, pending the issue of the loan, to find funds for meeting the administrative and other expenses of Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE, who was most indistinctly heard, was understood to say: The information in possession of the Foreign Office is as follows:—The French Government have brought in a Bill authorizing the Convention—practically for the ratification of the Convention—I am not sure if ratification is technically correct—but, at any rate, to give full effect to the Convention. This Bill has been favourably reported upon by the Committee of the Chambers to which it was referred; and we presume that it will proceed in the usual course. The Italian Government have also introduced a Bill into the Chamber of Deputies to authorize the ratification of the Convention. No steps have yet been taken by the Governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary to obtain the sanction of their Parliaments to the Convention. I understand that there is a Dissolution either taking place or about to take place immediately in Austria, and I have heard—but I cannot say positively—that the German Parliament does not meet for some time. We are under the impression that in these circumstances no ratification by these Parliaments will take place until the close of the Summer. I ought to mention that, with respect to the causes of delay, I am not sure that we should be justified, without much fuller knowledge of the forms and the usual methods of procedure, in stating that there is any undue delay in the ratification of the Convention in the case of France and Italy. With regard to the other Powers, I have stated all we know. As to the steps that will be taken pending the issue of the loan for meeting the administrative and other expenses of Egypt, I have not seen, and I do not think that the Government have received, any statement of the present condition of the Egyptian Treasury with regard to cash which would enable us to pass any judgment on the suggestions which have been made upon the subject. My impression is that the time of the year, on which, of course, a great deal depends, is one of comparative ease to the Egyptian Government; but I must not be understood to say that no difficulty will arise.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in reference to a statement which had appeared in *The Times* of that morning, that Messrs. Rothschild had notified with regard to the Unified Debt that the 5 per cent on the coupons would not be deducted, asked, Whether Her Majesty's Government could state whether the Government of Egypt, acting under the advice of Her Majesty's Government, had accepted the necessity of considering that the decree of the Khedive sanctioned by the Convention would not come into force until the Powers had agreed to the loan of £9,000,000?

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked, whether there was any reason to suppose that the German and Austrian Governments had any objection to the Convention, or whether the delay in the ratification of it arose simply from the Parliamentary system of the two countries?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Convention, as the hon. Gentleman well knows, was concluded with the full assent of the authorized Representatives, the Plenipotentiaries of Germany and Austria, and no communication has reached us from either of these Governments, nor has anything occurred that would justify us in assuming that there is any objection or difficulty. As far as we are able to judge upon the facts before us—although I am not officially informed on the point—the delay is simply an in-

cident connected with the arrangements of the year for the transaction of Parliamentary Business in these countries.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could now indicate any time at which the Alexandria indemnities were likely to be paid?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid, Sir, that would depend on the time of the raising of the loan, and I am not in a position to indicate a time when that loan could be raised, because that matter is at this moment under legal investigation. I believe that a conclusion will be arrived at, so far as we are able to do it, in a very short time. What that conclusion may be it is impossible for me to say. Of course, it is a matter of law under the terms of the Convention.

MR. M'COAN said, that, as the Austrian Parliament did not meet until October, he wished to know what was to be done with the coupons which fell due before that time. Would the deductions be made from them also as had been done with those of the past half-year?

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot undertake to say. All I can say is that we shall adopt the best course in our power to provide for the case in anticipation.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH asked whether he was to understand that the legal question referred to related to the reductions to be made on the coupons or to the fact that the loan could not be issued without the consent of the Legislatures of Germany and other Powers?

MR. GLADSTONE: I really cannot undertake, in answer to a Question, to state the nature of a reference on a point of law. I must leave that to the production of the case after we are in possession of the opinions which we may receive upon the best authority.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether, if the 5 per cent deduction on the coupons had already been made on the 1st of May, it would, if illegal, be repaid?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that he could not give any precise answer to the Question. Communications were passing upon the subject, and, until they were concluded, he did not think that it would be prudent to make any further statement in reference to it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the notice which appeared in that morning's papers by the Messrs. Rothschild that there was to be no deduction from the coupons was issued with the authority of the Egyptian Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: We cannot say. If my hon. Friend will really consider he will see that this is a question which it is impossible for us to settle without communication with anybody else. Sorry as I am to do so, I must impress upon him the importance of exercising patience, and the necessity of cultivating that virtue.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the other Powers of Europe had been consulted before the issue of the Khedivial Decree imposing a tax of 5 per cent on the coupons; whether their consent had been asked; and, if not, whether, since that Decree was issued, they had unanimously repudiated it?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think that it would be advisable to make any statement on this matter without Notice. The hon. Member will see that his Question involves an exceedingly delicate subject. Of course, just as the House is going to rise, I am unwilling to ask for Notice; but, at the same time, I really hope that the hon. Gentleman will excuse my declining to answer his Question.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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TELEGRAPH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert.*)

[BILL 121.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

"That, in order that sixpenny telegrams may become a reality and a great boon to large classes of the community now debarred from telegraphic communication by the heavy minimum charge of two shillings for a telegram and reply, it is absolutely necessary that, if any charge is made for addresses, it should be a fixed one, and not varying with the number of words, figures, or letters, and such charge should not exceed threepence,"

said, that many suggestions had been

made in various quarters as to the best system for cheapening telegraphic communication, and estimates had been made of the loss which would be sustained by the Post Office if one or other method were adopted. Whatever might be the merits of the different propositions which had been made, it was clear that the Bill before the House would not materially reduce the price of telegrams. In fact, it might suitably be called "a Bill to abbolish 1*s.* telegrams of 20 words and free addresses, and for establishing a new tariff by means of which 6*d.* telegrams would become impossible except to the favoured few." The Postmaster General had said that it was not fair to give people who chose to send long addresses an advantage over those who were more concise. That, however, was not a fair argument, as people had no control over the names of the streets in which they lived; and in large towns, and London particularly, addresses were necessarily longer than in the country. He had found, from a pretty extensive examination, that names and addresses on the average amounted to 12 words in each telegram. Thus, instead of telegraphing, as now, 20 words for 1*s.*, it would only be possible to telegraph 12. In London great particularity of address was frequently required, as the same names of streets and squares were frequently repeated, and even in the same postal district. For example, "Gloucester Place, W.," was not sufficient, and it was necessary to add "Hyde Park" or "Portman Square," as the case might be, and thus in either case two words were added. The more humble the individual the longer the address, whilst for Barings, Rothschilds, and Goschens, "London" was sufficient address. Then there was some difficulty in deciding what was to be considered as one word. "Bedroom" was, he believed, reckoned as one, while "Sitting-room" was counted as two words. Under the Bill this difficulty would be greatly increased, and much waste of time and labour thereby involved. Why could not the Government show the same courage and enterprize which were manifested when the 1*d.* post was introduced? No doubt, officials always dreaded change. When the 1*d.* post was proposed, Lord Lichfield, then Postmaster General, declared the scheme impracticable; and a 4*d.* post was introduced, and proved a failure. Experience abundantly proved that, whenever methods of communication were made cheaper and more accessible, the increase of business done far more than compensated in the long run any loss which was at first incurred. The estimates of loss, also, were for the most part wholly inaccurate and misleading. There was no distinction observed between capital expenditure and revenue account, and it was clear that new wires and increased plant should be classed under the former and not under the latter head. Then no account was taken of the use of the telegraphs for official purposes generally. There were wires between all the Government Offices, and all the police stations in the country and in London, for which no royalty was paid. The 1*d.* post had been a marvellous success. The universal 1*s.* telegram had also more than answered expectations. The Railway Companies, when first established, had no third-class carriages; and now, by the universal adoption of third-class trains, had so largely increased their revenues that the revenue from third-class passengers largely exceeded that from the first and second class combined. And there was no doubt that like results would follow a reduction in the cost of telegrams. In one respect, indeed, the acquisition of the telegraphs by the Government had increased the cost of telegrams, for previously there were 6*d.* telegrams. The increase of telegraphic business had been amazing. In 1871 the number of telegrams in the Provinces was 5,300,000, and in London, 2,900,000; in Scotland, about 1,000,000; and in Ireland, 606,000. But in 1883-4 the Provinces sent 15,000,000; London, 12,700,000; Scotland, 3,300,000; and Ireland, 2,000,000; making a total of 32,000,000, as against the 9,000,000 of 1871. The number was still increasing at the rate of about 2½ per cent per year. What he wished was that the addresses of sender and receiver should be charged a fixed sum of 3*d.*, that five words should be another 3*d.*, that five words more should be 3*d.* more, making 9*d.*, and that the charge of 1*s.* for 20 words should remain as at present. In the hope that the Government would further consider the matter during the short Recess, he would refrain from moving his Amendment at present.

Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence

MR. PULESTON said, that the discussion of the question appeared to be proceeding on a wrong hypothesis. The Motion of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), which he (Mr. Puleston) seconded, was discussed and carried two years ago, with the idea that we were to have 6*d.* telegrams just as we now had 1*s.* telegrams. The late Postmaster General told him, in conversation, that after the passing of the Resolution, the permanent officials of the Post Office and of the Treasury impressed him with their belief that the adoption of 6*d.* telegrams, pure and simple, would involve a loss. But the convenience of not having to count the words of an address was a very great one. If the present 1*s.* telegrams were given up, the loss would be far greater than that which would follow the adoption of free addresses in cheaper telegrams. If the sender were given a pecuniary interest in the curtailment of the address, the insufficiency of addresses would occasion much greater trouble and cost to the Post Office than it would lose from free addresses. The public would be exposed to the risks of miscarriage. But they ought not to consider too minutely the loss or gain in one branch of the business of a great Department like the Post Office. He did not wish to oppose the Bill; but he hoped that the Postmaster General would see his way to considerably modify the present proposals. For some time past he had taken a note of the number of words in the address of every telegram that he had received or sent out, and he had been unable to arrive at the average given by the right hon. Gentleman. The experience of other people had been the same as his upon this matter. He felt sure that by passing the Bill in its present shape they would be depriving themselves of the 1*s.* telegram of 20 words. It necessarily followed that the telegraph under the new arrangement, as at present proposed, would be used less rather than more, and his contention was that the loss from that circumstance would be far greater than any loss that might be incurred by giving free addresses. He believed that the result of having a 6*d.* telegram with free addresses would, in the end, be far more profitable to the Post Office Department than anything like the system which was now proposed to be introduced by the Bill. If the measure passed in its present form, it would diminish rather than increase the business of the Telegraph Department, and instead of conferring a boon upon the public would absolutely prevent the development of the telegraph system.

DR. CAMERON said, his Resolution, two years ago, was in favour of the reduction of the minimum charge, and not in favour of any hard-and-fast line of 6*d.* or any other sum for telegrams. That was an important feature to bear in mind. As the Member at whose instance the Motion with regard to reduction of telegraph tariff was passed, he might naturally be supposed to be as much interested in securing a boon for the public as any Member of the House. When the Resolution had been proposed, it was but fair to say that Mr. Fawcett had already explained his scheme of a ½*d.* a-word telegram, with a minimum charge of 6*d.*, and had expressed his readiness to carry it into operation if the Treasury would give its assent. In moving his Resolution, he (Dr. Cameron) did not pretend to dictate as to what the Post Office should do, and framed the Resolution in the most general terms. After that Resolution was carried, communications went on between the Treasury and the Post Office, various proposals passed, and three main schemes were broached. The one was a ½*d.* a-word telegram, with a minimum charge of 6*d.*, which was virtually that embodied in the present Bill. That, Mr. Fawcett estimated, would involve a loss upon the telegraph revenues of £160,000 or £170,000, which could not be recouped before 12 months had passed. The second scheme was that of free address to the receiver and a reduced number of words, he thought, in the body of the telegram. That was calculated to involve a much more considerable loss, and required a longer time in order that the loss should be made good. The third scheme proposed was that both the addresses of the sender and receiver should be sent free, a limited number of words in the body of the telegram, and a minimum charge of 6*d.* in all cases; and that, of course, was calculated to involve upon the Treasury a still greater loss, and would require a much longer time to make good that loss. Now, he never concealed his belief that the figures on

which these estimates were founded were rather gloomy. He was always of opinion that they were rather the figures of an official—a red-tape official—rather than that of an enterprizing man of business. Mr. Fawcett himself acknowledged that the estimate he quoted—especially that quoted on the occasion of the first debate—was that relating to the ½*d.* a-word system pure and simple; and in his speech Mr. Fawcett admitted that the calculation had been designedly made in order that the interest of the Treasury should be protected. Mr. Fawcett, who was a great political economist, saw nothing adverse to business principles in writing off a large amount of the capital which had been wasted owing to the extravagance which had been unearthed in connection with the new telegraph system. On that and on other grounds the House were entitled to infer that the accounts as kept by the Treasury showed a less favourable state of revenue than they would have shown if they had been kept in accordance with strict business principles. Mr. Fawcett had proposed to write off a large portion of the capital account, and that would at once have the effect of showing a large percentage of profit on the capital. Then there was the mode of distributing the expense between the Postal and the Telegraph Departments. The custom was to charge a very large fraction, almost one-half, as against the Telegraph Department. He thought further that if alterations were made in other matters they should have a revenue apparently very much more satisfactory to show in connection with the postal telegraph system. That was the view of many hon. Members who had voted in support of his Motion in 1883. But they must remember that the Treasury must be guided by official estimates, and these estimates were made by postal officials with a Postmaster (Mr. Fawcett) at their head, who was most eager for improvements, and who even was considered rather extravagant in that direction. After Mr. Fawcett had heard of the recommendations and the arguments of the Committee which had been appointed to consider the subject, neither the Committee nor Mr. Fawcett had ever claimed that the Postal Telegraph Department should be conducted at a loss to the public, or that the country should be taxed in order that the senders of telegrams should have the benefit. The Department had already expended £500,000 in increasing the accommodation in the main system of telegraph wires. Now, after such large preparations and after a number of young telegraphists had been trained in order to undertake the additional work, it appeared to him that it would be a great pity if the proposal for a reduction of the price of telegrams were to fall through. It was not to be forgotten that this reform had been forced upon the Government by the House. The Government had shown themselves willing to fulfil their pledge as far as Mr. Fawcett had pledged them; but as he (Dr. Cameron) understood them, they were not prepared to go beyond that pledge. He understood that they were quite willing to consider amendments on matters of detail; but if the House determined to force on them free addresses, the Government would abandon the project altogether rather than face the loss which they believed would be incurred by such a change in their operations; and that the Treasury at least would not be unwilling to abandon the business which had been thus forced upon them, he thought, was shown by the fact that last year, after having spent large sums in increasing the telegraph plant on the main lines, they were only too willing to postpone its coming into operation for another nine months, even at the expense of the waste of the interest on the money which they had spent in increasing the plant. Therefore, it was fair for the House to infer that the Treasury were not over eager to incur anything beyond what they were strictly pledged to, and that if the House did not accept that the Treasury would not be very unwilling to be relieved of the whole thing. Now, the question the House had to consider was whether the subject proposed by the Postmaster General would really be a boon to the public or whether it would be so little of a boon that they had better reject it altogether. On that subject he entirely differed from the views that had been expressed by his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend had told them that he had taken careful note during several weeks lately of all the telegrams which he had seen, and that the inference he drew was that he

would be a loser rather than a gainer under the system proposed by the Postmaster General. And he had also told them that some of his friends had done the same, and with the same result as the conclusion arrived at. And, therefore, judging by his own experience in this respect and that of his friends, his hon. Friend had told the House that he was inclined to question the averages quoted by the Postmaster General. Now, he (Dr. Cameron) should say that, for his own part, he felt more inclined to place reliance on the averages derived by the Postmaster General from the millions of telegrams to which he had access for the purpose of forming an opinion on this point than upon the conclusion drawn by his hon. Friend from the few weeks' experience of himself and his friends as quoted by him. Therefore, he (Dr. Cameron) wished to state that he was of opinion that the boon to the public would be real and substantial. They should consider the matter in the light of general averages, and not in the light of anomalies; nor should they ask themselves how the doing away with one or other anomaly among the many which at present disfigured the system would affect the Department, but how on the whole it would affect the public. At the present moment it appeared that the average number of words sent in every message was 28, and the average cost of the message was 1*s.* 1*d.* Those 28 words consisted of 11 words of address and 17 in the body of the message. But in town addresses there must be numbers in the streets, and all numbers under 10 were counted as a single word; but if the address either of the sender or the receiver of the message contained two or more figures in the number, the result would be that if they counted under the new system the number as a single word, whether of one or two figures, the number of words in the address would be nine, so that they would thus find that nine words in the address and 17 in the message would be the present average, and these 26 words were transmitted at an average rate of 1*s.* 1*d.* They had thus 26 words for 1*s.* 1*d.*, or ½*d.* a-word. What was proposed was ½*d.* a-word, and the sole difference, so far as the public was concerned, which they would thus inflict upon the public was that they would inflict an average charge of 1*s.*, while they got the minimum charge reduced to 6*d.* At present everyone acknowledged that there were a great number of superfluous words put into addresses of telegrams. That was the case to a large extent not only in the address of the sender, but also in that of the receiver of the message; and that that was so was shown in the experience of all countries—in the United States, in France, Belgium, Germany, &c. There were also a great number of superfluous words introduced into the body of the messages themselves. For his own part, he made it a matter of principle to cram into a message every word he possibly could; and it was not an uncommon thing for some people to fill up their telegrams with some such patriotic sentiments as "Britannia rules the waves," or "Britons never will be slaves," &c., in order to secure their getting their full money's worth. Now, it appeared to him that the Post Office was amply justified in saying that under the proposed system the price of telegrams would be reduced from 1*s.* to 8*d.*, with a curtailment of redundancies; and, at any rate, if it should be contended that those sending 20-word messages would be losers, the senders of messages of other numbers of words would be found to be gainers. Under the system now proposed by the Postmaster General he believed that on the average the public would have a great and substantial gain as compared with the existing arrangements. In no other country but this did the system of free addresses prevail; and even in this country the old Telegraph Companies restricted the number of words in addresses. The Cable Companies also charged by the word and for every word in the address. Much had been said in connection with that subject, and of the poor man's case. Well, he should say with regard to the poor man that it was fair that in discussing that argument that they must remember that the telegraph was not a necessity of life, and therefore there was no reason why the community at large should be taxed that the poor man might receive his telegrams at cost price. But, as a matter of fact, the poor man made very little use of the telegraph. The Postmaster General had told them that out of 20,000 telegrams which were examined, only 150 or 160 were found to have been sent by the working

classes; and of that number there were only about a score which could not have been easily sent at the proposed 6*d.* rate. The messages of the working classes were generally very short, being sent to tell relations about a sickness or a death, and they rarely filled up 20 words in their telegrams. Much criticism had been published on the proposed system, and imaginary cases had been put forward to show that the addresses of poor people were necessarily so lengthy that that class would not profit by the new scale if the addresses were charged for; but an analysis of such cases proved that those persons could really obtain the advantage of the 6*d.* rate, or might send a number of extra words, and still pay considerably less for their telegrams than was now charged under the 1*s.* rate. Whether the extra word raised the price of the telegram to 7*d.*, 8*d.*, 9*d.*, 10*d.*, or 11*d.*, the sender would gain by the reduction of the 1*s.* scale. The Post Office, under the proposed scheme, made an important concession. It was obliged with every message to send certain service words, such as the name of the office at which the message was handed in, the number of words which the message contained, and the hour at which it was handed in, &c., and the amount of this work was the same whether the message was long or short. To his mind a uniform word rate of ½*d.* per word, without distinction between the address and the body of the message, was much preferable to and far more elastic than any proposal to give an unlimited number of words for the address at the expense of curtailing the words of the body of the message. As to the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners), he should say that it appeared to him to have come with a very bad grace from him, because when the noble Lord was Postmaster General they had a Committee appointed to inquire into the postal telegraph system, of which Committee he (Dr. Cameron) was a Member, and acted as the advocate of the public as against the Post Office and the Treasury. The Post Office Department recommended that the charge upon telegrams should be increased in order to increase the postal revenue, and that for that purpose every telegram handed in between 8 at night and 8 in the morning should be charged 6*d.* extra, and that every telegram handed in on a Sunday should be charged 6*d.* extra, and that every one handed in at a railway station should be charged 3*d.* extra. He had to contend with very strong opposition on the part of the Post Office Department in resisting these charges. His object was to secure cheapness of telegraph service compatible with the improvement and efficiency of the service for the public. The only assistance the Committee received from officials of the Department was from Colonel (then Major) Webber, C.E., and the Postmaster of Glasgow (Mr. R. Hobson), and so little disposed were the Department to place any information at the disposal of the Committee, or otherwise assist them in any way in their investigation, that they wrote to Mr. Hobson reprimanding him for having given information to the Committee. The Committee, however, in reply, passed a Resolution stating that the letter written by the Secretary of the Department to Mr. R. Hobson was calculated to impede the investigation of the Committee. That Resolution was carried by 10 to 2 in the Committee. The result of the Committee's investigation was already known to the House, and he had been able to get them to adopt unanimously the principle that the true method of making the telegraph system at once cheap and remunerative was not by curtailing the facilities offered to the public or by increasing the charges, but by increasing the facililites and, at the proper time, diminishing the charges. This was really a question for independent Members, such as had supported his Motion on a former occasion, and enabled him to carry it even in the teeth of the two Front Benches. For those reasons he should support the scheme as being a very substantial and the most substantial boon they were likely to get at present. When it went into Committee he should endeavour to secure some improvements—and he thought those facilities which it offered might be improved without in the smallest degree departing from the principle, and at a merely nominal expense. The Postmaster General proposed, for example, that after the minimum was reached an extra 1*d.* should be charged for each extra word or two words. But that was not the plan proposed by his Predecessor, the late Mr. Fawcett. He proposed the plan of a uniform ½*d.* per word, and a ½*d.* was not an unknown coin

Dr. Cameron

in connection with this matter. On the question of figures, why, he asked, not adopt the system followed in international messages and count groups of five figures and less than five figures as a single word? To adopt such a course would prove of great convenience in many cases, and would also be in the direction of assimilating the Inland and the International Departments of the Postal Telegraph Service. Another very important improvement he wished to suggest was that in large towns the Post Office should codify the streets. It would be an easy matter in the Metropolis, for instance, to have a code signal for every street. The practice was already followed in regard to telegraph stations, the names of which were never spelt out fully in the course of telegraphing by the Department. The system being found a convenient and practicable one in regard to telegraph stations, he maintained that it would be equally easy to apply the system to the nomenclature of streets. It would be possible to take every street, court, lane, crescent, or terrace in the Metropolis, and by the permutations of three or four letters or figures reduce the names to a code; and there was not the smallest reason why that code should not be published in *The Postal Guide*, so that a person who wished to send a message to a particular address would only have to refer to the code, and write down a few letters, thus enabling the address to be got over the wire as one word. Another improvement he begged to suggest was the cheap registration of addresses. At present anyone could register his address for telegraph purposes for 21*s.* a-year; but there was no valid reason why a man should not be able to register his address for 2*s.* 6*d.* or 5*s.* per annum. By sending that with the name of the town, three words would suffice for the necessities of the address, leaving the other nine words for the body of that message. Thus, by a system of increments of a ½*d.* per word instead of a 1*d.*, by the codification of streets in large towns, by a cheap system of registration of addresses, without any departure from the general lines of the Bill, at a merely nominal expense, with an increased security against any miscarriage of telegrams, with the advantage of assimilating the Inland and International branches of our Postal Telegraph System, he believed that a great boon would be afforded to the telegraphing public by the plan proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, and that, too, on a principle compatible with the sound economic rule of payment for work done. It would not be appreciably inferior to the fancy modification suggested of the present system, the adoption of which he believed the Postmaster General was convinced would be fatal to the proposed scheme.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON said, he thought that the rejection of free addresses on the part of the Postmaster General took away all the good that would otherwise arise from the reduction of the 1*s.* telegram. The codification of addresses, taking into account the millions of messages sent, was too much to undertake successfully. This was not a question as to the convenience and profit of the State; it was a question of the immense convenience to the general public, financially as well as commercially. Viewed from a domestic point of view, the services which the telegraph rendered to the people at large were very important, and any impediment placed in the way of telegraphing ought not to be tolerated for a moment by the Postmaster General. He understood that when the Resolution on this subject was carried in that House, the intention was to introduce the 6*d.* message pure and simple. Further, when the Telegraph Companies were first started the entire charge for the message was 6*d.* The increased charge to 1*s.* arose in consequence of a storm which destroyed considerable lengths of the wires; but it was always promised that when the Companies were recouped then the 6*d.* charge was to be restored; but pending that time the Government went into treaty for the purchase of the telegraphs and took them over upon the 1*s.* charge —hence its continuance. But now the Government insisted that the addresses should be paid for, and this resolve, he maintained, was wrong. The Government should accept in its entirety the Resolution which was passed two years ago, allow free addresses, and reduce the charge to 6d. for 10 words. By doing so they would save an incalculable amount of work to the Post Office officials, would prevent many blunders from being committed, and would confer a great and desirable boon on the public.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he thought the country was very much indebted to the Postmaster General for his scheme, though he admitted the commercial community had been somewhat slow in expressing their appreciation of its value. This remark, however, did not apply to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; and he desired to bring under the notice of the Postmaster General two suggestions of that body—first, that five consecutive figures should be counted as one word; and secondly, that it should be optional for the sender to include his name and address in the message.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, this discussion was probably only a rehearsal of the debate that would arise on the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners); and he, therefore, hoped hon. Gentlemen would excuse him if he did not now reply to all the points that had been raised. He did not understand the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Alderman Cotton) to be opposed to the principle of the Bill, but only to propose an alternative plan. When in Committee he should be happy to consider fully any Amendments that might be brought forward, provided they did not involve a greater burden on the Telegraph Department than the plan laid down in the Bill. It had been urged that the Post Office and the Telegraph Department should be considered as one, and that the profits of the one might very fairly be applied to cover the loss on the other—that any loss in the Telegraphic Department ought to be recouped by the profits from letters. That was a proposition which could not and never for a moment had been entertained by that House. Since the purchase of the telegraphs it had been well understood that the Telegraph Department should be treated by itself, and that, as far as possible, it should be made self-supporting; and it had always been considered that the tariff should be such as would allow the operations to be carried on at a profit such as to pay a reasonable rate of interest on the purchase money paid for the acquirement of the telegraphs. He thought that a sound principle, and was not prepared to depart from it. It would not be right or fair that the general public should be taxed in order that a small part of the community should be able to send their telegrams at a price less than the cost price. He, therefore, could not accept any proposition that would involve a heavy loss. It must be remembered that the Telegraph Service was not now in so flourishing a condition as it was two years ago. Owing to the increase of remuneration paid to *employés*, and also to the competition with the telephone, there had been a great reduction in the profits of the Telegraph Service. Taking the most favourable view of the account the profits had fallen from £450,000 to at the outside £250,000 a-year, and out of this £250,000 there remained to be paid the interest on the £11,000,000 which was paid for the purchase of the telegraphs, and this reduced the interest to a very low rate. The plan that he now proposed had been carefully worked out by experts in the Post Office, and it was calculated that, allowing for an increase of 30 per cent in the number of messages sent, there would during the first year be a reduction of the Telegraph Department profits by about £180,000, and this would reduce the profits to £70,000 a-year, which was a very small margin of profit on a business of such magnitude, and some further reductions probably would have to be made. The reduction of the price of telegrams from 1*s.* to 6*d.* really involved a much larger financial risk than most persons supposed. There were certain expenses connected with telegrams which were incurred whatever the length of the telegram—such as the receipt of the telegram over the counter and its delivery within the radius. It had been estimated that the average necessary cost for these purposes of each telegram, irrespective of its length, was 2½*d.*, and that left the sum available for the cost of telegraphing out of the amount charged now and to be charged under this Bill at 9½*d.* and 3½*d.* respectively; and, therefore, the proposed reduction was really about one-third. Every telegram was accompanied by certain official words, eight in number, necessary for the purposes of information to the Department. The average length of addresses had been found to be 11 words, and therefore the average length of an ordinary message under present circumstances was 39 words — the message 20 words, the address 11, and the official words eight. The Bill proposed to

reduce the number of words to 20—namely, 12 words in the message and address, and the eight official words; the length of the message, therefore, would be reduced from 39 words to 20 words, or one-half, while the price was being reduced from 9½*d.* to 3½*d.* It was accordingly necessary that there should be some economy of work. It was well known that there was an enormous waste of words in the sending of telegrams, and an amount of useless labour was thus thrown on the Department. A large number of telegrams had been carefully examined, and it was found that the number of superfluous words amounted to about 25 or 30 per cent; and a large proportion of the superfluous words occurred, it was found, in the addresses. These, on an average, now consisted of 11 words, and it was the opinion of competent persons that the address, as a rule, need not occupy more than five words. A saving of six words could thus be effected in each telegram, which, multiplied by 32,000,000, which they had calculated would be the number of telegrams under the new system, resulted sulted in this—that the amount saved by the non-transmission of 192,000,000 of useless words would be at least £200,000 a-year. He quite admitted that free addresses had some convenience; but, on the other hand, they were a very expensive luxury, as they cost the Service £200,000 a-year. He had observed in the newspapers various alternative suggestions to his proposal. They all resulted in loss to the Department. The hon. Member for the City of London who last spoke proposed that a free address and 10 words should be given for 6*d.* He had had the cost of that calculated. It showed that, assuming an increase in the number of telegrams sent in consequence of the reduced tariff to the extent of 30 per cent, the loss to the Service would be £560,000 per year. This was not the worst part of the case, for a tariff of that kind would enormously stimulate business, and would greatly increase the working expenses. They believed that it would be impossible to send free addresses and 10 words for 6*d.* without in a short time, by reason of the enormous increase of business, incurring a much greater loss than £560,000 a-year to the Department.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman calculated the loss to the Department by rule of three?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that the figures he had quoted were from calculations made by the officials of the Department. The loss from the hon. Member's suggestion would be so great, therefore, that a tariff of that kind was altogether out of the question. The suggestion of the hon. Member for Davenport (Mr. Puleston), that there should be a free address and six words for 6*d.*, it had been calculated, would cause a loss of £110,000 a-year more than the proposal submitted. The tariff proposed by the hon. Member for the City of London who spoke first, that a free address and five words should be allowed for 6*d.*, would result, as far as he could make out, although it was somewhat difficult to state the actual cost, in a loss of £100,000 a-year more than his proposal. He thought, therefore, that the House would be of opinion with him that these various suggestions were all out of the question without inflicting heavy loss upon the Department, and therefore upon the Public Revenue. The tariff which was proposed under their Bill was a word rate of a 1*d.* for two words or ½*d.* a-word, with a minimum of 12 words for 6*d.* It was calculated that five words would on the average be used for the address, and seven would remain for the message. That was the opinion formed from a careful examination of the existing telegrams by officials of the Department. They could not but think that there was a good deal of misunderstanding upon the subject of addresses. The belief had been expressed by the officials that the sender's address would in future average only one word. In support of that view they had before them the experience of foreign telegrams and also telegrams to France and Germany. It was found that foreign telegrams sent to this country in a large majority of cases contained no address at all of the sender. The message itself, no doubt, would show clearly to the receiver from whom it came. A large proportion of the foreign telegrams had only one word to indicate the sender. It was believed that in future, if the proposal of the Bill were adopted, senders would in a very large proportion of cases indicate themselves by one word, and in very few cases would it be necessary to use more than one word. If

it were necessary for the sender of the telegram to give a full description of his address, that was information that ought to be contained in the text of the message and ought to be paid for. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had quoted the unanimous Resolution of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce approving the Bill, and he had asked that in future the suggestion of the Chamber should be adopted—namely, that five numbers should be counted as one word, and that it should not be necessary to insert the sender's name in the address. He was in a position to answer both those questions in the affirmative, and they would in future be the rule. As regarded the name of the town from which the message was sent, it was not necessary to put it in the address, because it was always sent for official purposes, and there was no necessity that the sender should put it in as one of the words of the message. Neither was it obligatory on the sender to give his own name in the address, and in a large proportion of cases it would not be necessary for him to do so. While he believed that on an average one word would indicate the sender, a careful examination of telegrams led to the belief that the receiver would be indicated on an average by four words. A large proportion of the foreign telegrams sent into this country contained only three, and in some cases four, words of address. No great hardship would result if an extra word or two had to be inserted in an address, as the rate would be two words for 1*d.* The objections which had been raised to this proposal rested mainly on two points. In the first place, it was said that the abolition of free addresses would lead to uncertainty and to extra labour on the Department; and secondly, it was said that it would be a hardship on certain classes of persons. As to the first point, the officials in the Department did not think that any extra difficulty would be thrown on them, judging by the large experience they had had of foreign telegrams, and also by the fact that, although the addresses in those telegrams were shortened, little confusion or trouble had resulted. There was also the experience of foreign countries to guide them, where a word-rate prevailed. In Germany there was no free address, and it was found that addresses averaged only four words; again in France a word-rate only existed and no difficulty was found with respect to the address. The other objection, that this proposal would press hardly on certain classes of people in this country, was one into which he went at some length in introducing the Bill. With some difficulty he had obtained a number of telegrams sent by working people, and although it appeared that their addresses averaged somewhat longer than those of other telegrams, it was found that the messages as a rule were very short and simple, and that about 60 per cent would admit of curtailments of the addresses, and could be sent for 6*d.* without any trouble or difficulty being occasioned. It had been pointed out that the proposed tariff did not compare favourably with the present tariff at the rate of 1*s.* By the present tariff 20 words were allowed for 1*s.*, with a free address, whereas under this proposal 24 words would be allowed for 1*s.*, with no free address. But the higher they went in the tariff the more favourable it appeared; and, moreover, it should be recollected that between 6*d.* and 1*s.* there were several grades. It was assumed that there would be only the 6*d.* and 1*s.* rate, and nothing between; but that was not the case, and any number of words between 12 and 24 would be inserted in the message at 1*d.* for two words. They believed that a very large proportion of the messages sent—about 30 or 40 per cent—would be at the 6*d.* rate. But they also thought that a very large proportion would be sent the cost of which would be between 6*d.* and 1*s.* They thought that under the proposed tariff not more than one telegram out of 10 would be sent at the 1*s.* rate. Before resuming his seat he wished to say that to his knowledge no important commercial body had petitioned against the Bill, while, on the other hand, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Glasgow and of other large towns, had spoken of the tariff proposed as one very favourable to the working classes. He trusted that the House would not reject the boon that he was able to offer to the country. He should be perfectly ready to consider in Committee any alternative tariff that might be suggested which would not impose a greater burden on the

finances of the Department; but he should not be able to agree to any tariff which would have that effect, for such a tariff could not be established without infringing on the principles that the Telegraphic Service should be independent of the Postal Service, and that it should be conducted so as to return some profit on the amount invested by the State.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, there were certain public commercial operations which passed from the hands of individuals to the State, because in the course of time it had been found that such operations could be carried on with greater advantage to the country if placed in the hands of the Government of the day. Such an undertaking was the great enterprize now carried on by the Post Office in connection with the electric telegraph. When the State originally undertook the management of the Telegraph Service it made what was apparently an exceedingly bad bargain. The receipts of the Service, however, improved to such an extent that two years ago the surplus revenue amounted to 3 per cent on the £10,000,000 which had been invested. That, to his mind, was a most weighty fact. As to the Resolution which was the origin of the proposed change in the price of telegrams, and which he regarded as undesirable and ill-timed, it was the duty of the House to take care that in carrying it out there should be no great sacrifice of the finances of the State. Bearing that in mind, he saw nothing in the Bill to prevent him from giving his absolute adhesion to the plan of the Postmaster General. With regard to the system of free addresses, he feared that was a part of the scheme which would be abused, although he was quite aware that at the present time, under existing regulations, the telegraph, as a means of communication, was abused, especially by anxious mothers and enthusiastic lovers, who telegraphed to each other two or three times a-day. There would, however, in his opinion, be no hardship caused by the limitations which it was proposed to place on addresses. The system would discourage surplusage in diction and would foster the art of concise writing, which was a very valuable acquirement.

MR. RUSTON said, he held that the Government in the Bill which had been introduced had loyally adhered to the spirit of the Resolutions passed in a former Session. As to the principles enunciated that day by the Postmaster General, they were perfectly sound. An instance of the way in which the custom of free addresses might be abused had recently come under his notice. A telegram was sent to him in which the addresses occupied 20 words, and eight of the words in the sender's address ought certainly to have been placed in the body of the message. He strongly approved the proposal of the hon. Member for Salford that four or five figures should be included in the body of the message as one word. This change, if agreed to, would be an immense boon.

MR. WARTON said, that the proposal of the Postmaster General was clogged with such restrictions as not to give in reality the 6*d.* telegram which it professed to give. It was better for the Government to say they had made a great mistake in promising to allow 6*d.* telegrams than try to keep the promise to the ear and break it to the hope. All sorts of dangerous telegrams might be sent under the scheme without any means of identifying the sender.

MR. BIGGAR expressed the opinion that the result of abolishing free addresses would be to press hardly upon small dealers and generally upon the working people of the country.

MR. TOMLINSON remarked, that it was his firm belief, founded upon observation not so much in London as in the Provinces, that the telephone would come in time more and more in competition with the telegraph. At all events, so far as commercial telegrams were concerned, there could be no doubt that the telegraph would give place to the telephone, and possibly the large increase which was expected in the telegraph business might not result.

MR. DEASY said, that he desired to make a few observations on this Bill as representing a constituency which, in his opinion, would be largely benefited by its provisions. He believed the Bill would be a great advantage to districts like the South of Ireland, which were a considerable distance from the great centres of industry and consumption. It took a very long time for letters to reach the South of Ireland, and in consequence many of the business people there had frequently to have recourse to

the use of the telegraph, and in this way telegrams formed a very large item in their annual expenditure. This item of expenditure would, in his opinion, be very materially reduced by the action of the Bill now before the House. It would be of especial advantage to persons engaged in the butter trade and in the other large businesses carried on in the South of Ireland. At present these people were able easily to confine their messages to a dozen words or so, and the only hardship it would inflict would be on those persons who tried to get value for their money by using up all the 20 words, and who made the addresses as long as possible. If these people still desired to send long messages, let them do so at their own expense, but let not business people be expected to pay dearly for short messages for the benefit of such people. Considering that the measure would be a great advantage to his constituents, and would lead to the development of the industry and trade of Ireland, he trusted that the Government would press forward the Bill and pass it into law before the end of the present Session.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 4th June.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Henry Fowler.*)

[BILL 159.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he believed that both inside and outside the House this Bill was looked upon with great interest and with a great desire to see the measure passed into law. He had received numbers of communications from all parts of the country and from all classes of society upon this subject. The necessity for legislation of this character had, he was sorry to say, in recent years become more and more apparent. He believed the evil of juvenile prostitution had been upon the increase. All the evidence which had come before him pointed in that direction, and everyone would agree that nothing could be more injurious to the foundations of society than that. It was unnecessary for him to go at any length into the merits of the Bill. A Committee of the House of Lords sat a few years ago and made an exhaustive inquiry into this subject, and since then more than one Bill had been introduced into Parliament and passed several stages, though, unhappily, without becoming law. He hoped that the period that remained of the existence of the present Parliament would not be allowed to go by without this Bill being passed.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was very glad that the attempt to count out the House upon this Bill had not succeeded. In his opinion, it would not have enhanced the reputation of that House in the country if a quorum had not been present for the purpose of endeavouring to pass this measure into law. The Bill was founded upon a recommendation of a Committee of the House of Lords which had sat to consider the question, and the measure now came down to that House after having received mature consideration in the other House of Parliament. There might be differences of opinion upon the subject of the provisions of the Bill, but upon its object and meaning he thought there could be no division of opinion. The object of the Bill was to prevent the traffic in young girls who were exported for the purpose of prostitution abroad. The Bill also sought to prevent the prostitution of children of tender years. Was there anybody who denied the existence and the growing character of that evil? He confidently laid it down that the principle of the Bill, and consequently the second reading, demanded the unanimous support of the House. He did not want at this stage to invite a minute discussion upon the clauses of the Bill. The proper stage for that was in Committee upon the Bill. He was afraid they had the indirect opposition of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport to the Bill.

MR. WARTON, rising to Order, asked whether it was right for any hon. Member to charge another hon. Member with adopting indirect methods of opposition? His methods were perfectly direct and open.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not mean anything offensive to the hon. and learned Member; but if the hon. and learned Member complained of the charge of indirect methods of opposing the Bill, it really was an assumption of virtue which he had hardly thought the hon. and learned Member would have had the courage to profess. The age for the protection of girls was now 13. Everybody felt that that age was a great deal too low, and ought to be raised; but there had been a good deal of dispute as to the age to which it ought to be raised. Some people had thought 15 too low, and some, he believed, had thought 16 too high. All he desired to say was that he considered himself, as having the conduct of the Bill, by no means bound to the age of 15. If the House should be of opinion that the age should be 16, he considered that would be a decision on the part of the House that he should be entirely bound to respect. Another clause was directed against the keepers of improper houses. Similar provisions in that respect had been in force in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the clauses of this Bill dealing with that part of the subject were the same as those which had already been successfully accomplished in legislation of that character. He did not, however, wish to raise any discussion which properly belonged to the stage of Committee, and he hoped the House would approve of the general objects of the measure by agreeing to the second reading.

MR. GIBSON said, a Bill of this character was one which so nearly touched the whole social life of the country that it must create a great deal of interest, and he trusted that the time would never come when the House would refuse to stand up in the interests of morality and give its adhesion and support to a measure which had that great object in view. He hoped, moreover, that they would not shrink from discussing its provisions on account of the nature of the Bill. He distinctly was in favour of the second reading, and would support it, for he quite recognized that the Bill contained most valuable clauses. The clause for the protection of children was one which must commend itself to the careful and sympathetic attention of every Member of the House; and the clause for the protection of young girls who were allured to the Continent was one which must commend itself to their best and most earnest consideration. But the 9th clause was a clause which, he feared, might possibly lead to the shipwreck of the Bill. The administration of the clause would be placed in the hands of the police, for whom he had a great respect; but no one would pretend they had any judicial training necessary for the discharge of the difficult and delicate duties which would be thrown on them in consequence of the passing of the clause. Under its provisions any man's life might be made a burden to him. While giving his support to the second reading of the Bill, he desired to reserve to the full his right to criticize these clauses in Committee. He heartily approved of most of the provisions of the Bill, and hoped they would pass into law this Session.

MR. JAMES STUART remarked that, although he intended to support the second reading, he should in Committee submit certain Amendments with the object of equalizing the treatment of men and women. With regard to Clause 9, for example, he was unable to see why men should not be punished on precisely the same grounds as women. As the Bill stood at present, it was merely a little sop thrown to a large and an increasing popular sentiment. He did not believe the Bill was worth much; there were too many qualifying provisions in it. There was much inequality in it, and the provisions relating to the police ought not to be accepted. He desired to bar police evidence alone, as he was of opinion that there was a great deal of connivance by the police in the wrong-doing of the well-to-do; but, on the whole, he thought it was a good thing to vote for the second reading, because it was a tiny step in the right direction.

MR. RAIKES said, he could not agree with his hon. Friend who last spoke as to the inefficiency of the measure, at least in the points indicated. He thought, however, there were one or two points in regard to which the Bill might be made stronger with a very satisfactory result. Under Clause 6 any householder might be punished for misdemeanour who admitted these malpractices to take place on his premises in the case of girls under 15. He thought it might be desirable to extend the age to 16, or even

to 17. He believed much would be done for the emancipation of some of those unfortunate women if, in the event of their leaving the houses with clothes claimed by the proprietor of the establishment, they should not be liable to be proceeded against for theft. As they were going to raise the age of the female they should also raise the age of the male. Such acts were of too frequent occurrence between young persons of equal age at that period when the curiosity of the female was more precocious than that of the male, who became at the utmost not more than her accomplice. In his opinion, the Bill was of the greatest possible moment to the country, and the Home Secretary might rely on the cordial co-operation of both Parties in the House in carrying an efficient and, at the same time, a moderate measure.

MR. WILLIS protested against the Bill on the ground that many of its clauses would tend to multiply criminals while they would not promote morality. He would do all in his power to pass those parts of the Bill which protected young women from being entrapped to enter brothels and suppressed brothels; but many of the provisions of this Bill went far beyond each of these points. According to one of the provisions of this Bill a man might be sentenced to two years' imprisonment for bringing any woman, no matter what her age or how immoral her habits, to a brothel, although she knew well the character of the house and the object for which she was brought. As regarded the limitation of age, the question was a most difficult one, as some girls were at 12 years of age far more precocious than others at 14 and 15. In regard to matters between men and women they could never get at the truth; and there were juries, and even Judges, who sometimes seemed to lose their good sense whenever they had a case before them where women made charges of immorality against men. He objected to multiply criminals out of the passions of mankind. Nearly the whole of the proposals of the Bill were in a wrong direction, and he refused to be a party to legislation of such a character.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND thought the Bill of such importance that he should without hesitation support the second reading of it. He believed, as did the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis), in the power of morality; but he also believed—a belief in which that hon. and learned Member did not seem to share—in the power of the law to restrain immorality, and that was the object and would be the effect of this measure if it became law. He could not agree with the hon. and learned Member in his general attack on the provisions of the Bill; and as regarded the special case referred to by him—the Lupus Street case—he (Sir Henry Holland) thought that it did not come within the Bill. He did not observe whether the age of the woman had been given. [MR. WILLIS: Yes, 31 years.] Then the case did not come within Sub-section 4 of Clause 3, as she was not under 21 years, and, moreover, she knew the character of the house, and was a party to the intent. [MR. WILLIS: Look at Clause 2.] No; it did not come within Clause 2, as there was clearly no intent to make her the "inmate of a brothel." But, anyhow, a difficulty of that kind could be dealt with in Committee. He did not agree with the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. James Stuart) that this Bill was but a "little sop," nor did he fear the taint of police hanging about the Bill, to which that hon. Member seemed to object. He thought the Bill was a distinct step in the right direction, though, no doubt, some of the details would have to be carefully considered in Committee. But he could not understand how a second reading could be refused by the House if the main principles of the Bill were correct. It could hardly be denied that some legislation was needed, and Bills, very similar to the one now under consideration, had twice passed the House of Lords. This present Bill was a modification in some respects of the former Bills, and wisely so, as it was undesirable to go beyond public opinion. The Police Clauses had been modified, and a magistrate would not be able to issue a warrant upon the statement of the police only; but sworn information was required by a parent, guardian, relation, or friend of the girl. Again, the age of consent had been reduced — rightly or wrongly — from 16 to 15. He would not now discuss the details of the Bill; but he felt bound to state that, as at present advised, he entirely agreed with the right hon. and learned Member for the Uni-

versity of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) in his condemnation of part of the 9th clause. The proviso that a conviction should not take place on the evidence of one witness only, really afforded no adequate protection against trumped-up charges. Nothing would be easier in these cases than to get the evidence of some woman, or even of a policeman, to corroborate the charge; and the unhappy man who was charged would either have to pay blackmail if he feared to have the case made public, or he would have to appear in Court; and even though he were acquitted, the fact of such a charge having been made might seriously damage him if he were a professional man. He (Sir Henry Holland) was disposed to think that the whole of this 9th clause might be omitted, and the matter left to police regulations for keeping order in the streets. He would conclude by repeating his belief that the Bill was one of great importance, and he should, therefore, support the second reading.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) protested against the aspersions which had been cast upon the police, upon whose evidence he believed implicit reliance might be placed.

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he would not detain the House more than a very few minutes, because he believed on this occasion the best support he could give to the measure was not to delay the debate; but he wished to record his sincere support of the second reading, and he trusted the Government would make a point of pushing it through Parliament, especially the essential part, which he believed to be the age of protection, and that ought to be raised, as hinted by the Home Secretary. From what had been said he hoped the Home Secretary might receive quite as much, if not more, support from that side of the House than even from the Ministerial side. Of course, there were clauses that must be very carefully considered, as his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) had said, and the hon. and learned Member for Colchester; and, in supporting the second reading, he would say at once that he could not support all the clauses in their present form. But this was a measure in which the working classes were deeply interested; it was their children and their daughters who were chiefly affected, and he would say that, especially in the larger towns, they would deeply feel and deeply resent any trifling with the more important provisions of this Bill. Let hon. Members representing populous places reckon with their constituencies before they ventured to act so as to shelve and shunt this measure. The working classes were getting exceedingly impatient at the manner in which all these social questions, greatly affecting their interest and comfort—he might almost say their existence—were put on one side for Party questions, which seemed to them of comparatively small importance, and he would venture respectfully to warn hon. Members how they trifled now with this Bill. Let them also read the Report and evidence of the House of Lords, on which it was founded, before they came there to oppose such a measure. It was melancholy reading enough; but no Member ought to venture to oppose this measure until he had taken the trouble to acquaint himself with evidence that showed the necessity for it.

MR. M'COAN said, that while he sympathized with the object of the Bill, he thought it bristled with matters which would require radical amendment in Committee.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK protested against the measure being brought on that afternoon, when there was a scant attendance, and when the Law Officers of the Government were absent. He did not know what the principle of the Bill was. It had many principles, and you could not select the principal principle.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

—o—

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Thursday the 4th day of June.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 5) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Special Drainage District of Brackley, the District of Bromsgrove, the Boroughs of Darlington and Stafford, the Local Government Districts of Ulverston, Warminster, and West Ham, and the Borough of Wigan, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 196.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 6) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Local Government Districts of Barking Town, Brentford, and Ealing (two), the Hartlepool Joint Hospital, The Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage District, the Local Government District of Oldbury, the Rural Sanitary District of the Penzance Union, the Borough of Swansea, and the Local Government District of Swinton, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 197.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) (NO. 9) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Orders of the Local Government Board, under the provisions of "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," as amended and extended by "The Poor Law Act, 1879," relating to the Parishes of Abbotsley, Astwood, Castle Church, Emberton, Eynesbury, Gayhurst, Hardmead, Lathbury, Lavendon, North Crawley, Ravenstone, and Saint Mary and Saint Chad, Stafford; to the Hamlet of Warrington; and to the Township of Hopton and Coton, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 198.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock till Thursday 4th June.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 4th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 4 to 14

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Third Reading* — South Eastern Railway (Various Powers), and *passed*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations) * [199].

Second Reading—Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) [179].

Committee—Post Office Sites (*re-comm.*) [193], *debate adjourned*.

Committee — Shannon Navigation (*re-comm.*) [171]—R.P.

Committee—*Report* — Princess Beatrice's Annuity * [187]; Metropolis Management Acts Amendment [138-200].

Third Reading — Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 1) * [131], and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

NATIONAL DEBT BILL.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If it is intended, under the operation of the National Debt Bill now before the House, to postpone until 1905 the payment of any portion of the £4,672,938 to be obtained by the suspension of the Sinking Funds under the Acts of 1875 and 1883, which sum is to be applied to meet a portion of the deficiency in the Budget 1885-6?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think the Question of the right hon. Gentleman does not exactly describe the condition under which the Annuities created by the Act of 1883 are payable. The Annuities on which £4,672,938 would, under the law as it stands, have been repayable in respect of capital during the current financial year are calculated to expire at different dates. If the Bill before Parliament becomes law, and the payment of that sum is suspended in the current financial year, the duration of each Annuity will be prolonged for one year, and an Annuity now timed to expire in 1903-4 will not expire until 1904-5.

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is his intention to propose any change in the provisions of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill affecting the Duties on Wine, Spirits, and Beer? Perhaps he might also be allowed to ask when the Papers relating to the alterations in the Succession Duties about to be presented to the House would be in the hands of Members?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I intend laying the Papers to which the right hon. Ba-

ronet refers upon the Table to-night in print, and I presume that they will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow. In reply to the other Question of the right hon. Baronet, I have to say that I hope in Committee of Ways and Means to-morrow to give the House full information as to our intentions on this subject. That Committee will be the second Order to-morrow. It is necessary that Supply should be taken first.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give that information before an early hour on Saturday morning. Could not he give it at the commencement of the Sitting to-morrow?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I will consider whether it will be possible to do so.

MR. ONSLOW: Is there any reason why that information cannot be given now?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Certainly there is. It is a well-known rule that information regarding changes in taxation cannot be given in anticipation.

SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS—THE LIST OF VOTERS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the President of the Local Government Board, If, now that the Registration Bills are passed, he is able to state whether the Bill to be introduced, declaring the new register to be the register of persons entitled to vote at any election in the month of November of this year, will contain a provision for postponement of School Board elections to a later date?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes; the question has been under consideration by the Education Department, myself, and other Members of the Government, and I think that the answer to this Question will probably be in the affirmative.

MANUFACTURE OF BEER—RETURN OF BREWERS AND BREWERS' LICENCES.

MR. HICKS asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether in the next annual Return of the number of Brewers for Sale, and of the ingredients used by them in the manufacture of beer, he would sub-divide the column now headed "Malt and Grain" into three columns, headed respectively "Malt," "Grain," "Rice," and the column headed "Sugar and Equivalent in Syrup," into two columns headed respectively "Sugar," "Equivalent in Syrup?"

MR. HIBBERT: This is not a Government Return, but has been generally moved for by the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Watney). I may say, however, that it can only contain the particulars entered by the brewer in his brewing-book, and the law only requires him to enter the quantities of malt, corn, and sugar. The Return is defective. It is, however, believed that the trade would object to give further particulars, and the Revenue Authorities have no other means of obtaining them. If the hon. Member will apply to the hon. Member for East Surrey to enlarge his Motion by asking for the additional information mentioned in the Question, the Treasury will have no objection.

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND) — THE TRAWLING GROUND AT PORTSTEWART BAY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that great damage has been done to the trawling ground of Portstewart Bay by the discharge into it from a steamer of a quantity of stones, clay, and gravel dredged from the Bann, amounting to about 200 tons a day; whether this has caused the loss of the nets belonging to some fishermen; whether the clam bait bed has been destroyed by the deposit; by what authority the dredged stuff has been so discharged; and, what steps will be taken to protect the fishing industry?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No complaint had been made to the Inspectors of Fisheries on this subject; but on receipt of the Notice of this Question they made inquiries, and they have been in communication with the Harbour Commissioners of Coleraine, under whose authority the dredging is carried out. The Harbour Commissioners at once set inquiries on foot, and they state that, if it turns out that the present system causes damage either to the trawling ground or to the nets, they are quite willing to dispose of the material in some other way.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—PIER AT ROSSES POINT, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

with reference to a Memorial for the construction of a pier at Rosses Point, county Sligo, which was forwarded by the Board of Public Works to the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commissioners on the 9th of May last year, Whether any steps have since been taken; and, whether it is intended to comply with the prayer of the Memorial?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Fishery Piers and Harbours Commissioners inform me that they cannot make any recommendation in favour of a pier at Rosses Point, as all their funds are being allocated to work which they regard as of a more pressing character.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—DUNFANAGHY BOARD OF GUARDIANS—THE REV. MR. M'FADDEN, P.P.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians have refused to re-appoint the Rev. James M'Fadden, parish priest of Gweedore, as warden; what cause is assigned for the adoption of this course; whether the Catholic curate has refused to accept the office of warden, in consequence of the treatment of the parish priest by the guardians; whether, owing to the absence of Dr. Finlay on sick leave, there is at present no resident medical officer in the district of Gweedore, the substitute, Dr. Joyce, being resident twelve miles from Bunbeg, the centre of the district; whether a ticket issued by Father M'Fadden on the 15th of March for attendance at the home of Patrick Rodgers of Tory Island has not been acted upon, and no explanation has been given, although a car and boat had to be provided for the conveyance of the doctor; whether the relieving officer having ceased to visit the parish of Gweedore, the poor of that district continue to apply for relief in food and medicine to Father M'Fadden, who is now unable to deal with their applications; whether Dr. Joyce refused, on the 15th ultimo, to attend a critical case of pneumonia; and, what steps the Local Government Board will take to deal with the state of facts disclosed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Differences having arisen between the Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians and the Rev. Mr. M'Fadden, the Board resolved not to re-appoint him as a warden. They accordingly offered the post to his curate; but as he declined it they have appointed one of the rev. gentleman's parishioners. The matter is not one in which the Local Government Board have any authority to interfere. The Dispensary Committee appointed Dr. Joyce, medical officer of the adjoining district, to discharge Dr. Finlay's duty during his temporary absence. Dr. Joyce was unable to proceed to Tory Island on the day in question owing to the tempestuous weather, the island being 15 miles from the mainland. He took steps, however, to ascertain how the case was proceeding, and it terminated favourably without the necessity for surgical attendance. The relieving officer has not ceased to visit Gweedore, and he reports that he does not believe there is any want of food in the parish, and that he hears nothing of destitution whatever. Dr. Joyce did not refuse to attend the critical case referred to, which was one of typhus-fever, not pneumonia. He has been in frequent attendance on it; but I regret to say it has terminated fatally. The Local Government Board have urged on the Dispensary Committee the desirableness of appointing a medical officer resident in the district, and will send their Medical Inspector there at once to report on the subject. They point out, however, that there is considerable difficulty in obtaining the temporary services of a qualified professional man in such a remote district.

MR. SEXTON: Have the Local Government Board made any representation to the Board of Guardians as to the impropriety of their action in removing the parish priest from his position as warden in a remote district where the people specially required his assistance?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir. This parish priest and the Board have been in a state of warfare, and the Local Government Board could not interfere.

THE PAPAL SEE—DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATION WITH THE VATICAN.

MR. M'COAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he would consider whether the present methods of communication between our Foreign Office and the Papal See might be superseded by the establishment of some more regular Diplomatic relations?

MR. GLADSTONE: In answer to this Question I have to say that Her Majesty's Government have not formed any intention of establishing any regular diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

MR. CALLAN: May I ask whether Her Majesty's Government will continue their "irregular" communications with the Papal See?

MR. GLADSTONE: It appears to me that that is a Question which ought rather to be put to my hon. Friend who asked the first. The word is his, not mine.

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. PLUNKET (for Mr. GIBSON) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has Her Majesty's Government received confirmation of the statement in *The Times* of May 19th, that the Ameer has issued a proclamation complimenting his troops on their gallantry at Penjdeh, and laying stress on the value of the British alliance; and, whether he will lay a Copy of the Ameer's proclamation upon the Table?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Proclamation has not yet reached Her Majesty's Government, although a report, without details, of its issue was received in a telegram from Colonel Ridgeway dated the 10th ultimo.

MR. HICKS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is a fact, as stated in *The Times* newspaper of May 19th, that the Ameer has issued a proclamation to his troops, in which he not only emphasises the value of a British alliance but compliments his soldiers on their gallantry at Penjdeh; and, if so, whether he has now any reason to doubt that the Ameer attached importance to the retention of Penjdeh?

MR. GLADSTONE: My noble Friend has answered this Question as far as regards the Proclamation; and, as far as it regards the bearing of anything that has been said by me, even supposing or assuming for the sake of argument that the hon. Member has been correctly informed, it would not in the least degree affect anything I have said with regard to the position of the Ameer in reference to Penjdeh. I would take this opportunity of asking the permission of the House to make an explanation which I was not able to make for want of leisure before the Recess. On the 13th of March I stated to the House that Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government had arrived at an agreement that the Russian troops should not advance, and that we should also use our influence with the Afghans to prevent them from advancing. On the Monday—the 16th of March I think it was—I repeated that statement, and I added that a reserve had been made by the Russian Government in the meantime with respect to the contingency of the occurrence of any serious event, such as the disturbance at Penjdeh. When the Papers were printed which contain the events of those dates, the Questions put to me were naturally referred to, and it was found by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and others, that on the day after my statement a letter was addressed to Sir Edward Thornton by Lord Granville, requesting to know whether my statement accurately represented the views of the Russian Government. In that despatch of Lord Granville there were certain despatches of Sir Edward Thornton referred to; and the noble Lord, I presume, on referring to those despatches, found that they did not go the full length of my statement. They spoke of the precautions that had been taken, and of the possible movement of the Russian troops within a certain line; but they did not come up in terms to the statement I had made—that they should remain without advancing. It was a long time after the facts; and it was impossible for me from memory, in a matter which certainly required verification, to make an accurate statement. I took the earliest opportunity when I had leisure afforded by the Recess of examining the matter, and I now find exactly what took place. In the first place, the words ascribed to me by the reports on the 13th and 16th of March are, I believe, perfectly correct; and, in the second place, I must say that the answer of the 13th of March was not given lightly or inconsiderately, or without due consultation; but it stated the effect and purport of certain communications which had been received from St. Petersburg put together, and not the simple and single effect of any one communication. After I had made that statement, it was thought at the Foreign Office that a statement of that

kind, where we had, as it were, bound the Russian Government to words reported by Sir Edward Thornton without having given the Russian Government an opportunity of judging whether they were correctly reported, made it desirable to refer to St. Petersburg for confirmation of the statement. That reference accordingly was made, and on the 16th that statement was confirmed —entirely and unreservedly confirmed— as far as the question now at issue is concerned—namely, that the Russian troops were not to advance; but a qualification was added with reference to the contingency of serious disturbances on which I need not now dwell, because that is a collateral and distinct matter. Now, what I have found, upon examining the Papers, is this—that the letter of Lord Granville did not contain references to the whole evidence in the case. On the 151st page, under date February 19, in a letter to Sir Edward Thornton, there are contained these words, reporting a conversation with M. de Giers—"Instructions had been given that the Russian soldiers should remain where they were." It was the concurrence of those words that entered into the evidence on which I made my statement. It was our opinion at the time, and it is my opinion now, that the statement was entirely justified, and that these words, not noticed by the noble Lord that the Russian soldiers were to remain where they were, completely vindicate and sustain the statement I made. But perhaps it may be asked how it is that I did not insert a reference, or suggest a reference, to those words in Lord Granville's despatch? Well, it so happened that Lord Granville's despatch for the purpose of verifying my statement—there being anxiety that not a moment should be lost—was sent without my knowledge, and I never saw that despatch, I believe, until I saw it in the Papers. Certainly, if it had contained those references, it would have contained the whole of the evidence on which my statement was founded; but, as it was, it perhaps did not contain completely those references, which were not intended for this House, but for Sir Edward Thornton; and, no doubt, Sir Edward Thornton was perfectly aware of all the materials on the subject. That, Sir, is, I think, all I need state on the question. I am certainly of opinion at this moment, as I was on the 13th of March, that my statement was entirely borne out by the despatches; but I think it was a wise act to refer to the Government of St. Petersburg, in order to know whether they recognized the words used by Sir Edward Thornton and subscribed to them as being in reality their words.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask whether the House is to understand that the explanation of the statement of the 13th of March was made to the House of Commons by the Prime Minister without the knowledge of the Foreign Minister and without communication with the Foreign Minister, and whether the inquiry of Lord Granville to the Russian Government was made without the knowledge of and without communication with the Prime Minister?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already said, but perhaps the noble Lord did not hear me, that my statement was made after due consultation, and no doubt with the Foreign Minister. Lord Granville's despatch was sent without my knowledge, and I believe it was most properly sent. It was sent for the purpose of making good an important point —namely, whether these words were owned by the Russian Government. My statement was made on a Friday, and the object was that we might be in a position at the next meeting of the House, in case any error had occurred, to set it right.

In answer to MR. BRODRICK,

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he had understood his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India to state before the Recess that any communications with the Viceroy of India would be included in the last Blue Book. That had been laid upon the Table in dummy, and the Papers would be presented as soon as the state of the communications permitted.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked, whether the Prime Minister had any further information to give to the House with respect to the delimitation negotiations and with respect to the project of the proposed arbitration?

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the delimitation of the frontier, the communications have not yet been brought to a close, and therefore I have

no further information to give to the House. As to the proposed arbitration, I would rather answer that Question to-morrow, with the permission of the noble Lord.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Prime Minister, if he could state when it was proposed to introduce the Irish Coercion Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, he hoped to be able to-morrow to make a statement respecting several important subjects which awaited consideration. Those subjects would certainly include what his hon. Friend called the Irish Coercion Bill.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, after the Notice he had given of his intention to make a statement in Ways and Means, it was also his intention to proceed with the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill on Monday?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I hope to do so.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—RENEWAL.

MR. HENEAGE gave Notice that in the event of the Government bringing in a special Crimes Bill for Ireland, he would take the earliest opportunity of moving that, while the House was willing to consider such an amendment of the criminal laws for the preservation of life and property as would deal with special emergencies fostered by secret or external agencies, nevertheless such power should only be intrusted to a responsible Minister of the Crown, and that the present moment was favourable to the abolition of the present anomalous system of government in Ireland.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £71,323, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

MR. ONSLOW said, he was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) was not in his place, because there was one item in the present Vote to which he (Mr. Onslow) wished to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman. However, as the right hon. Gentleman was not present, he would put the question to the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary. If that hon. Gentleman would look at page 92 of the Estimates he would see that the Private Secretary to the Secretary of State, and formerly Assistant Private Secretary, was a Junior Clerk on the Establishment of the India Office, and as such was receiving a salary of £350 per annum and upwards in addition to £250 which he received as Private Secretary. He (Mr. Onslow) wished to point out to the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department the principle which was involved in this item. It appeared that the Government of India, out of the Revenues of India, were paying £350 a-year towards the salary of a Private Secretary for the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He thought that was a very wrong principle indeed. Of course, there could be no doubt that a gentleman filling the position of Private Secretary to the Secretary of State ought to be very well paid, and he would not grudge the expenditure that was necessary for that purpose; but what he did object to was that a clerk should be taken away from the India Office and appointed Private Secretary in another Department without his salary being paid out of the Consolidated Fund. It must be borne in mind that not only was this clerk paid by the India Office, but that it would also be necessary to pay another gentleman for acting in his place in the India Office. Therefore, it appeared to him that out of the Revenues of India a considerable sum of money was being paid unnecessarily and improperly, in consequence of this gentleman having been taken out of the

India Office. It was most unfair that India should be called upon to pay any part of the expenses of the Home Office, and in order to afford an opportunity for discussing the question, he would move formally that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £350.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £70,973, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he thought that any question connected with the charges upon India would come up more fairly for discussion upon the Indian Budget. He was informed that it was the practice in the Government Offices to transfer a clerk from one Department to another, in order that he might act as Private Secretary to a Minister. When such a transfer was made, the clerk did not lose his former post, and when his duties as Private Secretary ceased, he would go back to the position he had formally occupied in the India Office, and be continued there. There was nothing unusual in the course which had been taken in the present instance.

MR. GORST said, he thought the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. H. H. Fowler) must be joking when he requested his hon. Friend the Member for Guilford (Mr. Onslow) to wait until he had an opportunity of raising the question upon the Indian Budget. The hon. Gentleman must be well aware that, if his hon. Friend waited until the Indian Budget, the matter would never be brought under the consideration of the House at all. It would be perfectly fair to pay this charge out of the Consolidated Fund. When a temporary clerk was lent to the Secretary of State for War from the Colonial Office, it was, of course, fair enough for the payment of the salary of such clerk to come out of the Consolidated Fund; but what his hon. Friend complained of, in the present case, was that a clerk whose salary was paid out of the Revenues of India should be employed in doing the work of the Imperial Government. No doubt, the matter was a very small one; but, in dealing with India, it was most desirable that their policy should be perfectly just and regular, even in the smallest particulars. It was quite clear that this gentleman was paid out of the Revenues of India, under the impression that his services were rendered to India; and if he were required to render services to the Imperial Government, in the capacity of Private Secretary to the Secretary of State, he ought to be paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and not out of the Revenues of India.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that he did not attach much importance to the question which had been raised by the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not press the Motion. At the same time, he would admit that it was an objectionable principle to pay a clerk out of the Revenues of India for services rendered exclusively to the Imperial Government. There were instances of gentlemen being employed for Indian duties. The present able Private Secretary to the Prime Minister —[MR. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!]—had been till lately in India as Secretary to the Marquess of Ripon, and in former years Sir Bruce Seton, of the War Office, was also employed at the India Office as Secretary to the noble Marquess. At all events, the mode of payment should be uniform, and his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury could easily draw up a rule for guidance.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wished to say a word upon the matter, because it was one with regard to which he had had some slight experience. It would be very hard upon the clerk himself that he should be visited with a diminuition of salary on account of the anomaly which had taken place. No doubt a custom had sprung up of changing clerks, and allowing a clerk in one Department of the State to become the Private Secretary to the Head of another Department. The only question in this case was whether the gentleman whose services had been transferred should be paid by the India Office at all, seeing that the India Office had nothing whatever to do with the Home Department, but that it had separate and distinct interests which were confined to India. By the same process of reasoning, which would justify the payment of this salary out of the Revenues of India, the expenses of the Home Office might

be charged upon the Colonies. He trusted that some steps would be taken to prevent a similar occurrence in the future; but it would be unjust to deprive the officer, in this particular instance, of the salary to which he was fairly entitled.

MR. HIBBERT said, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) that it would be unjust to the Private Secretary to reduce the Vote by the amount of his salary. At the same time, he thought that the suggestions which had been thrown out deserved consideration, and if the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Onslow) would withdraw the Motion, he would promise that an inquiry should be made into the matter.

MR. ONSLOW said, he was perfectly satisfied with the promise which had been made by the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert). He certainly thought that the Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had not understood the point he had raised. The charges for the India Office were not paid out of the Consolidated Fund at all, but out of the taxation of India, and, therefore, the position of a clerk who was taken from the India Office, and whose salary was still continued to be paid by India, was different from that of a clerk who was taken from some other Department to act as Private Secretary. He was satisfied, however, with the explanation which had been given, and he would put a Question upon the matter in the course of a fortnight. As a matter of principle, he thought it was only reasonable that this charge should be paid out of the Consolidated Fund. He strongly objected to the practice of taking a clerk from the India Office to do work for the Imperial Government, while a *locum tenens* was put in his place, and consequently a double expenditure thrown upon the Revenues of India. He begged to withdraw the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BROADHURST said, that it was not his intention to move any reduction in the Vote, but rather to point out that the Government had not attended to the request which had been made to them, year after year, to adopt a policy that would lead to an increase, rather than a reduction, of the Vote. He maintained that there was an actual necessity for a considerable increase in the number of Factory and Workshops Inspectors. He had no complaint to make with regard to the existing Staff. At the present moment, the Staff were doing their work thoroughly well and to the very best of their ability, and no one who knew the amount of labour they performed could have any ground of complaint against them for the neglect of any part of their duties. The ground of his complaint was this—that if the existing Staff were to work for the 24 hours round, it would be absolutely impossible for them to keep under inspection the large number of factories and workshops which they were supposed to visit. In a Return which was made to the House in 1882, it was shown that there were then under inspection in the United Kingdom, 51,194 factories and 60,155 workshops. The factories were generally pretty well known to most people; their whereabouts was easily ascertained, and the Inspectors had very little difficulty in finding them and knowing all about them; but in the case of workshops the matter was very different indeed. There was no indication of noise or otherwise to point out the existence of a workshop, and the Inspector could only discover it by personal visits to the neighbourhood where he suspected that workshops were situated. If 60,000 workshops were all that the Home Department could give any account of, he thought any hon. Member of the House who had any knowledge whatever of the subject, and who was acquainted with the industries of London, must be aware that the 60,000 workshops which came under the provisions of the Act could easily be found in the Metropolitan district alone, without going through the whole of the United Kingdom to tabulate the number. Out of the 60,000 reported in 1882, there were only about 30,000 inspected in the year 1881. That arose, as he had already stated, from no indisposition on the part of the Inspectors to discharge their duties, but from the physical impossibility of being in 20 places at one and the same time. To show still further how absolutely inaccurate that Return must be as to the real number of the workshops of the country, there were 16, if he remembered rightly, out of the 39 districts into which England was

divided which made no return whatever of the existence of any workshop. Immediately after the publication of that Return, the Trades Union Congress again drew the attention of the Government to the subject, and urged very strongly that, upon the face of that Return alone, it was certain that the great and philanthropical work of inspection in connection with factories and workshops was sadly neglected on account of the want of means for employing a larger number of Inspectors. A deputation from the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee waited upon the Secretary of State for the Home Department upon the subject. They urged upon him the great national good that had been effected by the existing laws, and the still further good that would be effected in a national point of view, as well as in the advantages which would be conferred upon the working classes, if the number of Inspectors were almost doubled. As the right hon. Gentleman was not now in his place, and as it was possible that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State would undertake to reply to him (Mr. Broadhurst), he wished to place the hon. Gentleman in possession of the opinion expressed by his Chief at that time. In reply to the Memorial which was presented to the right hon. Gentleman, and in reply, also, to the speeches which were made in support of the Memorial, the Secretary of State for the Home Department said—

"I do not at all want to be convinced of the importance of these Acts, or of the utility of carrying them out thoroughly. I am also quite satisfied that, with considerable advantage, the Staff of Inspectors might be increased. Everybody must know that, energetic and active as the Inspectors are, the work has increased altogether beyond their powers."

In those remarks he (Mr. Broadhurst) entirely agreed, and he had read this part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, because he thought it was necessary that the Government should remember that night what was said on the same question a year or two back. The question of the increase in the number of Inspectors was a question which should have been dealt with by the late Government when they passed the Factories and Workshops Consolidated Act in 1878. By that Consolidated Act there was a large inclusion of workshops in the present law that did not come under the law up to that time, and if the House of Commons of that day had done its duty, and the Government which directed it had done their duty, there would have been a very considerable increase of Inspectors on that occasion. The number of workshops had largely increased since that time. It was daily increasing, and with that daily increase grew the difficulties of the Inspectors in dealing with them. The importance to this great industrial nation of a complete system of inspection was also growing. They went on, year after year, in increased competition with the industrial enterprizes of other nations. He did not know whether hon. Members had looked through the very valuable Report that was made each year to Parliament by the Chief Inspector of Factories, Mr. Redgrave. It was a book full of information, of the very highest possible value, and if hon. Members had looked through it, they would probably have noticed the extraordinary tabular statement at the end of the Report as to the war that was being waged each year by the skilled artizans and skilled workwomen and girls of the country, against the rapidity of machinery, in order to prevent accidents that involved mutilation and the loss of life and limb. Notwithstanding the amount of fencing that had been carried out, much more remained to be done. Many regulations which should be enforced were not enforced in the factories, because there were not a sufficient number of Inspectors to see to their enforcement, and to suggest other regulations. In the year ended with October, 1884, there was a total of 8,904 serious accidents in the factories and workshops of Great Britain, with a total loss of life on the spot by coming in contact with machinery and from other accidents, of 403 persons; 61 had their right hand or arm amputated; 50 persons lost their left hand or arm; 617 persons lost part of their right hand; 568 persons had part of their left hand amputated; and 44 persons lost part of their leg or foot. It was almost like the language of a butcher's shop, so horrible was the description it gave. He had merely read the extract to impress upon the Committee the enormous sacrifice of life and limb which was annually made in this country through preventible causes, and through the want of more inspection, which want might

be supplied by a very small annual outlay. There was, in the same Report, a very extraordinary statement by an Inspector who was second to none in the thoroughness and heartiness with which he discharged the difficult duties of his office. He referred to the Report of Mr. Lakeman, and of his colleague, Mr. Snape, in reference to the East End of London—a neighbourhood where a good deal of home industries were carried on by the people. Mr. Lakeman stated that he had visited something like 1,478 houses in which these industries were carried on; but, technically, a great number of them did not come under the Workshops Act, although it was perfectly plain that they ought to come under that Act. A considerable number of them—he thought about 367—came under the Act. Mr. Lakeman described the sanitary condition of many of these houses, in which, no doubt, the garments of many hon. Members of that House were made, and he (Mr. Broadhurst) very much doubted whether, if hon. Members were to visit the places in which their apparel was manipulated into the shape and form necessary for wear, they would consent to put them on their backs at all. The wretched condition in which these places were to be found was described in the book to which he referred in barely one page, and it would be found that no inspection whatever had hitherto been applied to them. Mr. Inspector Lakeman spoke of houses which did not come under the Workshops Act having been referred to the Local Authorities for inspection by local officers. The gentlemen who discharged the duty of examining witnesses in connection with the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor heard a great deal, during their investigation, as to the manner in which the Local Authorities of the Metropolis managed the inspection. This was the statement of the Sanitary Inspector——

MR. WARTON rose to Order. He wished to know if it was competent for an hon. Member to refer to evidence given before a Royal Commission before that Commission had presented its Report?

MR. BROADHURST said, that perhaps the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Warton) would allow him to say that the Report to which he was referring had been presented nearly a month ago. If that had not been the case, he should not have ventured to refer to it.

MR. WARTON begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon. He had not been aware of the fact.

MR. BROADHURST said, it was given in evidence that the local arrangements for sanitary inspection broke down, because those who should enforce the sanitary laws were too often under the control of persons who owned this detestable class of property; and for an Inspector to make a Report as to the bad condition of property belonging to persons who held in their hands the power of discharging him, was a thing that was not very likely to happen. No adverse Reports under such a condition of things were likely to be made by the Sanitary Inspectors to the Local Authorities, and this was one of the reasons which induced him to make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to take these matters seriously under their own consideration. He understood that hitherto there had been considerable difficulty in preparing a scheme of factory and workshop inspection whereby an increase would take place in the Staff at a reasonable cost, which, at the same time, would be an increase of strength that would prove efficient in future. He was given to understand that successive Governments had found considerable difficulty in preparing a scheme of that sort, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress had attempted to frame a scheme themselves. The scheme prepared by the Parliamentary Committee was submitted to the Government by the deputation which waited upon the Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1882, and the basis of the scheme was that the Government should appoint 50 additional Sub-Inspectors, with salaries commencing at £100 a-year, and going on increasing by gradations up to £150 and upwards. They showed, in the details of the scheme, that these 50 additional Inspectors could be appointed at an annual cost of £6,000 to the country, and at an ultimate cost, as promotion went on, that would not exceed £10,000 per annum. He thought that an increase of expenditure of £10,000 a-year for the protection of the lives and limbs of nearly 10,000 persons, besides increasing

the health of the labouring classes to a large extent and thereby preserving the nation's greatest wealth—namely, its labour power, would be an investment which he thought the House of Commons would be very willing to make if it were proposed on the authority of the Government. He did not know whether hon. Members had an opportunity last week of reading an excellent article which appeared in a London newspaper criticizing this Report. That newspaper —*The Times*—had, on many occasions, opposed the proposals of the Trades Unionists in regard to legislation; but in this case the writer thoroughly approved of the inspection which was at present carried on, and spoke favourably of the advantages which would be derived by the nation from giving still greater control over our industrial operations in this respect. He knew there had been the fear, on the part of some hon. Gentlemen who were well-inclined towards the working classes, of too much Government interference with them. [Mr. HOPWOOD: Hear, hear!] He heard the cheer of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood). His hon. and learned Friend had not always entertained his present peculiar views as to Government control, and he (Mr. Broadhurst) entertained hopes that his hon. and learned Friend would not long remain of his present opinion. Notwithstanding the opposition of the hon. and learned Member and his Friends, the fact remained that these laws had been carried out under the skilful management of the Chief Inspector and of the special staff at his disposal without the least friction to the industry of the country; and there were very few of the respectable employers of the country who objected to the Act. On the contrary, many of them thoroughly approved of it, and would no doubt heartily support increased inspection. He regretted that it was not competent for him to move that the Vote should be referred back to the Treasury in order that they might reconsider it by adding an additional sum to the Vote that would be sufficient to meet the requirements of an increase in the Staff of Factory and Workshop Inspectors. He apologized to the Committee for having troubled them at such great length with these remarks in Committee of Supply; but he had found himself compelled to do so, as this was the only opportunity he had for calling attention to the question.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he did not know why his hon. Friend (Mr. Broadhurst) should have made the remark that he (Mr. Hopwood) differed from any former opinion upon this subject that he had entertained. His opinion had been always the same as he now wished to express. That, however, was a very small matter, and not one for the consideration of the Committee. He would only say a word or two upon the general question which had been raised by his hon. Friend. He (Mr. Hopwood) was not at all desirous that there should be an increase of Inspectors; and he protested against the idea that the Staff should be enlarged for the simple purpose, according to the hon. Member's own showing, in the details he had placed before the Committee of the accidents which occurred, of protecting these unhappy persons against the results of their own carelessness. Besides the cases referred to by his hon. Friend, there was an enormous number of people who were daily and hourly engaged in dangerous pursuits, whom it was impossible to place in a position of perfect safety by Inspectors. He believed there had been instances in which the adoption of the suggestions of the Inspectors in reference to fencing and guarding dangerous machinery had produced more mischief than it had prevented. He had only risen, however, for the purpose of saying that, as regarded the further extension of the Factory and Workshops Act, it seemed to him that his hon. Friend desired to put every dwelling in the country under inspection, and to get rid of everything like personal liberty in these matters. He would subject the inhabitants of every dwelling to inspection and inquiry. He (Mr. Hopwood) was not disposed to follow his hon. Friend further in his general remarks, than to say that he strongly objected to a multiplication of Inspectors. From all sides there was the same cry. Whenever they once got State inspection, there was a cry for more. They had now launched upon a policy of inspection, and he was quite persuaded that it would be the early duty of Parliament to reconsider the matter. He knew that, in regard to

coal mines, it was constantly said that inspection produced very little benefit to the mining population, because there was too little of it. The same thing occurred in regard to education, and in reference to the various other items enumerated in the page of the Estimate now under consideration. Wherever inspection had been conceded, there was the same outcry for more. There was one question upon which he should like to have information from the Government—namely, the inspection of fisheries. Originally, when the law was altered, there were two Inspectors appointed; but the present Government had set a good example by abolishing one of them, or rather of not filling up the appointment when a vacancy occurred. There was now a rumour abroad that the distinguished gentleman who held the remaining appointment was about to retire from it. He did not know whether that was so or not; but he would ask if there were really any duties to perform which would justify the continuance of the office? His own impression was that, as a matter of fact, there was nothing to do in regard to the salmon fisheries; and, in order to give the gentleman who now filled the office of Fishery Inspector something to do, he had been obliged to forsake the inland fisheries and to make a Report upon the state of the deep sea fisheries, with which his appointment had nothing to do. Indeed, it would seem that the distinguished gentleman to whom he had referred had undertaken special duties in order that he might not receive his salary for doing nothing, and that he had therefore made a valuable and able Report upon fisheries of an entirely different nature. Personally, he had nothing to say against the continuance of the existing appointment; but he wished to know whether it was intended to make the office of Inspector of Fisheries permanent, or to allow the appointment to lapse whenever another vacancy occurred?

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, that notwithstanding the remarks which had just been made by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), he felt it his duty to call the attention of the Government to the necessity of instituting some inspection of the slate quarries in North Wales. No doubt, there already existed a Mining Inspector who had a general jurisdiction over the whole of North Wales, and he had no wish to say a word against the manner in which that gentleman discharged the duties of his office. Indeed, he believed the Inspector to be a very able man; but, undoubtedly, he did not possess the qualifications necessary to enable him to perform a satisfactory inspection of the slate quarries. Some quarries were worked as mines, and were subject to the Mining Inspector; but most of them were worked as open quarries, over which the Inspector had no authority; but, nevertheless, many very serious accidents were constantly taking place in them. Only very recently there was an appalling accident in one of the slate quarries of Carnarvonshire, about eight or nine miles from Carnarvon, in which 10 or 12 persons were buried under a fall of rock, and a large number of women and children were rendered desolate in consequence. Now, an ordinary mining engineer knew nothing about the open works of a slate quarry, and was consequently altogether unfitted for conducting the inspection of slate quarries. As a matter of fact, in order to understand the danger or otherwise of the workings, it was necessary to have a full geological knowledge of the stratification of the rock, and to know something of the principle upon which the slate quarries were worked. The slate rocks were very peculiar, being subjected to flaws which an ordinary mining engineer, accustomed to deal with coal or metalliferous mines, would know nothing about, although they were perfectly well known to those who had to deal with the quarrying of slate. Some of the slate quarries were mined underground; but even then they were worked upon a different principle from coal mines or metalliferous mines. The majority of them, however, were open quarries, worked in the valleys, or from the sides of the mountains; and unless an Inspector possessed a practical experience of the stratification and the working of slate under such circumstances, his opinion was worth nothing whatever. Therefore, in order to protect the quarrymen against danger, it was necessary that there should be some independent inspection by some person who possessed a full knowledge of the strati-

fication of the rocks in the locality, and who had also a practical experience of the working of slate quarries. A man who enjoyed that knowledge would be able to go from one slate quarry to another and point out to the proprietor or manager the necessity of making alterations in the mode of working, in order to guard against accident. At present, a fall of 20, 30, or 100 tons of rock was not uncommon; and as it came frequently without warning, the most serious accidents occurred in consequence. He trusted that the Government would take the matter into consideration, and that, if possible, they would appoint qualified Inspectors to visit the slate quarries of North Wales, and to confine their operations to the regulations required for their safe working.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he agreed with a great deal that had been urged by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), and he hoped that the Government would give the question of the increase of Inspectors for factories and workshops their careful consideration. He had read the Report to which the hon. Member had referred, and the only qualification he would make to the remarks of the hon. Member had reference to that part of them which related to the great number of accidents which arose from the use of machinery. There could be no question, however sufficiently or well-guarded the machinery was, that a good many of the accidents arose from the rashness and carelessness of the work-people. The very Return quoted by the hon. Member, showing the large number of hands and fingers amputated by machinery, showed that that was really the case—that it was the careless action of the workman, who placed his hand in too close contact with the machinery, that brought about the injury. Still, he thought it proved that the body of Inspectors was not sufficiently large to enable them to inspect properly and fully the workshops of the country. With regard to the number, the hon. Member for Stoke spoke of an increase of 50, and stated that that was the additional number recommended by the Trades Unions. Personally, he (Sir Henry Holland) would have suggested a much smaller number to begin with, and for this reason, that they ought to consider the expense which would be thrown upon the country. The hon. Member spoke of a salary of £100 a-year, to rise to £200. He (Sir Henry Holland) thought that would be hardly sufficient to secure the services of a really sound and practical man; and although the hon. Member raised the estimate to £150 or £200 a-year, by promotion, he (Sir Henry Holland) did not understand the hon. Member to include travelling expenses in his calculation of £10,000. It would be impossible for a man with only £150 a-year to travel for that sum, even in the immediate district in which he lived, and therefore it was necessary to add to the salary a proper and adequate sum for travelling expenses. He would suggest that a smaller number of Inspectors should be appointed, say, from 15 to 20. He had not had the honour of serving upon the Royal Commission of which the hon. Gentleman had been a Member; but he had served upon a Committee which had inquired into the question of the housing of the working classes in London. In the course of their investigation, the Committee felt it their duty to inspect a large number of the dwellings of the poor, and the evidence brought before them, together with the result of their personal inspection, was entirely on all fours with those of the Royal Commission. The bakeries of London and many establishments of that kind strongly showed the necessity for increased inspection. He would therefore suggest that the proposal of the hon. Member for Stoke, provided there was a limitation of the number of Inspectors, was well deserving of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT said, there was an item in the Vote for the salary of an Inspector under the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act (Scotland). The Committee had heard a good deal, on the one side, of the importance, and, on the other, of the uselessness—according to the degree in which the different speakers believed in inspection—of the appointment of Inspectors. He wished, however, to point out to his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. H. Fowler), that in the case of the Inspector under the Rivers Pollution Prevention (Scotland) Act, it was part of his duty to give a certificate to manufacturers, to the effect that the best pos-

sible means had been taken to purify the rivers with which their factories were connected. The Act was passed seven years ago, and although it had been in operation ever since, he believed he was correct in saying that in no single instance had a certificate ever been granted by the Inspector under the Act; therefore, if he was correctly informed, there had been an Inspector appointed under the Act, with an annual salary, although a very small one, seeing that it was only £50 a-year; but no certificate whatever had as yet been given. This appeared to him to be a most extraordinary state of things. The Act was called the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act; but he certainly did not know why it should be so called, and he would like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State, whether it was proposed to continue a system under which an Inspector was appointed to give certificates, but by whom no certificate was ever given? He had once or twice before brought the subject under the notice of his hon. Friend; but nothing had been done to give more effective operation to the Act. The fact was, that the Inspector originally appointed under the Act seven years ago, found the words of the Act too absolute to enable him to grant a certificate in the terms required, and therefore he had abstained from giving certificates. The words of the Act were that he was to certify "that the best practical means had been used which could possibly be employed for the purpose." The Inspector found it impossible to grant a certificate in those strict terms; and, therefore, in no case had a certificate been given. He (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) was of opinion that the Act ought to be amended, and it was quite time that steps were taken, either to render the provisions of the Act operative, or to abolish the Inspector altogether. He might further point out that if, hereafter, a certificate were given, it should be of such a nature as to be of practical usefulness. At present, a good deal of dissatisfaction was felt in certain parts of Scotland, because a subsequent section of the Act kept alive the Common Law rights of the riparian proprietors lower down the river. Therefore, even on the assumption that a certificate had been given, as the Act required, a manufacturer who had taken the best possible measures to carry out the Act, and to keep the river clear, would not be secured against riparian proprietors further down the stream, whose rights were protected. He hoped his hon. Friend would be able to give the Committee some information as to what was intended to be done in the matter. Was it intended to keep up a useless Inspectorship; and, if not, was it intended to make some change in the existing law?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, the subject which had been mentioned by his hon. Friend the Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. R. D. Elliot) was one upon which he (Sir George Campbell) felt particularly sore. He used to live on the banks of a river in Scotland, in which good fishing was to be found; but it was more and more frequently polluted, and it was impossible to find any public authority to whom an application for interference could be made. He believed, with his hon. Friend, that although there was an Inspector appointed under the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, that that officer did not do anything. He thought the Act ought to be made effective, and that the Inspector should be in a position to put it in force. It certainly appeared to be a farce, to maintain an Inspector, even at the small salary of £50 a-year, to do nothing at all. He did not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) in objecting altogether to inspection. On the contrary, he was of opinion that, although there might have been abuses, there was a good deal of good in inspection. For his own part, he thought that no part of the Empire was so much neglected as the sea, and he should like to see a good deal more inspection in matters of this kind than now existed. In England there was an Inspector of Fisheries, at £700 a-year, who was also a Professor of Biology in the Normal School of Science, with a separate salary of £850 a-year. The same gentleman also received extra fees when occasionally employed in special fishery inquiries. It certainly seemed to him (Sir George Campbell), that when the next appointment took place, it would be more conducive to economy to pay £700 a-year for a good Inspector of Fisheries, to give £850 a-year for a good Professor of Biology, and to employ other people, as required, to make

special fishery inquiries, rather than to vest all these appointments in the same individual, and constitute him a pluralist. It was quite clear that one man could not discharge the whole of the duties satisfactorily.

MR. BURT said, he had no intention to prolong the debate upon this question; but he wished to say that he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had made out a strong case in favour of the appointment of additional Inspectors under the Factories and Workshops Act. He did not agree with the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) in his opposition to an extension of the system of inspection. The hon. and learned Member maintained that in some cases accidents happened in consequence of the advice and suggestions of the Inspectors being taken; but the hon. and learned Member did not specify any cases of the kind. No doubt, it was quite possible that an incompetent man might occasionally be appointed as Inspector, and it was also possible that even a competent man might sometimes err in judgment. It was, however, a very sweeping conclusion to infer from that fact that the whole system of inspection was faulty. The hon. and learned Member had referred to the inspection of coal mines, and had expressed an opinion that it was useless. Now, that was not the opinion of any man who possessed practical knowledge of the subject. If there was one fact connected with the working of coal mines which was more conclusive than another, it was the immense and the incalculable benefits which had been derived from the inspection of mines. He wished fully to endorse the remarks which had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) with regard to the desirability of extending the system of inspection to the slate quarries of North Wales. A few days ago he (Mr. Burt) had taken the opportunity of visiting North Wales, and he had visited some of the principal quarries and conversed with the quarrymen. He found that they were very anxious indeed to have inspection. There had been several very serious accidents; and at present it was only the subterranean quarries, so to speak—the underground quarries—that were inspected. There were, however, quite as many accidents—indeed, he believed the statistics would show that there were more—in the open quarries than in those in which the workings were carried on underground. He entirely endorsed the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman in favour of an extension to the slate quarries of the system of inspection which had conferred such great benefits upon coal and other mines.

MR. BROADHURST said, he hoped that, for the sake of the convenience of the Committee, he might be allowed to make an explanation in reply to the remarks of the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) before the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. H. H. Fowler) rose to reply. The figures which he (Mr. Broadhurst) had given were for the appointment of 50 additional Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors, and he estimated the cost for the present at £6,000 a-year, with an ultimate increase to £10,000. Those sums included travelling expenses, extra clerks, stationery, and everything the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions were able to ascertain. He also wished to say a word in reply to another statement of the hon. Baronet, and he did so in the hope that he might lessen any objection which might be entertained by the Under Secretary of State. The hon. Baronet said that no amount of guarding or fencing machinery would entirely prevent accidents. That was quite true; but it would prevent an enormous number of those which were now constantly occurring. As to the workpeople putting their hands on the machinery against the regulations, if the hon. Baronet had worked in a factory he would very soon have discovered that the workman who constantly wanted the machinery thrown out of gear, in order that he might work safely, soon found that his services were not required. He would not be discharged simply because he wanted to have the machinery stopped too frequently, but some other pretext would be found for sending him about his business. For this reason, the workpeople themselves attempted to remedy any defects in the machinery, and serious accidents occurred in consequence.

MR. PULESTON said, he hoped that his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would be able

to say something encouraging to the Committee in regard to the inspection of slate quarries. It was a very important question He happened to represent a Devonshire constituency, and it was especially important for one who, like himself, happened to be a Welshman, and was well acquainted with the districts in which the slate quarries abounded. He had often been appealed to on the subject, and he believed he might safely say that it was the general wish of everybody concerned in the quarries that the system of inspectorship now applied to mines should be applied to open quarries as well, especially in view of some recent catastrophes which had occurred. All the arguments in favour of inspection in the case of mines were equally applicable in the case of quarries, and perhaps more so, because the work of inspection could be more easily carried out. He, therefore, trusted that his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State would be able to hold out some hope that the Government would take the matter into their careful consideration with a view of extending the principle of inspection to the case of slate quarries. It was not altogether a new question, but had once or twice before been mentioned in the House. Personally, he felt very strongly on the point; and he felt that in making this demand upon the Government he was not representing the feelings of a section of the people alone, but of all who had paid the slightest attention to the subject. An assurance that something would be done would be received with great satisfaction.

SIR ANDREW LUSK said, he hoped that the Government would not listen to the suggestion which had been made for doing away with the office of Inspector of Fisheries. The poor fishermen would have very little chance if there were no one to look after and protect their interests. The office of Inspector of Fisheries was a most important one, and it was of the utmost importance that it should be preserved. Any hon. Member who would consider for one moment the vast importance of keeping up the supply of fish to the markets of the country would see the absolute necessity for retaining the Inspector of Fisheries. His own opinion was that more attention should be paid to that field of industry than was at present paid to it. The sea was "no man's land;" nobody knew anything about the habits of the fish which swam in it; and seeing the importance of fish as an article of food to a great mass of the community—and of good, wholesome food, also—he thought the Government ought to give a great deal more attention to the fisheries than they had hitherto done. Instead of doing away with the present and sole remaining Inspector of Fisheries, he thought the existing vacancy ought to be filled up, so that there should be no want of protection for the fishermen, and no means lost of keeping up an abundant supply of fish for the community at large.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the duty of enforcing the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act in Scotland was placed upon the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Home Office must have some officer to enable it to discharge its duties. The present arrangement was to pay an Inspector £50 a-year; nor was he prepared to say the office was wholly inoperative, because since he had the honour of holding his present position he had had to deal with questions affecting the rivers of Scotland, and he knew that it was absolutely necessary to have some officer of this character. At the present time, as long as the Secretary of State for the Home Department had any duties to discharge in reference to the rivers of Scotland, he did not think the work could be done more efficiently or economically than it was done at present. There might, however, be a question whether it would not be better done under the auspices of a Secretary for Scotland. So far as the Scotch fisheries were concerned, this Vote in no way touched the question. In reference to the Main Question, to which his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had referred in his very able and interesting speech, the Committee must be much indebted to him for the prominent way in which he had laid the facts before them; and the best answer he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) could give was to assure his hon. Friend that, in the opinion of his right hon. Friend at the head of the Home Department, it was purely a question of degree. They were all united upon the question of principle. Although his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) seemed to hold a different

view, the overwhelming opinion was that these Factory Acts ought to be made effective; and, if they were to be made effective, it was by a sufficient Staff of competent Inspectors being appointed. It was purely a question of administrative discretion in carrying out the Acts. The Secretary of State was desirous of increasing the number of Inspectors as far as he could, and it might be fairly claimed that considerable progress had been made in that direction. In 1868 the number of Inspectors was only 38; in 1872 it was 49; and in 1885 the number of Inspectors had risen to 56. They were, therefore, steadily raising the number of Inspectors, and were endeavouring, as far as possible, to make these appointments complete. The question would arise for the consideration of the Secretary of State, whether some increase could not be made in the Staff, not by appointing a large number of additional Inspectors—for the appointment of 40 or 50 additional Inspectors would entail a heavy expenditure—but by appointing a number of Sub or Assistant Inspectors, at lower salaries, with a prospect of rising to the salaries now paid to the Inspectors. He might say that the matter was being carefully considered by his right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt), whose sympathies were very much with the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) and the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt). With regard to the question of inspection generally, both in mines and workshops, the hon. Member for Morpeth was aware that within the last six months his right hon. Friend had been engaged, not only in employing additional Mining Inspectors, but in employing as Inspectors men who had worked in the mines themselves. His right hon. Friend had given the most careful consideration to discovering competent men who had passed their lives as working miners for the position of Inspectors. Five had already been appointed, and two more would shortly be appointed, making altogether seven additional Mine Inspectors appointed from the ranks of the working miners. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Morpeth—and he would express the same opinion—that it would be criminal negligence on the part of the Government to show any laxity in the inspection of mines; and he was quite sure that his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department would not sanction the slightest diminution of the vigilance now employed. With reference to the inspection of slate quarries in North Wales, his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Beaumaris (Mr. Morgan Lloyd) knew perfectly well that there was a legal difficulty in the case. The difficulty was that, as quarries were frequently worked above ground, they were not technically and legally mines, and there might be a difficulty as to the power of appointing Mine Inspectors for what were not legally and technically mines. Some slate quarries were driven underground, and in that case the question might not arise; but, as the work of a quarry was attended with great danger, whether above or underground, the quarrymen ought not to be deprived of protection. If the Government saw their way to making appointments of Inspectors for the Welsh quarries without legislation they would do so; and, if not, legislation must be sought for for that purpose. With regard to the Fishery Inspectors, he thought that all must agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) that very great advantage had arisen from the legislation under which fishery inspection was begun. Hon. Members would be aware what the inspection of the fisheries had accomplished in reference to the price of salmon. In fact, the reason why salmon had not become an almost extinct article of food in this country was the legislation which had been applied to it. He would desire not to decrease, but to increase, that branch of the Public Service; and he might say that the Secretary of State had under consideration a plan, submitted in the Report of the Trawling Commission, for extending to England—and, he presumed, to Ireland—the great benefits that had resulted to Scotland from the institution of the Fishery Board—not by establishing additional Boards, but by extending the powers of the existing Board. The Fishery Board, so far as England was concerned, would have increased powers, so as largely to increase the efficiency of their public work. With respect to the Sanitary Inspectors in the Metropolis, to which reference had been made by his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr.

Broadhurst), he might say that they were not under the control of the Home Office, but were appointed by the Local Authorities.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that the Committee, no doubt, would be very well satisfied with the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department; but he thought it would have been better if the Secretary of State himself had been present on that occasion. Many hon. Members recollected the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department at Oxford, some years ago, in which he ridiculed altogether the system of inspection, and, coining a new phrase, spoke of the *Inspector vastator*. He (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was very glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State did not endorse those opinions of his Chief, though he wished that the right hon. Gentleman had himself been in his place.

MR. GLADSTONE: He has a very important engagement.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he had not intended to imply that the right hon. Gentleman was not otherwise profitably engaged. He had simply expressed his regret that the right hon. Gentleman was absent at that particular moment. Hon. Members must have in their minds the very strong language used by the right hon. Gentleman against the system of inspection; and he (Mr. Sclater-Booth), therefore, was very glad to know that the Under Secretary of State now represented the views of the Home Department. While not desirous of at all diminishing the importance of the inspection of workshops, he thought there was a marked distinction between the inspection of mines, where human life was concerned, and that of workshops, and he thought that the increase of mine inspection was of primary necessity. He quite agreed with the observations of the Under Secretary of State in reference to the inspection of fisheries; but he did not think it was a question which it was necessary to enlarge upon. The legislation which took place some 20 or 25 years ago had undoubtedly had the most beneficial effect, and he thought the country generally was much indebted to the Fishery Inspectors for the industry and ability with which they had discharged their duties, and for the valuable information which they had brought under the notice of Parliament. He trusted that their work would be carried still further, and supplemented by the establishment of a fish market, and that a more easy mode of distributing the riches of the sea might, before long, be made available for the community at large.

MR. WARTON said, that it would have been more convenient if the Committee could have discussed this Vote at a time when the Secretary of State for the Home Department could have been in his place. He accepted, without qualification, the interjection of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that the right hon. Gentleman was otherwise engaged upon important business; but he thought that the first duty of a Minister of State was to the House, and especially when the Estimates had been so arranged that the right hon. Gentleman must have known that the Home Office Vote would come on the moment the Questions were over. In fact, the absence of the right hon. Gentleman was noticed by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) at the time he rose to address the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman was not, at the moment, in his usual seat, but was engaged in an animated conversation with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. H. Fowler), able as he was—and he would say before his face what he had said behind his back—that he was the best Under Secretary the country had possessed for a long time—was, nevertheless, scarcely able to give as authoritative a reply to the various questions which had been raised as the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State, if he had been present. He (Mr. Warton) wished to draw attention to an item in this Vote of £9,000, which appeared to be a sort of fixed annual amount for special inquiries, with reference to the power of the Home Secretary, under a recent Statute, to send criminal lunatics to an asylum. He was disposed to imagine that this item included such fees as were payable at the discretion of the Secretary of State to surgeons who might, from time to time, be sent by him to make inquiry into the question of the sanity of an individual against

whom a criminal charge was preferred. He was quite sure the Committee would recollect that, some time ago, a case occurred which somewhat startled the country. It was the case of a young man —a sailor—who went to a house in the East End of London in the night time, and murdered his sweetheart. It was perfectly clear that all through the protracted preliminary inquiry before the magistrates, there was no hint given as to any question being likely to be raised hereafter as to the sanity of the accused person. He was duly committed for trial, and at that moment, in the eye of the law, he was presumptuously an innocent man until found guilty by a jury. Just before the trial came on, when the learned Judge—Baron Huddleston—was expecting to try him, the young man was removed, by order of the Secretary of State, to the Criminal Lunatic Asylum at Broadmoor. This was done under the provisions of the Act of Parliament. He (Mr. Warton) did not pretend to say that anything was done in contravention of the Act, nor did he dispute that the Secretary of State exercised his discretionary power in a perfectly proper and legal manner. His (Mr. Warton's) object in raising the question was to set the public mind at rest as to this peculiar and exceptional jurisdiction, because its exercise was likely to arouse public suspicion that, in particular cases, a criminal might be spirited away and prevented from undergoing a trial, by asserting that he was insane. He did not know whether any suspicion would arise in this country; but there had been cases in another country, where suspicions had been aroused in the public mind as to the fairness with which the law was administered, and where every proceeding in connection with the administration of justice was regarded with a critical eye. It was alleged that Dublin Castle was a sink of iniquity; and there might be a suspicion aroused that officials connected with the Executive Government might avail themselves of the powers conferred by this Statute, in order to remove a person charged with a criminal offence, whose trial might be inconvenient to them. There was another point. Apart altogether from any public suspicion of something unfair having taken place, or from any idea of an injustice being committed by means of this power granted to the Secretary of State, and assuming the perfect impartiality of the official, there was still another point to which the Government might direct their attention—namely, that the state of the law was, nevertheless, still unsatisfactory in another respect. The old mode of procedure, in the case of a man who was believed to be insane, was to try the question of sanity first, and ascertain whether the man was sane enough to be allowed to plead. That was the old Constitutional method. If it was alleged that a man was not sane enough to plead upon his trial, that question was first tried by the jury, apart altogether from the question whether he had committed the crime of which he was charged. This, however, was the case of a man who, in the eye of the law, was innocent, because he had not been tried and found guilty. This peculiar Statute Law, although, no doubt, perfectly legal, was highly objectionable, and seemed to him to conflict with the whole principle of the general law. He should, therefore, have liked to hear from the Secretary of State himself that it was the intention of the Government to remedy the anomaly which now existed, and to return to the old Constitutional mode of trying by a jury the question of a man's sanity. Such a course would effectively get rid of any suspicion of unfairness in the public mind. He was, therefore, sorry that the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place. In spite of the explanation given in Court by the hon. and learned Attorney General, in answer to the questions of the Judge, the recent case had left a very uneasy impression upon the public mind.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he was anxious to say a few words upon the question which had been raised by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) before the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) interposed with another subject which had not previously been before the Committee. He would, therefore, return again to the subject of the inspection of factories and workshops. He entirely agreed with the policy of the Home Office, that the Inspectors appointed should be men who were acquainted with the work they were called on to inspect, and who, either as working men, or in any other capacity, had acquired practical know-

ledge, and were properly fitted to carry out the intentions of the Act of Parliament. He was rather afraid that in former days these matters were not very much taken into consideration. There had been a disposition to appoint highly-paid officers, very respectable men in their way, but who had had no previous training to qualify them for the inspection of mines. He noticed that in the Vote upon which the Committee were now engaged, there were among these highly-paid Inspectors no less than three gentlemen who were receiving pensions from Army and Navy funds. One Inspector of Factories and Workshops received a pension of £184 10*s.* as a retired Commander in the Royal Navy; another received a pension of £155 2*s.* 6*d.* as a retired Commander in the Royal Navy; and a third received a pension of £200 from Army funds. It appeared to him that if they were obliged to go to retired Army and Navy officers in order to fill up appointments of this kind, the only justification would be that the rule which existed in many Departments should be made to apply here, and that while an officer was receiving full pay in connection with one office, the pension he had been receiving should be absorbed for the time being. He did not find, from the present Vote, that there was any such arrangement in regard to the Inspectors of Mines or Factories; but as regarded the Inspector of Explosives, he found that that gentleman was entitled to a pension of £300 a-year, but he did not draw it while holding his present employment. It struck him that that was altogether a proper arrangement; and he thought it should be laid down, as a fixed rule, that while an officer was enjoying full pay in connection with one Department, he should not receive any pension he was entitled to from another, but that while in active employment and full pay, the pension should be absorbed. In this particular case, these highly-paid Inspectors were now receiving salaries varying from £300 to £700 a-year, and were at the same time receiving pensions from Army and Navy funds. What would be the consequence? These gentlemen must have been men of middle age before they received Army and Navy pensions. In the course of a few years they would, therefore, be superannuated, and then they would not only receive their Army and Navy pensions, but a further pension fixed according to the salary paid to them under this Vote. His hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had strongly urged the appointment of a considerable number of additional Inspectors. He (Mr. Rylands) was not going to express any opinion upon that point. The Home Office would have to consider the question carefully; and if there were to be any additional Inspectors, there ought to be a re-arrangement of the office, in order to prevent the necessity of having a number of highly-paid officials, and of having instead a larger number of suitable men with personal training and technical knowledge, at a moderate rate of pay. He ventured to throw out these suggestions, in the hope that they might be of some service in keeping down the expenses of the Department.

DR. CAMERON asked whether the inspection of burial grounds had anything to do with Scotland? He put the question on account of some recent cases which had occurred in which the rules of decency appeared to have been violated. He wished to know whether the Inspectors of Burial Grounds had anything to do with Scotland, in seeing that the rules were observed which were laid down in order to insure decency and to prevent overcrowding in burial grounds?

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he believed that Inspectors of Burial Grounds were not appointed for Scotland. The matter was in the hands of the Board of Supervision, who appointed their own officials. In a recent case in which complaint had been made, the matter was considered by the Board, and not by the Home Office.

MR. SEXTON said, the Prime Minister had informed the Committee that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was absent during the discussion of the Vote for the expenses of his own Office, on account of an important engagement elsewhere. He (Mr. Sexton) trusted it would not be considered that he was exceeding his province if he expressed a hope that the important engagement might soon terminate, because he entertained the opinion that the Vote was not likely to be passed until the right hon. Gentleman was present. Although

he fully admitted the ability and good intentions of the right hon. Gentleman's subordinates, there were certain questions which could not be satisfactorily answered in the right hon. Gentleman's absence. Certainly, no lack of energy had been displayed by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State (Mr. H. H. Fowler), who had, according to his custom, replied to the observations which had been made in a very sympathetic manner, but, if the hon. Gentleman would pardon the liberty he (Mr. Sexton) took in making the remark, in a manner that was very little to the point. The intelligent working man, when he read the debate to-morrow, would be puzzled to find any ground for the opinion that his position would be practically improved by anything which had taken place that evening. They had heard a good deal about the inspection of factories and workshops and mines; but he had not gathered from the reply of the hon. Gentleman that he had promised any improvement on any of the points which had been raised. He had noticed lately a report that there was an intention in England of appointing a certain number of working men to act as Justices of the Peace. His own opinion was that it would be a more practical step towards improving the relations between the working men and the law than any addition to the number of Inspectors of Mines. He should like to know from the Under Secretary of State if the Home Department had used any influence in that direction? He believed the Secretary of State for the Home Department was in a position to bring considerable influence to bear upon the Lords Lieutenant of counties, and upon the Lord Chancellor, and it was most desirable that the working classes should be represented on the Bench. The working man was really quite as intelligent as those who administered the law at present, and in many instances their education was in no respect inferior. He should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman if he was willing to lend the weight of his influence to the bringing about of such an improvement of the relations between the working men and the laws of the country, as would result from the appointment of a sufficient number of intelligent and educated working men to co-operate with the Justices on the Bench in Petty Sessions? Some reference had been made to the question of fisheries. He did not yield to anyone in his admiration of the respectable and distinguished gentleman who held the office of Inspector of Fisheries; but he thought it would have been well if the Under Secretary of State, instead of a grave statement as to the reduction in the price of salmon, had given the Committee some information as to the functions of the Inspectors of Fisheries. He was of opinion that if the hon. Gentleman would look more closely than he appeared to have done into that matter, he would not be so confident as to the degree in which the public had ground for congratulating themselves as to the present condition of the salmon fisheries and the favourable result of recent legislation. Those were matters for argument, but he did not propose to argue them now. What he really wished to ascertain was how much power the Inspectors of Fisheries could exercise over Boards of Conservancy. He would be glad if the hon. Gentleman representing the Home Office would inform him what had been done in that regard. And he also wished to learn whether the Department in England was in a similar position to that of the Department in Ireland — whether the Inspectors had the right to give a sort of motherly advice, without pressing it or being able to enforce it? The condition of the Statute in operation in Ireland was such that it would seem that anyone could break or keep it at pleasure. He had already expressed his regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was not in his place when this Vote, which related to the Department over which he presided, was put from the Chair, and he must do so again, because his hon. Friend near him had drawn attention to a subject which had not been replied upon, and he (Mr. Sexton) himself had several questions to put to the right hon. Gentleman which could not be answered in the absence of the responsible Minister. The first question he had to ask was—what had been the result of the official inquiry made in reference to the late explosion in one of the rooms at the Admiralty Office? It had been noticed by hon. Gentlemen on those Benches and others, for some years, that, whenever an explosion oc-

curred under some circumstances in England, the English Press at once flew to the conclusion—first, that the explosion had been caused by a wilful act; secondly, that an Irishman was responsible for it; and, thirdly, that it proceeded from political motives. Now, immediately the fact became known that there had been the explosion at the Admiralty to which he was referring, the London Press concluded that it was the work of an Irishman. However, not many days elapsed before the theory with regard to it was, so far as the London Press was concerned, altogether abandoned, and no more was heard either about politics or Ireland in connection with it. Again, it turned out that a fragment of clockwork had been found in the office where the explosion had occurred, and the fact was at once taken as a positive proof that the act was a wilful one; but it having been ascertained that the fragment of machinery in question formed part of an American clock which formerly stood on the mantelpiece in the room, and, further, it having been shown that there had recently been a number of experiments with explosives, and that some of the instruments had been in the room, that theory was also abandoned. Now, what he and his hon. Friends complained of was that Colonel Majendie, the Government Inspector of Explosives, having been sent down to the Admiralty Office to make an examination, the official Report of that gentleman had been smothered and never communicated to the public. In former cases, they had had the advantage of knowing what was the view of the circumstances taken by the authorities; whatever might have been the conclusion formed by Colonel Majendie, the public were allowed to know it. But, in this case, they had not been allowed to hear the conclusion arrived at; and he said it was essential that it should be made known, because it was reported that the official in whose room the explosion occurred was extremely unpopular with his subordinates, and that the explosion might be traced to that fact. It was most desirable that these statements should be dealt with in one way or another, and that the House of Commons should be allowed to know what, in the opinion of the authorities, was the real cause of the explosion at the Admiralty, and that hon. Members should be able to decide upon the facts. Before this discussion terminated, he and his hon. Friends would certainly require from the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or from some other person qualified to reply, a full explanation of the circumstances of the case; because it was impossible that Irish Members could remain in their places silent while imputations were made broadcast against their countrymen, and while, at the same time, the official conclusions were cloaked and withheld from the House and the public. He would again say that he was informed that the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department from his place on that occasion was due to the fact that he was under an important engagement elsewhere; but he would venture to express a hope that that engagement would terminate as speedily as possible, because he held the opinion that the attendance of the right hon. Gentleman in the House of Commons on the present occasion did not yield in importance to any other appointment. The second question he had to ask was—what was the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman in reference to the case of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, of Boston, U.S. He (Mr. Sexton) had raised this question in the House some time ago, on an occasion when the facilities for discussion were restricted from the Chair; but he had not been able to gather, either from the right hon. Gentleman himself, or from the report which appeared in the public Press of the right hon. Gentleman's reply to his statement, what was the precise position taken up by the British Government on the question of the right of ingress of persons into Canada. He was not willing to assent to the view which had been set forth. Mr. Boyle O'Reilly had been convicted many years ago of a political offence in Ireland; he was at the time a member of a political organization; he was convicted and sentenced to penal servitude; he made his escape from penal servitude in a conspicuously daring manner, and went to America, where, not very long afterwards, he reached a high and respected position as a literary man. It appeared that, at the request of his countrymen in Canada, he desired to attend a meeting in Montreal on St. Patrick's Day, and that he was unable to do so,

because the Government of Canada—the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice—could not guarantee that he would be able to visit Canada unmolested. He (Mr. Sexton) reminded the Committee that all the other persons, civilians and soldiers, who were convicted together with Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, had long ago been set at liberty. A period of amnesty came, and wise men were willing to forget what had taken place. But Mr. Boyle O'Reilly before that time had effected his escape from penal servitude, and that, it would seem, in the opinion of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, was fatal to him; the right hon. Gentleman no doubt thought Mr. Boyle O'Reilly ought to be shut up for a very long period. At any rate, the Government objected to his proceeding to Montreal. Now, he wished to know whether the Home Office, or the right hon. Gentleman, as one would be disposed to infer from a letter written in his name by Mr. Godfrey Lushington, at the beginning of the year, took upon himself to interfere with the Canadian Government in the exercise of its discretion in matters of this kind? Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, and the Minister of Justice, had applied to the English Government to know whether Mr. O'Reilly's ingress into Canada should be forbidden; and it was understood that the persons who waited on the Canadian Prime Minister were informed that he had no objection to Mr. O'Reilly's visiting Canada. That being so, he wanted to ascertain whether the right hon. Gentleman would stand up in his place and tell the Committee frankly that the Department over which he presided at home would not interfere with the free exercise of discretion on the part of the Government of Canada with regard to the ingress into Canada and free passage there of so eminent a citizen of the United States of America as Mr. Boyle O'Reilly? He was not aware that there existed, either in common sense or in public policy, any shadow of a reason for the Government pursuing towards this gentleman a course evidently vindictive, but weak and purposeless in the last degree, and therefore he awaited with considerable interest the reply of the responsible Minister of the Crown upon this subject. Passing from that, he came to his third question, which related to the case of John Ryan, of Bradford, an Irishman. In that case the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had taken a course which, he (Mr. Sexton) was able to say, had his entire approval. The individual in question was tried last March on a charge of assaulting the police; three constables, including, no doubt, the constable upon whom the assault was committed, were examined at the trial; these swore that Ryan had committed the assault; but the man, on the contrary, protested his innocence, and, moreover, declared to the Bench that he was in Ireland at the time of the assault. The man, however, was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment with hard labour. Now, he had been curious to ascertain in what way the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had been induced to move in this case; but all that he had been able to learn was, as appeared in a paragraph in the public Press, that, fortunately for John Ryan, he had friends in Ireland who had obtained his release. But there were other men than John Ryan who had friends in Ireland and in the House of Commons, although neither the one nor the other had been able to obtain an inquiry in their behalf. He was disposed to think, from what had been done in the case of John Ryan, that if the same principle had been extended more widely to Ireland, they would have seen much more satisfactory results produced than were visible there at the present time. With regard to this case he would ask, first of all, on what principle the right hon. Gentleman had proceeded? The subject had already been mentioned in that House, and it would be a guide and an instruction to himself and to his hon. Friends to learn what was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman as to the bringing forward of similar cases in the House of Commons, and what had been the method pursued by the right hon. Gentleman in the case of John Ryan. He believed that, amongst the facts established, one was that the man who did commit the assault on the police was at the present moment in America, and another that when the assault was committed in the town of Bradford the man charged with it was in Ireland. Of course, when those things were established, the right hon. Gentleman the

Secretary of State for the Home Department had no other course open to him than that of releasing Ryan. As he had said before, he was of course satisfied with what the right hon. Gentleman had done in this matter, and his only regret was that he had not acted in the same manner in respect of other cases. It was well known that there were many cases in England in which persons, especially Irishmen, were suffering for acts of which there was a strong presumption they were not guilty; and if the right hon. Gentleman would state what was the principle on which the Home Office dealt with those cases, it would be a useful guide for Irish Members in future with regard to matters of the kind. They had endeavoured in every way to re-open certain criminal cases, and to obtain a revision of sentences passed in the Criminal Courts; but the result of their endeavours had been such as to cause them to despair. His object in appealing to the right hon. Gentleman was to obtain for Irish Members a correct idea of the method on which the Home Office proceeded, because whatever had been the method pursued with regard to the case of John Ryan, whatever the inducement which had led to the revision and, practically, the re-opening of the case, he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that hon. Members on those Benches had brought forward reasons as cogent in other cases, over and over again.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he should have great pleasure in telling the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) what was the course which the Home Office pursued in these cases. He regretted, however, that he had received no Notice that the case of John Ryan would be brought forward on this Vote, because he was unable to recall the particulars of it at the moment. The hon. Member seemed to think that cases of alleged improper conviction were so rare, that he would be able easily to remember the circumstances; but, on the contrary, he (Sir William Harcourt) assured him that they occurred—he was going to say almost daily—certainly every week, and he had them almost constantly before him. He was, therefore, sorry to say that, not being able to carry every case in his memory and the particulars relating to it, he had no special recollection of the case of John Ryan. But he had not the slightest doubt that it had been brought before him in the same way that scores and hundreds of similar cases came under his notice, and he so far agreed with the hon. Member as to be able to say that very much oftener than one could wish errors did take place in convictions, not only in Ireland, but in England; and so strongly was his mind satisfied on that point, that he never allowed a case to pass by without his own personal examination of the evidence. If any case like that of John Ryan came before him, and, from internal evidence or from the allegations of persons of credit, there appeared to his mind reason to doubt the correctness of the conviction, it had, of course, his attention, and it was allowed to be proved that the charge was unfounded; but, apart from that, if it should be set forth that there were circumstances which cast doubt on the identity of the persons concerned, he gave, as far as it was possible to do so, the whole of his attention to the case. But not only that; these cases, of course, involved a good deal of conflicting testimony, and he had found it extremely useful to ask the Solicitor to the Treasury to go down to the spot and examine the surrounding circumstances of the case; and his examination often resulted in establishing the innocence of convicted persons. The case was in this way submitted to a number of different minds, and if the matter appeared to require it, the opinion was asked of legal persons on the spot. Then, he very often consulted the Law Officers of the Crown; there was a case before him now which caused him the greatest anxiety, and he had asked the opinion of his hon. and learned Colleagues with regard to it. He was always desirous of getting such opinion, not as an official opinion, but as an opinion upon a case put by him personally; and, finally, he was glad to receive assistance in matters of the kind from any other source. He had now stated the practice of the Home Office, and he could assure the hon. Member for Sligo that it was among the most responsible duties of the Department to examine into any real allegation of the miscarriage of justice in cases of this kind. He assured the hon. Member that he was quite mistaken in supposing that any question relating to alleged wrongful conviction would remain un-

answered by him in that House. But, as he had already pointed out, there were scores of such cases that the hon. Member had never heard of, which never appeared in the public Press, but of which the investigation formed part of the daily business at the Home Office, and was regarded by himself as necessary to the proper administration of justice. One of the chief causes of these miscarriages of justice was that many of the persons convicted were poor and, consequently, unable to get evidence and employ professional men to place the facts before the jury in such a way as to establish their innocence. With reference to the case of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, he was sorry that the hon. Member had not given him Notice of his intention to bring it forward, because he would have liked to look into the papers relating to it. He, however, felt convinced that he had never interfered in this matter with the discretion of the Canadian Government; he had no recollection whatever of doing so, and it was extremely improbable that he should have done anything of the kind. What he had been asked to do was to allow O'Reilly to come to the United Kingdom. [Mr. SEXTON: Or Canada.] He felt sure that he had never suggested to the Canadian Government that they should or should not admit him; he had no such intention, and if he had done so, he certainly now retracted it at once. A sort of semi-official application had been made to him to say whether there was any objection to Mr. O'Reilly coming to the United Kingdom; but he was sorry to say that, owing to that invincible ignorance with which he was twitted by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) on a former occasion, he inquired who Mr. O'Reilly was, and he was informed that he was a Fenian who had escaped from a convict prison. The hon. Member described the escape as a conspicuously daring one, and seemed to think it was, so to speak, a feather in Mr. O'Reilly's cap. He had no objection to the hon. Member holding that opinion; but it would not do for the Secretary of State for the Home Department to do so. He did not hold the opinion himself. The hon. Member had also referred to several other persons, companions of O'Reilly in prison, who had since been amnested, and argued that therefore Mr. O'Reilly ought not to remain under any disability. But he would point out that those persons who had been amnested had remained in prison for five or six years, and the Government could hardly be expected to place in the same position with them a man who had been out of prison and enjoying himself during that time. The other prisoners had undergone their punishment, and it was felt that a prisoner who escaped was not entitled to the same treatment as those who remained in prison until they were released.. He believed that the hon. Member for Galway attributed his (Sir William Harcourt's) action in this matter to literary jealousy. But he entirely denied that, because Mr. O'Reilly, he understood, was a poet, and upon that walk of Art he had never entered. He begged to assure the hon. Member that he had no literary jealousy of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, or any indirect feeling with regard to his case whatever. All he knew was that Mr. O'Reilly was a convict, and he did not at the time consider whether he was a Fenian or an Irishman. He had simply proceeded on the principle that a person who had escaped from prison ought not to be given a special licence to go to Ireland, and he should have acted with regard to anyone in a similar position in precisely the same way. That, he thought, was no more than a just and reasonable rule by which the Home Department ought to be governed. He understood that, during his absence from the House, the hon. Member had asked a question with regard to the explosion which had occurred at the Admiralty Office. Upon that subject he regretted that he could say no more than that as yet he had been unable to ascertain the origin of the explosion. The hon. Member must have observed that generally, some time after an explosion had occurred, the police were occupied in putting the clues together; and when a matter of the kind was likely to be brought before a Court of Justice, it would not be prudent for him to make any statement with regard to it. The matter in question had not been sufficiently investigated for him to form any clear, definite, or deliberate opinion on the subject at present.

MR. GORST said, he thought the Committee must have been perfectly astounded at some of the revelations made by the right hon. Gentleman the

Secretary of State for the Home Department. He had been under the impression that miscarriages of justice were extremely rare; but he heard now that the right hon. Gentleman was engaged, if not daily, certainly weekly, in the investigation of such cases, not for the purpose of mitigating the force of the law, but actually in rectifiying the errors of the Criminal Courts throughout the country by setting at liberty persons wrongfully convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. If that were the case, then he said, by all means, let there be established as soon as possible a Court of Criminal Appeal to put a stop to such scandals. Hon. Members were engaged in the House in quarrels about foreign affairs, in carrying Reform Bills, and in debating matters of, comparatively speaking, secondary importance, while the justice administered in the Criminal Courts of the country was a thing which, according to the right hon. Gentleman, required to be guarded by constant supervision at the Home Office to rectify the miscarriages which took place. He had great confidence in the benevolence of the right hon. Gentleman, and in the ability of his hon. and learned Friends the Attorney General and the Solicitor General and the Solicitor to the Treasury, and in their direction of public prosecutions; but he felt, at the same time, that the liberty of the subject ought not to be dependent either upon the benevolence of the right hon. Gentleman or upon the acuteness of the Legal Advisers of the Crown. It seemed to him that there ought to be a tribunal established in this country which would make it possible to have the guilt of accused persons satisfactorily established in law. In that way, the remission of sentences would not be dependent on the benevolence of the Secretary of State, but upon the rigid impartiality of a Court of Justice. Another statement of the right hon. Gentleman, to him (Mr. Gorst) absolutely astounding, was this—that the chief reason why these miscarriages of justice took place was because poor persons, when put on their trial, were without the means of engaging professional assistance for their defence, the consequence being that the facts of the case were not brought before the Judge and jury. Well, if that were so, it seemed to him a scandalous reproach to the administration of the law; and he believed that this was almost the only country, with the exception of Ireland, in which poor people were left without any defence at all on a criminal trial when they were without the pecuniary means necessary to engage counsel. In Scotland, the defence was conducted at the public expense, the accused had no need to defend himself; while in foreign countries it was part of the duty of those who administered the Criminal Law not only to bring home the guilt of a person if guilty, but to find out his innocence if he were innocent. The scandal that had been disclosed that evening ought no longer to exist. England and Ireland were almost the only civilized countries in the world in which it seemed as if it was the duty of the Crown to establish a man's guilt, but to take no trouble whatever about his innocence. The right hon. Gentleman, however, took comfort to himself by saying that some time after wrongful conviction these cases found their way to the Home Office, and that then justice was done. If it was true that there were numbers of persons who only owed their immunity from unjust punishment to the fact of having friends who made their way to the Home Office, how many scores of persons must there be who suffered unjustly because they had no money with which to pay for their defence, and no friends to find their way to the benevolent Home Secretary. He only regretted that so small a number of the Members of the Committee had heard the astounding statement of the right hon. Gentleman, to which it was evident, by his gestures, the right hon. Gentleman still adhered. As a person who had spent a large portion of his life in the administration of the Criminal Law of the country, he (Mr. Gorst) was amazed at the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that so many people were unjustly convicted. He could not understand how a Minister of the Crown could delay for a single moment the bringing in and the pressing upon Parliament of some measure for the amelioration of a state of things which appeared to be a disgrace to the administration of justice in the country.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that he also was greatly surprised at the portion of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the

Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) to which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had referred. Everybody knew that, for years past, a large part of the duties of the Secretary of State for the Home Department had consisted in the examination of cases, generally capital cases, which were brought before him in various ways for the exercise of the Queen's Prerogative of mercy; but it was quite new to hon. Members to hear from the Treasury Bench that cases were constantly occurring in which the Secretary of State, by local inquiries in the localities, corrected erroneous verdicts, and established the innocence of persons who had been convicted. From his (Mr. Sclater-Booth's) experience in the conduct of criminal cases—which, however, was not very great just now—he should say that all juries and all Judges leaned towards prisoners as a general rule, and although many cases of unjust sentence might be conceived, and although there were many technical grounds on which a person might justly be relieved from punishment, he should have thought that the number of cases in which innocent persons were convicted of crime was comparatively small. He should be very glad if the Secretary of State would think fit to establish the proposition he had laid down by laying upon the Table a list of cases in which the innocence of persons convicted of crimes had been proved by local inquiries, conducted by the Legal Advisers of the Treasury, after verdicts found and sentences pronounced. As his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) had said, there would be no difficulty on the part of the House in passing a measure for the establishment of a Court of Appeal in Criminal Cases if it were supported by such a statement of facts as he suggested. One Bill in this direction had been introduced; it met with no great opposition on the part of the House, it advanced very considerable lengths, and it might have been passed into law, but for the unfortunate distinction drawn between capital and other cases, a distinction which brought about a great deal of confusion and delay. He was sorry that measure was not pressed forward. At any rate, the statements just made were quite new to him, and he should be very glad if they could be supported by some statistical information, which undoubtedly would be a great incentive to Parliament to adopt, very speedily, a measure to redress the state of things disclosed.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was very much surprised at the surprise expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) and the right hon. Member (Mr. Sclater-Booth), because what he had stated that day he stated on the proposition to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal. How, therefore, it could be supposed that his statement that night was new, he could not make out. He argued in favour of the proposal to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal, a proposal opposed, according to his recollection, by hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Warmly supported!] The noble Lord might have supported the proposal, but those around him did not—he had no doubt it was one of the measures of which the noble Lord approved. However, he (Sir William Harcourt) made the same statement over and over again in the House, whenever the question of the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal had been raised. Now, he did not wish to be misunderstood. He said that investigations went on every week. He did not say that every week a case of erroneous conviction was discovered. Of course, in the great majority of cases, the allegation was unfounded. In answer to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Sexton), who asked him what the course of the Home Office was, he stated that whenever an allegation was made as to the innocence of a convicted person, they carefully investigated the matter. He said that investigations were taking place daily and weekly; but he did not say they reversed verdicts every week, or even in a great number of cases. He would, perhaps, be allowed to state what happened within a few weeks of his coming into Office. Two men were prosecuted for burglary. They were convicted, and sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude. When these men had undergone two years' penal servitude it was alleged that they were innocent of the crime attributed to them. The matter was carefully investigated, and it was determined that it was a clear case of mistaken identity on the part of the policemen, and the men

received a free pardon. Let him mention this fact, that, of those men, one had 15 years before been convicted of burglary, that he had been sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude, that he had undergone two years of that sentence, that it was then discovered he was innocent, and he received a free pardon from one of his (Sir William Harcourt's) Predecessors in Office. Here was a man who had twice, in his lifetime, been sentenced to 10 years' penal servitude, and had twice, in his lifetime, undergone two years' imprisonment, and who, after full investigation subsequently, it was discovered was perfectly innocent, and received a free pardon. That was a lesson to him (Sir William Harcourt), coming into Office, which he had never forgotten. It was very possible that at the Quarter Sessions at which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) presided, 99 sentences out of every 100 were just and proper; but still the right hon. Gentleman was not to believe that there were no erroneous convictions. Such convictions did take place; it was human to err, and even Quarter Sessions were human, and therefore they were not infallible. Erroneous convictions, then, must happen, and did happen, and that was all he had to say. When appealed to by the hon. Member for Sligo, he was obliged to say what was the fact. He did not say that cases of improper conviction were very frequent; but they were not unusual, and they deserved to be investigated. He agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham that it was a conclusive argument in favour of the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal. There was no man who desired such a Court more than he (Sir William Harcourt) did, or who had spoken more strongly in favour of it than he. With regard to the other point — namely, the inability of prisoners to find defence for themselves, he might say that he had in cases—rare cases, he admitted — been able to do something in the direction of providing professional assistance; but he felt that to do it on a large and universal scale would be very difficult. The hon. and learned Gentleman would find, if he came to tackle the question, that it was not so easy of solution as it appeared to be. He, however, quite agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that if what he had in view could be done, it ought to be done. Of course, there were thousands of persons who were convicted not only at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, but by magistrates. Persons who were sentenced to a month's imprisonment deserved quite as much consideration as those sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment; and, therefore, he was bound to say it was not an unusual thing to find a miscarriage of justice. He had mentioned the case of a man who was twice improperly convicted of burglary; he might remind the Committee of the case of the two farmers in Staffordshire, who were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for mutilating a man. No one could doubt the propriety of the sentence; the man swore up to the hilt against the prisoners; but when he was dying, he confessed the men convicted had nothing whatever to do with the matter, and there was no doubt he had inflicted the injuries himself. But how were a jury to resist evidence of the kind the man gave? He (Sir William Harcourt) was, therefore, surprised at the astonishment hon. Gentlemen had expressed. He had stated the facts as he knew them to be—facts which amounted to a strong argument in favour of there being some better machinery for reviewing criminal cases than the Home Office could provide.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was glad to have the opportunity of hearing what fell from the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) with regard to the position of the Government on the question of criminal appeal. To his mind, nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the right hon. Gentleman's statement, because the right hon. Gentleman's experience was that wrongful convictions were not unusual not only in the graver cases, but in minor cases. The Bill which the Government introduced under the title of a Bill to Establish a Court of Criminal Appeal only referred to capital sentences, and the hon. and learned Attorney General resisted in the most strenuous manner, in the Grand Committee, a proposal supported from both sides of the Committee to extend the operation of the Bill to the very class of cases in which the Secretary of State for the Home Department now said were cases in which miscarriages of

justice occurred. After long debate, the hon. and learned Attorney General's efforts were defeated by 10 votes. What took place then? The hon. and learned Attorney General said he would loyally accept the decision of the Committee. But the hon. and learned Gentleman did nothing of the kind. The hon. and learned Gentleman took the earliest opportunity of abandoning the Bill. Although he must have known perfectly well what the experience of the Secretary of State was, he abandoned the Bill because its operation had been extended. The Bill had never passed into law. The right hon. Gentleman's experience was still going on, occurring weekly, according to his own statement; and what was the position of the right hon. Gentleman? He deliberately declared that it was not the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill on the subject. The Government allowed the Grand Committee on Law to remain perfectly idle all through the last Session of Parliament. They never called upon the Committee to consider this great subject of criminal appeal, about which the right hon. Gentleman opposite was now so anxious. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) only rose to point out that he and his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) did their very utmost to make the Bill of the hon. and learned Attorney General a really useful Bill—a Bill which would meet the cases which the Secretary of State had described. It was entirely their fault, and not the fault of the Opposition, that a state of things which amounted to a national scandal had not been dealt with.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that when the Bill to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal was introduced in 1883 it met with considerable opposition from hon. Members opposite. In the Grand Committee he soon discovered there were very vigorous opponents to the principle of any Court of Criminal Appeal, amongst others the hon. and learned Member for Launceston and the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin; but they were not able to defeat the Bill until they received the assistance of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord now said that he desired a Bill for the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal to pass; but the cruel love of the noble Lord for the Bill introduced by the Government was more than his cruel hate, for, in effect, the noble Lord said—"I will not be satisfied unless there is a Court of Criminal Appeal which shall deal with some 14,000 criminal cases" — [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: 12,000]—a Court which, in the present state of the Judicial Bench, it was impossible to obtain. He (the Attorney General) asked the noble Lord where he would get the Judges to compose such a Court? The noble Lord said he did not care about that; but very distinctly said that the Government should not have any Bill at all, unless they had what he suggested. The noble Lord now said he (the Attorney General) at once threw up the Bill. He did not throw it up until the very last moment of the Session. Hon. Members would recollect with what pertinacity he stuck to the Bill, and that it was not until he found the array of hon. Members against the Bill was too powerful to enable him to pass it that Session that he abandoned the measure. Furthermore, he found that in "another place," where there was a strong judicial element, views unfavourable to the measure were largely entertained. Of course, it had to be considered whether it would not be injurious to the subject if the Bill were defeated, and the Government came to the conclusion that it would not be beneficial to the cause they had at heart to place such a Bill before Parliament at a time when it could not be properly discussed. Now, that was, he believed, the true history of the matter. Until that evening he did not know that the noble Lord opposite was in favour of a feasible Court of Criminal Appeal, and the discovery gave him hope that the Government would eventually be able to carry such a Bill.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had very much misrepresented what occurred two years ago in regard to the proposal to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal. It was not a matter they need to discuss at great length now; but his (Mr. Sclater-Booth's) conviction was that no real opposition was manifested from the Conservative side of the House to the proposal. Any opposition that did show itself was provoked by the inherent weakness of the Government

case in attempting to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal only in cases where miscarriages of justice rarely occurred, and where there was always a good practical remedy in the hands of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The Bill omitted to deal with cases of burglary, for instance, and other cases which had been mentioned. If a Court of Criminal Appeal were required, it was required much more in such cases than in capital cases. He should have thought that 12 months' consideration would have enabled the Government to break down the opposition of the Judges.

MR. GORST said, he did not think the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Henry James) ought to be allowed to go entirely unanswered. The hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to charge on the Opposition side of the House the wicked and malicious conspiracy to get rid by a side wind of the Bill to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal which they could not reject on its merits. He (Mr. Gorst) never heard a more erroneous and, he would say, a more unjust charge made by a partizan Minister against his political opponents. If they were to have a reform in Criminal Procedure, the subject must be treated as it used to be treated by the late Sir John Holker—namely, as a measure entirely distinct from their Party squabbles; and they, on both sides of the House, must unite, not in the temper of the hon. and learned Attorney General, but in the temper which he (Mr. Gorst) recognized in the speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department—they must unite in the determination to do their best to remove what everyone admitted to be a scandal on the administration of justice in this country. There was another part of the hon. and learned Attorney General's speech which ought not to go unanswered. It would be a great misfortune if either the people of this country or of other countries were to believe that in the administration of the Criminal Law we were actuated by a sordid spirit of economy, and that this country, which could afford to lavish millions of money in abortive expeditions in foreign parts, was not able to afford the few thousands of pounds which would be necessary to have the Criminal Law administered in consonance with the principles of justice. If the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was right in saying that miscarriage of justice took place in cases other than capital cases or cases of penal servitude, what a monstrous thing it was for the Government to say—"All that may be true; but we cannot remedy such a state of things, because we should have to pay more Judges, and it would cost more." He was sure that, on reconsideration, no responsible Member of the Ministry would confirm the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, that it was impossible to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal, because this great and wealthy country could not afford to support the cost of it.

MR. PARNELL said, he could not endorse what the hon. and learned Attorney General had said with regard to what took place in the Grand Committee, to which the Bill to establish a Court of Criminal Appeal was referred for consideration; in fact, he never could make out why the Bill was not proceeded with. The statement of the hon. and learned Attorney General, however, gave him a clue. It was very evident that the policy of the Government was pretty much the same on the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill as their policy with regard to the English Registration Bill, which had recently become law. It was the policy of the Government to limit the scope of the Bill as much as they could, and when they were defeated in that intention by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and his Friends, the hon. and learned Attorney General seemed to be determined to reverse the decision of the Grand Committee on the Report of the Bill in the Whole House. At the time the adverse decision was arrived at in Committee, the hon. and learned Attorney General said he would loyally do his best to carry the Bill through; but he subsequently abandoned the measure. He (Mr. Parnell) certainly did not think the Bill ought to have been thrown up, because the noble Lord carried an Amendment extending the scope of the Bill, and making it, in fact, an effective and practical measure for the purpose in view—that purpose being to prevent innocent persons from suffering unjust imprisonment, no matter what the gravity of the offence might

be. Just as reasonably, when the Amendment with regard to the medical relief of labourers in English counties was carried against them on the Report of the Registration Bill, the Government might have refused to have proceeded with the Bill. That was an example of the way in which the Government proceeded on all Bills; they did not appear to have the courage of their own convictions, and they attempted to force on their followers Bills which were entirely inadequate for the purpose in view, with the result that they often found they had not sufficient men behind them to get over the opposition which might arise in "another place." He did think that they might have had in this Session, at all events, some attempt on the part of the Government to deal with the important subject of criminal appeal. He could not think it was a satisfactory state of affairs to throw on the Secretary of State, no matter how admirable might be the methods adopted by the right hon. Gentleman of arriving at a proper conclusion, the great labour of investigating such cases as these—the daily and weekly labour, as the right hon. Gentleman called it. But, in view of the non-fulfilment by the Government of their pledges with regard to legislation on this matter, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he had not, under the Constitution legal power to undertake the investigation of similar cases in Ireland? He had heard the right hon. Gentleman say that he had, under his Office, power in Ireland—that his power in Ireland was equal to his power in England. ["No, no!"] He might be under a misapprehension as to the extent of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; but he thought he had heard him say in the House of Commons, that the authority of his Office extended to Ireland—that it was practically not limited to England. If that were the case, it was most desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should extend to Ireland the very excellent methods he had been good enough to explain to the Committee as the methods adopted by him in the investigation of doubtful cases of criminal conviction in England. The right hon. Gentleman had described to the Committee the general methods which he adopted in arriving at the truth in these cases. He had told them that, in the first instance, he himself examined carefully the Memorial presented to him, that he went over the papers, that he consulted the Judges, that he asked the assistance of the learned Attorney General or Solicitor General, that he directed the attention of the Solicitor to the Home Office to the matter, and that then, if he considered a *primâ facie* case had been made out, he sent down to the spot and had a local inquiry held. In his (Mr. Parnell's) opinion, all these proceedings on the part of the right hon. Gentleman were to be commended very much, as being likely to lead to a real elucidation of the truth; and they had had that tendency, because he had been able to tell the Committee there had been several instances in which he had been able to relieve innocent persons of the terrible penalty of long sentences of penal servitude. But, for a long time, the Irish people had been looking in vain for the adoption of a similar course of procedure with regard to criminal cases in their country. It was one of the great misfortunes of the failure to pass the Court of Criminal Appeal Bill, that in Ireland the people had, under circumstances and at times when it was absolutely necessary that the judgments of the tribunals should be tempered by the reconsideration of decisions, been practically left without any Home Secretary to temper the decisions of the Courts, and without any Court to which to appeal against unjust sentences. It was absolutely true that the Lord Lieutenant did not adopt the same principles and the same methods of action in the consideration of Memorials in respect to persons convicted within his jurisdiction in Ireland, that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department did in England; and, therefore, he (Mr. Parnell) considered he was perfectly justified in asking the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not, if he could, extend the sphere of his operation as the revising authority of sentences—the only revising authority of sentences under the Crown in England—whether he would not extend to Ireland also the most excellent practice of holding local inquiries, where he deemed it desirable, into doubtful cases of criminal conviction? He believed that if this were done, small as the criminal calendar in Ireland was, it would be found that great benefit would result; it would

strengthen the conviction of the people of Ireland that the law was more purely and more justly administered than it had ever been in their history. With regard to the case of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, he would like to say a word. The right hon. Gentleman had said he had no intention of suggesting to the Government of Canada any hostile action in regard to Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, on the occasion of his visit to the Dominion. He (Mr. Parnell) regarded that statement as satisfactory, so far as the Dominion of Canada was concerned; he regarded it as indicating, so far as any action of the English Government went, that Mr. Boyle O'Reilly was perfectly safe in visiting Canada.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. Gentleman would permit him to say that he made the statement a good many weeks ago, when the matter was last mentioned in the House.

MR. PARNELL said, he was not in the House when the right hon. Gentleman made his statement. His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who was present, and heard the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, had authorized him to announce that he (Mr. Sexton) considered the statement the right hon. Gentleman had made to-night with regard to the Dominion of Canada as more satisfactory than his previous statement, and that he (Mr. Sexton) accepted it as such. But with regard to the question of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly coming to England or Ireland. He (Mr. Parnell) could not but think that the right hon. Gentleman had done anything more than make a very cursory examination of the case of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly. He felt sure that if the right hon. Gentleman had gone into the case more fully, and had made those local inquiries with regard to Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, which he said he was in the habit of making in other cases of a different nature, he would have seen that the case of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly should not be judged from the standpoint of an ordinary convict; but that, in view of the position and character of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, and the circumstances connected with the amnesty of the fellow-prisoners of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, his case should be approached from a different standpoint. He might mention the fact that Mr. Boyle O'Reilly's conviction took place very nearly 20 years ago; that he was then only a mere boy of 18 or 19 years of age; that since his conviction Mr. Boyle O'Reilly had entered upon a practically new life in the United States of America; that he had distinguished himself as a journalist, occupying a very high position in the literary circles of one of the most literary circles of the world—Boston. He might mention, as a fact, which might not be within the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman, that Mr. Boyle O'Reilly had, as his partner in the conduct of his paper, *The Boston Pilot*, the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in that city. It used to be considered one of the signs of respectability for a man to have a brother a Bishop; therefore, to have an Archbishop as a partner in the conduct of one's business ought also to be considered a sign of respectability. Then, again, he wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman that the late American Minister in this country (Mr. Lowell) adopted the very unusual course of going personally to Lord Granville, in order to secure for Mr. Boyle O'Reilly liberty to come to this country, free from the apprehension of arrest and the infliction of the remainder of his sentence. He (Mr. Parnell) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he really intended the Committee to suppose, by his rather dubious statement on this matter, that his view was that the punishment for Mr. Boyle O'Reilly's offence should be continued against him for the term of his natural life? It was a very serious thing to proscribe a man from ever returning to his own country. Mr. Boyle O'Reilly was sentenced to penal servitude in Western Australia; he suffered imprisonment for several years; and one would have thought that he might now be allowed to occupy the same position as was occupied by the amnestied persons who were his fellow-prisoners. He (Mr. Parnell) could not see on what principle the right hon. Gentleman persisted in his present attitude, which must undoubtedly be considered an attitude of bitterness towards this gentleman because he escaped. He offered no opinion upon the escape; but he thought the right hon. Gentleman carried the matter to the bitterest extreme when he desired to visit against Mr. Boyle O'Reilly for ever the sentence of imprisonment passed so long ago as 20 years. He had shown that Mr. Boyle

O'Reilly was in a position to give to the right hon. Gentleman the most satisfactory guarantee that no harm would result to the State, or the authority of the Queen, if he were permitted to return to Ireland or to England, in order that he might visit the place of his birth, and see his relatives once again. He could not understand the attitude of the right hon. Gentleman in the case, unless it was attributable to a want of sufficient inquiry into the matter. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman had a great many home affairs to attend to, very much more important affairs than whether Mr. Boyle O'Reilly should be allowed to return to Ireland or not; but if he went into the subject a little further, and obtained advice from Boston with regard to the position of Mr. Boyle O'Reilly, he would find he would be safe in announcing that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to pursue Mr. Boyle O'Reilly in respect to his past and expired offence.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) £51,373, to complete the sum for the Foreign Office.

(3.) £27,063, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.

MR. GORST said, he must apologize to the Committee for calling their attention, on that occasion, to some correspondence which had lately been distributed connected with certain New Zealand Chiefs who visited this country last year. His only excuse for drawing attention to the subject now was that that was the only opportunity afforded him of doing so. The Maori Chiefs came to this country last year on a very remarkable mission. They were the principal Chiefs of the Native Races in New Zealand, and they took a voyage from their native country, entirely at their own expense, for the purpose of laying before what they believed to be the Imperial Government of the Empire a complaint as to a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi, a Treaty which, in their opinion, had been violated by the Colonial Government established in that country. The Treaty was one with which the present Prime Minister was well acquainted. It was made so long ago as 1841 between the Government of the Queen and the Sovereign Chiefs of the Island of New Zealand. That Treaty had been frequently referred to by Secretaries of State from that time to the present, and always in terms which admitted the binding obligation of the Treaty upon the Imperial Government of the Queen. He had not the reference by him, and he was very reluctant to quote anything the Prime Minister had said without having the exact words to refer to, because the Prime Minister's memory of what he had said was so much better than that of anyone else; but he thought the Prime Minister had said that there was no Treaty obligation more binding on the British Government than the Treaty obligation entered into with the Native Chiefs of New Zealand. Of course, he (Mr. Gorst) could not ask the Committee of Supply of the House of Commons to try the intricate question between the New Zealand Chiefs and the Government as to whether the clauses of a particular Treaty had been violated or not; but all he asked the Committee to consider was whether Her Majesty's Government, in the person of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, could shuffle off the Imperial responsibility of Great Britain upon the Colonial Government established under an Act of Parliament. It was an important question of Colonial Administration that he wished to bring before the Committee of Supply; because, substantially, these people had received no answer at all from the Government. The Government had declined to give them an answer, and had practically relegated them to the Colonial Government in New Zealand, of which the Chiefs came to this country to complain. In fact, the attitude the Imperial Government had assumed was this—"It is true we made a Treaty with you; but since the time we made that Treaty it has been convenient to us to hand over the entire territory so acquired from you to the Colonial Administration. If you complain that the solemn pledges given by Great Britain have been violated, do not come to us here in London, but apply to the Colonists in New Zealand, and see if you can persuade them of the truth of your complaints." He would not, as he had already said, attempt to bring before this Committee of Supply the case which these Natives came to England to lay before the Queen; but he should like to give the Committee a

specimen of the kind of allegations which were made. One of the most remarkable allegations was that made by the man who was certainly the life and mind of the deputation, Major Te Wheoro, an officer of the Militia, a man holding the Queen's Commission, a man who in the Native wars always fought on our side, and whose loyalty to the British Crown had never been doubted from the beginning of the troubles in New Zealand to the end. In the Petition laid before the Colonial Secretary, this man stated that in 1863, when the war of races broke out in New Zealand, a Proclamation was issued, announcing that all the Chiefs and tribes who remained loyal to the Government side—that was, assisted the White Races, should have their lands guaranteed to them, and should lose nothing by confiscation. Te Wheoro said—

"In the year 1863 a Proclamation was issued by the Government that all the Natives adhering to the resolve not to part with their lands should retire across the boundary line at Mangatawhiri; they went, and the Government followed them across the boundary line and fought them; another Proclamation from the Government declared that the Waikato Chiefs adhering to the Queen should aid General Cameron, and that the Government would protect their persons, their lands, and their property."

He (Mr. Gorst) could bear testimony to the veracity of this statement, because in his younger days, when he was in the employment of the Government of New Zealand, he was employed as the Government official to draft these very Proclamations, and therefore he had a lively recollection of their terms.

"Te Wheoro and his tribe aided General Cameron up to the very last; but their lands, amounting to about 200,000 acres, and property were confiscated, and a very little portion of the land was returned; the bulk was sold by the Government to the English, and up to the present day no compensation had been made. For the property destroyed, the Court ordered compensation to be made; but the Government refused to comply. The question of the lands thus seized was laid before the Committee of Maori Affairs in the House of Parliament in the year 1879, and again in the years 1880 and 1881, and the unanimous reply was made that the Government should specially appoint a Commission to investigate the seizure; but the Government refused to accede to this proposal."

Now, when he (Mr. Gorst) informed the Committee that one of the chief provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, which we entered into for the purpose of acquiring the sovereignty of New Zealand, was that no Native Chief should be deprived of the property on his land, the Committee would see that this man, Te Wheoro, and his colleagues came to this country to complain of the most distinct and substantial violation of the Treaty. The matter was brought before the House of Parliament in New Zealand in 1879, 1880, and 1881, and these Chiefs came to appeal from the Government of New Zealand, who had refused them redress, to the Government of Her Majesty the Queen in London, with whom the Treaty was made, and whom the Maori Chiefs regarded as the paramount authority in the Empire. He had the honour to wait upon Lord Derby at the Colonial Office with the deputation, and, as Lord Derby said, it was one of the most singular and most remarkable illustrations of the ramifications of British power which could possibly have been given. Here were men from the furthest extremity of the world, men of very simple habits, men entirely unacquainted with our civilization and modes of thought and modes of administration—they came crying and appealing to the justice of the Queen of England for protection in a case in which they thought themselves wronged. He did all he could to induce Lord Derby to act not in antagonism to the Government of New Zealand, but as a mediator. He should be most unjustly misrepresenting the views and opinions prevalent amongst the Colonists of New Zealand if he were to say that they were desirous of acting unjustly to these Chiefs. The Colonists did not wish to abolish the Treaty of Waitangi; but he believed they would accept the mediation of the English Colonial Secretary as a welcome means of coming to a more distinct understanding with these people as to the relations with them in the future. Since the Chiefs had returned to their Native country, they had written letters to Lord Derby himself, and to several of their friends in England. He (Mr. Gorst) wrote a letter to Lord Derby a few weeks ago, giving him the substance of a communication he had received from one of the Chiefs who had spent his time since his return in travelling about the country among the Natives for the purpose of gathering their opinions upon

the crisis which they believed to have supervened. This Chief, Hori Ropiha, represented the people as "peaceable and well disposed, awaiting anxiously the reply to the appeal which has been made to the British Government." There was, undoubtedly, at the present moment amongst the Natives of New Zealand a state of expectation and anxiety. The people were awaiting, with some degree of confidence and a great amount of anxiety, the reply which the great Imperial Government of England would make to the solemn Petition which their Chiefs had crossed the seas for the purpose of laying at the Throne of Her Majesty; and would the Committee believe him when he said that up to the present the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies had been practically nothing? Lord Derby sent the Memorial to the Colonial Government of New Zealand, and the Colonial Government had returned a reply which was practically a refusal to answer any of the allegations made—they said there were no allegations which they thought they were called upon to answer. They did not deny the accuracy of the statements made by the Chiefs in London; but they thought they were not obliged to answer them. He could not gather from the Papers that any reply whatever had been made, or was going to be made, to these people in answer to the Petition which they had laid before the Throne of the Queen. The Colonial Office promised, in August last, that further communications should be made by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the Memorial as soon as the statement of the New Zealand Government had been received and considered; but the Papers were now laid before Parliament. That statement of the New Zealand Government had been received and considered; and, as far as the revelations of the Papers went, no reply had been made, and, apparently, no reply was going to be made. He thought he was very fortunate in having the advantage of saying what he had to say in the hearing of the Prime Minister. There was one power still left to Members of Parliament—they were occasionally able to bring matters home to the minds and consciences of Ministers of the Crown in a way that perhaps none of Her Majesty's other subjects could; and he would take the advantage of the opportunity of making a very brief but earnest appeal to the Prime Minister himself in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman was one of the servants of the Crown shortly after the Treaty of Waitangi was made, and he was responsible for the recognition and confirmation of the Treaty after it was entered into. He would not go into the history of the relations between the Native races and the Queen. It was sufficient for him to say that these people, having always maintained a strong feeling of loyalty and attachment to the person and Crown of Her Majesty, were driven through mistakes and injustice into fighting a war of races, in which the Government of the Colony, aided and abetted, he was sorry to say, by the Secretary of State for the time being (Mr. Cardwell), confiscated enormous tracts of land. The Natives recognized the fortunes of war and the rights of conquest. "What you have taken from us in war," they say, "keep in Heaven's name; but leave us the rest. We have got a much more restricted territory; but still it is a territory of our own—a territory in which colonization has made no progress—in which there are no roads, no bridges, nor any of the usual signs of civilization. We do not object to railways or roads being made in this territory; but leave the management of our own territory to ourselves." They were once lords of the whole Island, and exercised a sovereignty over it. They say—"Leave us to manage our own affairs in our own way, according to our own customs in this part of our territory, where we have previously exercised *de facto* sovereignty from the time when you first came to New Zealand down to the present day." That was the real state of the case. He did not ask the Government to give them what they demanded; but he did ask the Government of this country to mediate on behalf of these people with the Government of New Zealand, with a view to securing to the remnant still left of the Natives the justice and the rights to which they were entitled under the Treaty of Waitangi. If the Secretary for the Colonies was equal to a task of that kind, let them vote him his salary in Committee of Supply; but if the Secretary of State was so completely a nonentity that in a case where the honour of the Crown was involved, and where a breach of Treaty was alleged, and a

primâ facie case of injustice shown, he could only sit still waiting for Papers from New Zealand and take no action in the matter, he (Mr. Gorst) did not think the country required a Secretary for the Colonies at all.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that in reference to the statement of the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Gorst) about no answer having been sent by the Colonial Office to the Memorial of the Chiefs, the reason was this. The Papers would be produced as soon as possible, and it would be seen that the very day the answer from the New Zealand Government was received it was delivered to the printers, in order that the Papers might be presented to Parliament as soon as possible. The hon. and learned Member had somewhat tried to anticipate the answer he was likely to receive, by saying that a Colonial Secretary was of no use if he could not rule New Zealand as one of the Crown Colonies. The answer he had to give to the hon. and learned Member was that when this country gave New Zealand a responsible Government, and when we invested the New Zealand Government with the task of ruling the country and the Native tribes within its borders under the Crown, we abandoned the right of any kind of interference in the internal affairs of New Zealand. The hon. and learned Member seemed to indicate that he was fully alive to the fact that the Government of New Zealand had shown itself, and would continue to show itself, anxious in every possible way to deal justly and honourably with the Natives. The hon. and learned Gentleman had expressed his belief that the New Zealand Government would like us to mediate; but there was one thing more important than the mediation of Her Majesty's Government, and that was the mediation of public opinion. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) believed that a strong expression of public opinion in this country, whether in Parliament or elsewhere, would have as great an effect on the Government of New Zealand as any direct action of the Imperial Government, which would, to say the least, be illogical, after we had granted New Zealand a responsible Government. But whatever the effect of public opinion might be upon the New Zealand Government, he did not allow, by any means, that there had been on their part any infraction of the Treaty of Waitangi. Within the last few months Mr. Ballance, the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, had paid a lengthened visit to all those parts of the Island where the memorialists came from, and had had a series of interesting interviews with them. He hoped to lay more details before the House shortly; but the hon. and learned Gentleman would learn from the Papers about to be presented that, when the complaints were investigated on the spot, the memorialists themselves were not able to substantiate the cases of alleged injustice, and Mr. Ballance was able to give satisfactory assurances as to what would be done in the future. What the memorialists were in reality asking for was that there should be an *Imperium in imperio*—that these people who mingled with the rest of the population should have a separate Government of their own, and that they should be able to enact laws independent of the Central Government. He had been glad to hear the hon. and learned Member say that he did not advocate that demand; but it was really the gist of the complaint. It was only right that they should be treated as members of one community, so long as their private rights were safeguarded; but it was not desirable that they should be able, so to speak, to legislate for themselves. Mr. Ballance had promised them that all land questions should be attended to by a Committee; he had further promised a large measure of local self-government; but he refused to concede the demand that the Native tribes should have power to legislate for themselves independent of the Central Parliament of New Zealand. He did not know that it was necessary he should say anything further upon the matter. He was not prepared to enter into a discussion as to whether, in the 25 or 30 years which had lapsed since it was entered into, the Treaty of Waitangi had been violated, for he had not the facts before him, as he had received no Notice of this discussion. Ever since 1865 New Zealand had had a responsible Government of its own, and from that time onwards it had been responsible for dealing with the Native races. He confessed that, looking at the matter from every standpoint, he thought the Maoris had enjoyed, and were enjoying at the present moment

a very complete amount of management in connection with their own affairs as far as the maintenance of their customs and the security of the land they held were concerned. In fact, if anything, the Government of New Zealand seemed to have thrown even greater safeguards around them, and in every possible way they were duly protected from the operations of land grabbers and people who might do harm to them. The real point at issue was this—we were dealing with a Colony with responsible Government, and the Imperial Government had no right to interfere in its internal affairs.

LORD RANDOLPH CRURCHILL said, he did not think that anything could be more unsatisfactory than the answer which the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had made to the remarks of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). Of course, there were several points in the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman which the Committee were well accustomed to hear in dealing with any matter that was brought before it by the Opposition. The Government were now in the habit, whenever a controversy was raised, of laying a certain portion of official information upon the Table, and then, when a legitimate opportunity of discussing that information arose, some Member of the Ministry got up and said that the House could not discuss the question now until the further information which it was intended to produce had been presented to the House.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the Government only received the information in this case two days ago.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he made this as a general remark —that there were always 100 official excuses, in the present day, for keeping information from the House of Commons—no matter whether the question was a Colonial or a foreign one, that habit had become most common and most deplorable. The Papers which the Government were about to lay upon the Table were to give an account of a journey undertaken by Mr. Ballance in certain parts of New Zealand, and of an interview which that gentleman had had with the Maori Natives. That, however, was not the point raised by his hon. and learned Friend. What his hon. Friend wanted to know was, why no answer had yet been given by the Colonial Office to the Memorial from the Natives, and why they had waited until they could get the opinion of the New Zealand Government upon the matter. That was the point, and was what the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had been called on to explain—namely, why did not the Secretary of State reply to the Memorial of the Native Chiefs, particularly as it was to be inferred that the Secretary of State had given them to understand that he would give a reply to the Memorial? The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State had now taken up what he evidently considered to be a very strong position, when he said that the Government of the Crown had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of a Colony like New Zealand, to which a responsible Government had been granted. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) took leave to traverse that position—to traverse it generally and to traverse it specially. He would like to ask what had been the action of the Imperial Government in regard to the government of the Cape Colony and the Basuto tribes? What he was anxious to know, in answer to the statement of the Under Secretary of State that the Crown had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Colony to which a responsible Government had been granted, was, what had been the action of the Government of the Crown in regard to the Cape Colony in the case of the Basutos? There had been a constant interference to protect the Basutos from the action of the Government of Cape Colony, and the Government had always retained an absolute right to interfere with a Colonial Government for the protection of the Native races. He did not imagine that any hon. Member would deny that assertion. Anyone who did deny it would, in other words, assert that there was a most complete and utter severance between the Colonies and the Crown. At the present moment he held, and he believed that every man in the country held, that, primarily and principally, the Government of the Crown was responsible for the humane and just treatment of the Native Races in the British Colonies; and he considered that the attempt of the Under Secretary of State to get rid of that responsibility was entirely unjustified by the terms on which the

Colonies had received responsible government, and that it would be signally repudiated by the general common sense of the country. He made that as a general observation, which he believed to be perfectly sound. He wanted now to treat this case specially. It was a case in which Treaty rights were involved. It was not a case of ordinary internal government, between the Government of New Zealand and the people who lived in that country, but it was a case in which the obligations of the Queen of England towards the Native Races were distinctly raised; and he wanted to know what action, on the part of the Colonial Government, could relieve the Advisers of the Crown of the responsibility which they had, as Advisers of the Crown, to secure the carrying out of this most sacred of Treaty obligations? He did not imagine that the contention of the Under Secretary of State—that because the Imperial Government had handed over to the Government of New Zealand certain powers for the regulation of local areas in New Zealand, that thereby they had divested themselves of the smallest degree of their liability for the faithful observance of Treaty rights. If the Imperial Government had divested themselves of this responsibility for the faithful observance of Treaty rights such a monstrous doctrine would lead to any amount of injustice and oppression in the treatment of Native Races. Was it contended that all the Treaties the Crown from time to time had made with Native Races in various parts of the world were entirely invalidated—because that was what it came to—and worthless simply because, for the convenience of the Crown, the Imperial Government had chosen to give to the Colonies certain powers of government? He maintained that the proposition was a monstrous one. It was one which could not be maintained for a moment, and it was a proposition which Her Majesty's Government would not dare to put forward if any European Government were concerned. Could there be any doubt whatever that if a Treaty had been made with one of the European Powers in regard to certain rights which that European Power might possess in another country, as against the rights of the Crown with respect to the Colonists of this country—would it be urged that because, since such Treaty was made with an European Power, we had given the Colony responsible Government we were altogether relieved from our Treaty obligations? Would that position be taken up by any British Minister in reference to any European Power, however feeble it might be? Then, *à fortiori*, if that position would not be taken up in regard to an European Power, surely, as a matter of honour and dignity, it ought not to be set up in the case of unprotected, but, at the same time, noble Native Races. The contention of the Under Secretary of State was thoroughly unsound and unsatisfactory. It was the absolute duty of the responsible Advisers of the Crown to exercise the strictest control over the Colonial Government in so far as the observance of Treaties with the Native Races was concerned. The object of his hon. and learned Friend was a very good one. His hon. and learned Friend asked, whether the Secretary of State, on being appealed to by the Native Chiefs, was not competent to come forward as mediator between the Colonial Government and the Native Races? If he were not then he was a perfectly useless official; and he (Lord Randolph Churchill) thought that was the general opinion throughout the country with regard to the present Secretary of State. The Under Secretary of State stated that we had a valuable mediator in public opinion. Well, we could get that for nothing. The mediation of public opinion did not cost anything; but the Secretary of State cost £5,000 a-year, and an Under Secretary £2,000.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No; only £1,500.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Well, £1,500; but he was quite sure that the hon. Gentleman was fully entitled to £2,000. In addition, the Colonial Office cost a large sum of money. It was no answer at all to say that it was not necessary for the Secretary of State to interfere, because public opinion would do everything. It was because public opinion had not done that which was necessary, that the Chiefs had come all this way, at their own expense, to appeal to the Advisers of the Crown. He would once more deliberately insist upon the extreme importance of not weakening the control of the Crown over the Colonial Authorities in matters of this kind. Case after case had been brought before

the public, showing the natural aggressive nature of the Colonies in countries occupied by Native tribes, and their insatiable appetite for confiscation and land "grabbing" in regard to territory which was the property of Native tribes, and which ought to be protected, as such, by the British Crown. The course pursued by the Boers in the Transvaal afforded abundant proof of this. It was the commonest thing in countries occupied by Native tribes for the Colonists to confiscate arbitrarily the land of these Native tribes; and the tendency of public opinion was to encourage Colonists to act in this way towards the Native Races. It was therefore a matter for congratulation that the Aborigines Society exercised so great an influence upon public opinion. He believed that that Society had done an immense amount of valuable philanthropical work, although much of this work ought to be the work of the Colonial Office in England. The duty of the Crown towards the Native Races was quite as great as its duty towards British-born subjects. He thought the Committee would agree with him that, although it might be a difficult subject, it was one which his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham was fully entitled to bring forward.

MR. GLADSTONE: The subject raised by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) has been treated in a very different manner by speakers who have addressed the Committee from the other side of the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman approached the matter in a fair and temperate spirit, and I am sorry that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) did not follow the example of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman who raised the question admitted that there were important qualifications; but the noble Lord has approached the subject in a very different spirit, for the purpose of drawing the widest conclusions and of laying down the most questionable principles, as to the scope of which he appears to have not the smallest idea. The noble Lord has also made general and unfair charges against the Government for not providing the House with information. I entirely dispute the general allegations of the noble Lord. The Government have used every effort to provide the House with information, and sometimes they have provided it earlier, perhaps, than was altogether justifiable. On this occasion the fault of the Government has been that they have given information to the House at a period when they have not yet been able to pronounce a final judgment upon it. I could have understood the objection that the Colonial Department was open to censure for having produced the information and laid it upon the Table of the House in order to evade the responsibility of a decision. But the Government are not seeking to evade their responsibility, and this fact has been recognized by the hon. and learned Gentleman himself. Indeed, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham rather apologized for bringing on the matter now, and said that he did so because he feared he should not have another opportunity. Whether the course pursued by the hon. and learned Gentleman is convenient or not, I make no complaint of the manner in which he introduced the subject; and I must say that he observed considerable caution in regard to committing himself to untenable and impossible principles of action. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that all he desired to ask of the Government was that they would endeavour to mediate between the Government of New Zealand and the Maori Chiefs. Now, I must point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that the mere fact of being asked to mediate would not of itself justify mediation. Before it can be called mediation, it must have the approbation of the two parties concerned. I do not, however, take my stand on that. The hon. and learned Gentleman did not refer to mediation in a formal sense; but he spoke rather of friendly intervention. I can quite understand that, in certain cases, the Imperial Government might have an opportunity of suggesting mediation informally, in the absence of any direct application to act as mediators. But before anything of the kind could be done, it would be necessary to be convinced that there was a case upon which to go to the Government of New Zealand in order to represent to them what you thought of the state of affairs, and to induce them to act in conformity with existing Treaties. It is assumed that the Colonial Department is not prepared to do this at the proper time; but no-

thing has been said to warrant such a conclusion. The Colonial Department have not yet made any official declaration in a manner that would enable the hon. and learned Gentleman to suggest that they are, or are not, prepared to do anything. My hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) has given some indication of the state of facts; and, as far as I am able to gather from his statement, and from the Papers, I very much doubt whether there is a case for mediation. The hon. and learned Gentleman referred to the Treaty of Waitangi. If I do not enter upon the subject, it is because I do not like to trust to a hazy memory. I believe in what the hon. and learned Gentleman has called the high purpose and very sacred character of that Treaty. Of that there can be no doubt whatever. But I am bound to say that I think it was the duty of the Colonial Government on this matter to do something upon receiving an appeal from the New Zealand Chiefs. They are the Representatives of a race greatly attenuated in numbers, but nevertheless a very noble race; and, moreover, there were circumstances in the earlier part of our relations with these Natives which ought to make us anxious to do everything we could for the Maoris whenever there is an appearance of wrong being done to them. But I must say, in regard to this demand for our mediation in New Zealand, that it is a matter upon which the House ought entirely to reserve its opinion until the whole of the circumstances are in the possession of the House in the information which is about to be laid upon the Table. The position taken up by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock is entirely different from that of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. The noble Lord says that in the case of a Colony which has received representative government we, the Parliament of this country and the Ministers of the Crown, retain in full our responsibility for all that may take place in that Colony in regard to Native Races that may be attributable to the conduct of the Colonial Legislature or the Colonial Government. That is a tremendous proposition. I do not think the noble Lord has looked at that proposition in the light of law and history. He did not quote the Act of Parliament constituting responsible Government in New Zealand. He did not show that there were reservations in it, excluding from the scope of those representative institutions the relations between the Colonial Government and the Native tribes. I think I have shown enough when I have said that. The noble Lord refers to the case of the Basutos. Yes; but why did the affairs of Basutoland become matters for our consideration? Because the Cape Government pressed us to resume responsibility.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That was after the British Government had interfered.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not aware that they interfered. The noble Lord has not proved his case; and my recollection of the facts is totally different to his. Probably the noble Lord is not aware that through many of my earlier years in Parliament I was considerably concerned with this very question of the relative responsibilities of the Colonial Authorities and the Home Government with respect to the relations between the Colonies and the Native Races. As much as 50 years ago—nay, more than 50 years—no, about 50 years ago, I sat upon a Committee of this House which dealt with the relations of the Cape and the Native Races; and I then found it my duty to contend strongly that, on the whole, it was best for the interests of the Native Races that we should allow the Colonists themselves to conduct those relations for themselves, and reap the consequences if they conducted them badly. I am bound to say that that had particular reference to the case of the Caffres, which was not altogether on all fours with the case of New Zealand, as the Caffres were a powerful race, while in New Zealand the Native Races are largely reduced in numbers. The question which the noble Lord has raised, however, is one of the utmost nicety, and one of the utmost difficulty, which he is not prepared to meet at all. He sweeps everything before him, and lays it down as a general rule that when a great community of British citizens is formed in some other country, somewhere beyond the sea, and receives the full privileges of a free Government, still there is a tacit reservation under which this House retains its responsibility for everything that is done with respect to the Native Races. That is the doctrine of the noble Lord, and he

complains that it is not the doctrine of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. For my part, however, I am bound to say that I prefer the doctrine of my hon. Friend, which is a great deal sounder and more reasonable than that of the noble Lord. I have never heard of any such reservation, except upon special grounds, in special circumstances, and for a special purpose. The noble Lord, who speaks of maintaining the union between the Colonies and this country, and sets himself up as the champion of that union, would reserve to himself the power of interfering whenever he chose with Colonies which have Representative Institutions on the subject of Native Races; but does he consider that that would be a specific for maintaining the union? I am lost in astonishment at such a doctrine. What sort of Englishmen does he think the Colonists are who would submit to such treatment? Of course, if the noble Lord would apply that doctrine to New Zealand, he would no doubt apply it elsewhere. We have recently had disturbances in the Dominion of Canada. Well, I suppose the insurgents in those disturbances think they have been badly treated, and will have something to say on the subject of violated rights. If they come to the noble Lord and say what they may have to say on such a subject, is the noble Lord prepared to come down to this House and say that we are to tell the Dominion of Canada that they are an entirely subordinate Body, and that the Home Government does not recognize their power and authority, and will themselves decide the questions which have arisen in regard to the Native Races? The fact is the noble Lord has led the House into a discussion of one of the nicest, most stormy, and most difficult legal questions it would be possible to raise between the Mother Country and the Colonies. No doubt, there are cases in which the Imperial Parliament has asserted its authority over Colonial Legislative Assemblies. In the great case of Negro emancipation, for instance, it was provided—I think it was provided in the letter of the Act—that the emancipation should take effect whether the Colonies liked it or not. When at a later period, however, in the case of Jamaica, Parliament found that the conduct of the Colonial Authorities was not satisfactory to the Native Races, they did not adopt the doctrine of the noble Lord, but they suspended entirely the Representative Institutions of the country. What I say is, that where Representative Institutions have been granted, it has been the intention of Parliament in almost every case, and certainly as a general rule, to hand over, along with other things, all power in regard to the regulation and control of the Native Races. That has been the basis upon which our Colonial Empire has been founded; and our fellow-subjects in the Colonies would be unworthy of the name of Englishmen if they were to consent to be despoiled of their inheritance and to receive Representative Institutions on any other terms. I must say, therefore, that I believe my hon. Friend was perfectly right in what he said—that where you give Representative Institutions, you give virtually and substantially full control over the Native Races. On these grounds, I cannot agree with what fell from the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); and I hope that if the noble Lord, who went considerably beyond the hon. and learned Gentleman, is about to speak again, he will somewhat restrict those high flights in which he has been indulging, and will be content to take up a somewhat more modest attitude.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought the Prime Minister had allowed himself to be extremely sarcastic at his expense, and had also allowed himself to be rather unfair; and he begged to say that his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) informed him that, as far as he understood his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) proposition, he agreed with every word he had said. The case put by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was entirely to divest the Crown of all responsibility. He disputed that, and protested against it upon general grounds and upon specific grounds; but he did not push his protest so far as the Prime Minister had stated. He had not contended that the Crown should be continually interfering between the Colonial Government and the Native Races, who were not adequately protected or recognized by the Colonial Government; but he had held that there were certain special and exceptional occasions when it was their duty to interfere. Look

how the doctrine of the Under Secretary of State would work. Supposing the Maories were a very powerful race, and suppose through the conduct of the Colonial Government they threatened the British portion of New Zealand, what would happen? They would have to send out a British expedition to protect the Colonists, because, however much they might be in the wrong, public feeling in this country would compel the Government to protect them with its armies, if their existence was threatened. Therefore, he contended that the responsibility of the Home Government was very great, as, indeed, it must be where the British Crown was supreme.

MR. GLADSTONE said, that nothing had been said as to the supremacy of the Crown, either by him or by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, that his contention had been that that supremacy or responsibility was as absolute as any responsibility could be. That was his contention. He contended that if they could interfere with the Local Parliament to such an extent as to veto their Acts, their responsibility was no less in cases of dispute between the Colonial Government and the Native Races.

MR. EVELYN ASHELY pointed out that the Natives were represented in the Colonial Legislature.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, the hon. Gentleman must know very well that the representation of the Maories in the New Zealand Parliament was nothing but a ridiculous sham. By the kindness and indulgence of the Committee, he had been allowed to put his case before them, and he maintained that it was a perfectly sound and Constitutional view; and if Her Majesty's Government repudiated it, the sooner we separated our connection with the Colonies the better it would be for the Colonies, and the better for the credit of the English people.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the manner in which these Estimates were got up to show a small decrease. What he said was this—that it was quite obvious, when they looked into the accounts as they were then presented to them, that there would be no real decrease at all. The most important item of all, which constituted about 90 per cent of the whole Vote, was that under the third head for salaries, wages, &c. It was perfectly clear that that item was increasing; but, in order to make a show to be able to put the word "decrease" at the bottom of the page, the absurd farce was gone through of putting down decreases under the head of the smaller items. What reason was there to believe, for instance, that there would be a decrease of £500 in the cost of telegrams for the coming year? He wanted to know whether there was any Minister present who could explain this? He saw the hon. Member the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert) coming in, and he would ask him how he could justify these estimated decreases? The Estimate for housekeeping was reduced by £50, which was still more astonishing. In order to test the Vote, he wanted to know where there was to be a saving of £50 in the housekeeping of the Colonial Office? Was the poor woman who kept the Office to have something knocked off her wages in order to show a decrease on the Estimate, or where did the difference arise? He did ask for information on this matter, if it could be given, or was the whole thing simply a matter of account keeping?

MR. HIBBERT said, he could assure the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Warton) that these items were not put down without due consideration. They were based upon the actual expenditure of the previous year, which, having been less than had been previously estimated, they had, of course, put down a less sum this year. In the case of telegrams, for instance, the cost last year had been less than was anticipated, and accordingly a less sum was asked for on the present occasion. He would have thought, however, that the hon. and learned Member would have been glad to notice any excuse for a reduction of expenditure. The Estimates had been prepared with a desire to avoid, as far as possible, the necessity of introducing Supplementary Estimates, and where decreases were shown they had been based upon the experience of the past year.

MR. KENNY said, he wished to ask a question with regard to the recent insurrection in Canada, and what the Government intended to do in the matter. He wanted to know if the Government

had received any information from the Government of Canada as to the course they proposed to adopt with regard to the half-breed Riel, now they had captured him? He saw from the papers that they were intending to indict him for high treason. He would like to know, on the authority of the Government, if that was so, because it appeared to him that this was a case in which the rising and the course taken by Riel was provoked by the action of the Government of Canada.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would be perfectly justified in putting any question to the Government as to the conduct of the Secretary of State for the Colonies; but he would not be in Order in discussing on this Vote the rights or wrongs of the conduct of the Government of Canada.

MR. KENNY said, he had very nearly concluded his remarks when the hon. Baronet had called him to Order, and he had no intention of discussing the conduct of the Canadian Government. He was just going to say this—that in matters of this kind the Government of Canada ought to be, as far as possible, subject to the supervision of the Home Government; because in this case it was in consequence of their negligence, to a great extent, that the disturbances took place for which Riel was about to be tried. They were going to punish Riel for an occurrence for which the Canadian Government were equally responsible with him.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he had to say, in reply to the hon. Member, that the Government had no information from the Canadian Government as to what would be the form of the prosecution or trial they proposed for Riel. They had no information, either, as to what was their opinion with regard to the causes of the outbreak. They had received no communication from the Canadian Government; but they had received a somewhat lengthy Report from the Governor General as to the alleged grievances of the half-breeds, and what was the position of the matter. He hoped before long to be able to lay that Paper upon the Table.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £35,883, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

(5.) £71,178, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that this Vote was diminished under the first item for salaries by a very material amount—almost £10,000—and he would like to ask any Minister who could explain it, how the Board of Trade could expect to do all the work this Department with the reduced staff which this would entail? It was exceedingly difficult to understand. While he was answering that, he would like him also to explain what had been the result of the alterations which had been made in regard to the Receivers of Wrecks. Under the recent Bill a complete alteration had been made in regard to the Receivers of Wrecks; and when the Bill was passed he ventured to express an opinion that no economy would result to the Public Service. He would be glad, therefore, if the Minister who replied would explain what had been the result of the alteration.

MR. HOLMS said, the matter was rather a complicated one; but he could say that the alteration had answered very well, and was working satisfactorily. With regard to the large decrease to which the hon. Member had referred, the plain fact of the matter was this—a Joint Committee of the Board of Trade and the Treasury had completely overhauled the Department, and it was found possible to make the reduction in the Vote which was now proposed. The alteration in regard to the Receivers of Wrecks had worked satisfactorily, so far as time had given experience.

MR. GOURLEY said, he wished to put a question in regard to the examination of officers for the Mercantile Marine. Students who failed at their first examination and came up again were charged the full examination fee on both occasions. He believed that the number of officers who failed throughout the United Kingdom, on the first examination, was something like 400, and this gave to the Board of Trade

something like £700 a-year, at the expense of very poor men. He would ask why these second fees were taken from men who could ill afford them?

Mr. HOLMS said, he would make inquiries into the matter.

Mr. SEXTON said, he wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade a question relating to the Department charged with the duty of removing wrecks. He might mention that once or twice he had asked questions in the House with regard to the action of the Department, and he was obliged to say that the replies he had received were not at all of a satisfactory character. One of the wrecks he had referred to had been lying for months in the fairway to Ballyshannon, off the coast of Donegal, such was the extraordinary negligence of the Department. Owing to these wrecks not being removed, poor men were constantly placed in imminent risk of losing their lives; and yet, so careless was the Department, that the great danger in which seamen and others were placed was not sufficient to induce them to act. One reply given to him was to the effect that the Board had not received "any notice" on the subject, although he (Mr. Sexton) should imagine that there could be no more proper form of notice than a question put by an hon. Member in the House of Commons. With regard to the case he was particularly referring to, he had no reason to believe, however, that any effect had been produced upon the Department, because the wreck was still lying where it had been for a long time past. The Board of Irish Lights appeared to be an irresponsible body. It was not, at any rate, responsible to Irish opinion; it held no meetings in public; he believed that its members were nominated by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but that they were accountable for their action to the Board of Trade. However, the serious question to which he desired to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman and the Committee was that of the wreck in Donegal Bay, in the fairway to Ballyshannon. That wreck had been lying there since last July, and he need hardly say that it had worked a very prejudicial effect upon the trade and commerce of that port. The Board of Irish Lights had endeavoured to justify their inaction in this matter by saying that they could not obtain possession of the wreck. No doubt, the owners had attempted to take out whatever valuables the ship contained——

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot find anything in the Vote which relates to wrecks. Does the hon. Member refer to anything in the Irish Votes?

Mr. SEXTON: No, Sir. The matter to which I am calling attention has direct relation to the Board of Irish Lights, who are under the supervision of the Board of Trade. I am pointing out that they have been guilty of neglect in the matter of this wreck. It is the duty of the Board of Trade to call them to account, and I am endeavouring to obtain from the Representative of that Department an assurance that they will give instructions in the matter. I presume that I am in Order in so doing.

The CHAIRMAN: If the Board of Irish Lights is answerable to the Board of Trade, then I consider that the observations of the hon. Member are appropriate to this Vote, although, as I have said, there is nothing in the Vote relating to wrecks.

Mr. SEXTON: I wish to point out that the Vote includes the salary of the President of the Board, who has control in this matter. Is it not competent for me to call attention to the Board of Irish Lights under the circumstances?

The CHAIRMAN: I have pointed out that if the Board of Irish Lights is accountable to the Board of Trade the hon. Member is in Order.

Mr. SEXTON said, that was the case, and he wished to call attention to the subject now because this was the only Vote on which he would have the opportunity of doing so. He thought the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade would admit that he was correct in this. His object was to ascertain what would induce the Board of Trade to take action in this matter. He said it was a scandalous thing that a wreck should be allowed to lie for an indefinite period of time in the fairway at Ballyshannon. As he had said, the owners of the vessel kept possession until they had recovered the valuables on board; but when they abandoned the wreck the Irish Board of Lights were applied to for the purpose of having it removed. Now, in the first instance the Board assumed

an imperious tone, and ordered the owners to give up the wreck. When, however, they obtained possession of it, they made no use of their powers, and allowed it to remain where it was. It was said at one time that there was some hope of an arrangement being arrived at between the Local Authorities and the Board; but nothing had resulted from that. At all events, a considerable portion of time had passed away since the Ballyshannon authorities informed the Board of Trade that there was no prospect whatever of an arrangement being come to on the subject. One of the wrecks had already caused loss of life, and the other remained a constant impediment to the trade and commerce of that part of the country. Of course, owing to the curious mixture of powers between the Irish Board of Lights in Ireland and the Board of Trade in England, they had been unable to get any redress hitherto, or even an admission that the wreck was in the fairway at Ballyshannon.

MR. HOLMS said, it was quite true that the Irish Board of Lights did not admit that the wreck was in the fairway of navigation; on the contrary, they said that the wreck off the coast of Donegal did not stand in the fairway at all. If, however, it was made clear that it did stand in the fairway, then he thought there would be no objection on the part of the Board of Trade to exercise the power which they possessed. But up to the present moment he believed that the point had not been clearly established one way or the other.

MR. SEXTON said, this surely argued not only that the Irish Board of Lights neglected its duties, but that the Board of Trade also, who were represented in that House, neglected to inform itself of matters of fact. He was instructed to say that the wreck in question was lying in the fairway at Ballyshannon. Every proper step had been taken to bring about the removal of this dangerous impediment, but without result. So long ago as the month of October last, the Town Commissioners of Ballyshannon made representations to the Irish Board of Lights and to the Board of Trade, and many weeks had elapsed since he (Mr. Sexton) had embodied in a very full and elaborate Question the details and facts of this case. It was said at the time in reply to that Question that steps would be taken to get rid of the impediment; but now the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade said that he did not know whether the wreck lay in the fairway of navigation or not, although he added that if it were so some steps would be taken in the matter by the exercise of the powers vested in the Board of Trade. He was unable to see what more could be done in this matter than had been done to bring about the removal of the wreck. He put a fair question to the hon. Gentleman; he had shown that, according to the Town Commissioners of Ballyshannon, who ought to know, the wreck did lay in the fairway of navigation; and all he could do now was to ask the hon. Gentleman what still remained to be done before the Board of Trade took action in the matter?

MR. HOLMS said, he thought the case a fair one for further inquiry; and if the hon. Member would leave it to him further inquiry should be made, and action taken if the Board of Trade found that there was any stoppage of the navigation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it was a matter of notoriety that there was a proposal which would have the effect of considerably increasing the authority and jurisdiction of the Board of Trade in matters relating to the registration of shipping; and it was clear that by the transfer of that business to the Department a very much larger staff would be required.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member was referring to one of the provisions of a Bill which was on the Orders of the Day. The Bill must not be discussed until it came forward.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had no wish to discuss the Bill or any of its provisions. He remarked that it was a matter of notoriety that it was proposed to throw upon the Board of Trade a very much greater amount of work than it had now to perform, by extending its authority and jurisdiction in regard to the registration of shipping. That was one of the matters which he had brought before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade, and it was said that an inquiry would be instituted into the work of the Department and the position of the offi-

cials. The increased amount of work referred to was to be undertaken while the Department was undergoing re-organization, and at a time when there had been a large diminution of the staff. For instance, the Estimate showed that there were nine clerks of the first class with minimum salaries of £625, rising annually by £25 to the maximum of £800 a-year; and that class of clerks had been entirely got rid of. Then there were 10 clerks of the second class, with minimum salaries of £420, rising by an annual increment of £20 to the maximum of £600. They also had been entirely removed. There were likewise 11 clerks of the third class, with minimum salaries of £200, rising by an annual increase of £15 to the maximum of £400 a-year, all of whom had apparently left the service. Further down the page he found that the nine clerks of the first class had been replaced by six principals, with salaries almost identical with those of the men who had been got rid of—that was to say, they had each a minimum salary of £650, rising by an annual increment of £25 to £800 a-year; and instead of the second class clerks who had been removed, there were 17 upper division clerks, with salaries of £200, rising annually by £15 to the maximum of £400 a-year. It would, therefore, be seen that the work done by the clerks who had left the service was fully provided for. But when they came to the Registry Branch of the Department they found a different state of things. The principal assistant clerk had been got rid of; the 9 assistant clerks of the first class had been reduced to 6; the 22 assistant clerks of the second class had been reduced to 21, and the 10 assistant clerks of the third class had entirely disappeared. So that the whole staff of the Board of Trade Department had been completely re-organized, with a reduction of expenditure for the staff of clerks of about £10,000, the total amount of salaries for the present year being £48,822, as against £58,274 for the year 1884-5. Looking at these figures then, it occurred to him that, if such a re-organization with a reduction of 20 per cent in the amount of salaries could be made in a single year, the administration of the Department of the Board of Trade up to the present time must have been singularly lax, inefficient, and costly. Now, the lines on which this re-organization of the Department of the Board of Trade had been carried out were of very material consequence not only to the officials of the Board of Trade, but to the whole of the Civil Service. If they indicated the lines on which the Treasury proposed to proceed in the re-organization of other Departments in future, then it would undoubtedly be a matter of very great consequence and importance to a very large number of persons employed in the various Departments of the Public Service. In the present instance, the whole of the first and second class clerks appeared to have been got rid of; and, at the same time, there was a considerable increase in the number of upper division clerks. Now, the Secretary to the Treasury must be aware, if the Secretary to the Board of Trade had not had occasion to know it as well, that the upper division clerks of the Civil Service were at the present time engaged in an agitation which had for its object the removal of their grievances; as a matter of fact, that class was still in a state of great dissatisfaction with their position. Hundreds of men were engaged in the agitation, and while this was going on the Treasury were proceeding on the line of increasing the number of clerks without making any alteration in the state or in the prospects of the class. Now, if the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade was not in a position to reply to the question as to what had induced the Department to make so very large an alteration in this particular direction, he would invite the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to state why it was that he had been induced to make it? [Mr. HIBBERT: It was done before my time.] Well, the hon. Gentleman said it was done before his time. But he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) must press for a reply to this question—Was it intended to do this throughout the Civil Service; was this sort of thing to be done with regard to the Customs, Inland Revenue, and other Departments, which might, no doubt, with great advantage to the Public Service, be re-cast; and were they to have largely-increased pensions and superannuation lists, and also a considerable addition to the number of upper class clerks, who were, at

the present moment, agitating for a removal of their grievances?

MR. HOLMS said, the hon. Member would see that the Bill that would be brought forward that evening was one which would not have the effect of increasing the expenditure of the Department of the Board of Trade.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Gentleman would not be in Order in discussing the Bill at that time.

MR. HOLMS said, he had no intention of discussing the Bill. He had merely alluded to a circumstance which connected it with the discussion of the Vote for the Salaries and Expenses of the Board of Trade Department. It had been decided to reconsider the whole Department, and to re-organize it in conjunction with the Treasury. For his own part, he considered that the re-adjustment had been conducted on a sound basis. It might not, on the whole, be satisfactory to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor); but he thought he would admit it to be generally a good scheme.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was in the hands of the Committee, and he would ask whether the hon. Gentleman had answered one single question that he had put to him on the subject of this re-organization? The Board of Trade had been spending, for a certain number of years, £58,000, or thereabouts, and suddenly they found it necessary to re-organize the Department. When they came to re-organize it, they were compelled to admit to the House that instead of requiring £58,000 a-year for salaries in the Department, they could do all the work for £48,000 a-year. Well, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade had offered no justification of the expenditure in the past, nor had he offered any explanation as to how the work of the Department could be done for the smaller sum now asked for. But his (Mr. Arthur O'Connor's) point was this. The staff had been reduced in number from 147 to 129, and a large reduction had been made in the expenditure; but although the Treasury had got rid of the men they could not get rid of their claims. Would those men, who were in the prime of life, come upon the pension list, and on the superannuation list? Was it not a fact that the arrangement now made would, in a few years, bring up the expenditure of the Department to an amount as large as it was before the change took place, with the disadvantage that a large number of efficient and experienced public servants had been got rid of? It was true that the large number of men who were taken on were at first to receive comparatively low salaries; but the Department were going to add to the class of clerks who were now agitating on account of grievances alleged to be suffered, who were demanding better pay, and to whom before long they would have to give way. He had his own experience in the matter of re-organizing one of the Public Offices; he had witnessed the whole process of re-organization in one case, and was himself concerned in it; and he said that one of the greatest jobs ever perpetrated occurred when the War Office was re-organized; for, although the public expected that a saving would be effected, nothing was saved, because allowances, superannuation, and other matters, rendered the re-organization useless in that respect, and he did not think there was any reason to suppose that the re-organization of the Office of the Board of Trade would prove more successful. He wished to know what was the amount of pension to be given to the men who were superannuated?

MR. HOLMS said, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was, no doubt, correct in thinking that some addition would be made to the pension list. He did not think, however, that the additional expense would be anything like the amount which the hon. Member supposed. With regard to the hon. Member's inquiry as to whether or not any sum would be given as compensation to the men who retired, he believed that the amount that would be paid would be about £5,200 in all. The hon. Member would be aware that when changes of this kind were made, the Government were bound to deal fairly with the servants of the Crown; but against the sum he had mentioned there was to be placed a reduction of salaries amounting to over £9,000.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had been an advocate for economy during a great number of years, and had taken part in many discussions, the object of which had been to impress upon the Government of the day the necessity of reducing the expenditure in connection with the

staffs of Public Departments; he had argued from time to time that the staffs of Public Departments were excessive, and that the charge upon the public in consequence was altogether unjustifiable. He and his hon. Friends had constantly blamed successive Governments because they had kept up in the various Departments of the State staffs consisting of so many clerks of every grade, a state of things which led to an excessive and yet constantly-increasing expenditure for salaries; but with all his experience in Committee of Supply he had never known a Member of that House, professing economical opinions, get up and complain of the Government having re-organized an office in the way in which the Department of the Board of Trade had been dealt with—a re-organization which had considerably reduced the number of *employés*, which had been already the means of effecting a considerable saving to the Public Exchequer, and which did not create a burden for the future, in any respect commensurate with the burden got rid of. His hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was occupying a new position in blaming the Government for attempting economy; and he (Mr. Rylands) thought that, in the present state of the finances of the country, with the present over-grown public establishments, with the fact that the servants of the Crown were far too numerous, and in many cases too well paid, and with the knowledge that their salaries came out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the country, he thought that this was an occasion, of all others, when they should not complain of the Government making an honest endeavour to reduce the burden which pressed so heavily on the people. He agreed with his hon. Friend that the Committee ought to look with great jealousy on these re-organizations of Public Departments. When it was proposed to effect the re-organization of the Admiralty and War Offices, he ventured to oppose the scheme of re-organization in that House, on the ground that it was going to be carried out in a manner which would entail a considerable burden on the public; and he had also expressed the opinion that it would not prove to be satisfactory, on the ground either of economy or efficiency. He had no doubt that that re-organization had proved to be unsatisfactory. Re-organization sof offices very often turned out to be delusive. They had in the Public Service a number of highly-paid officials—gentlemen who enjoyed good salaries, and were not over-worked; they had a certain number of these belonging to the higher class, and likewise a number of officials who, no doubt, did a larger amount of work, and received less pay, and among them all there was a constant endeavour to get promotion. These gentlemen had two fixed ideas on which they were agreed—one was that they believed in their own infallibility, and the other was that they were always anxious for a flow of promotion. They were very often able to get that promotion; and when re-organization under those conditions took place, the result was the burden on the country was increased by additional pensions, and the staffs of *employés*, instead of being diminished, were gradually increased up to their original numbers. But, so far as the Board of Trade was concerned, the re-organization which the Government had succeeded in accomplishing appeared to him to be entirely satisfactory; and he could not say that, on the face of the Estimate, the re-organization was one which ought not to commend itself to the Committee. He understood his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Mr. Holms) to say that the charge on account of superannuation would amount to rather more than £5,000. He did not understand, with regard to the Vote before the Committee, how it was that while the net decrease was stated to be £7,265, almost the whole of which resulted from the reduction of salaries, there was, lower down on the page, a non-effective charge of £16,422 for this year, as against £14,178 for the year 1884-5, the difference between the two sums being £2,244. However, taking the difference between the amount of superannuation stated by his hon. Friend at £5,000, and the saving of £9,000 due to the reduction of salaries, that, he said, was a very considerable decrease; but he wished to point out to his hon. Friend that after re-organization had taken place, it very frequently occurred that a large number of clerks were added, which brought up the expenditure and the number of *employés* to the original figures. He wished to warn his hon. Friend against that evil. He knew how difficult it was for the political officials of

the Crown to resist the constant pressure which was put on them by the permanent officials to increase salaries; but he warned the Government that if the increase of the expenditure of the country was to continue long at the present rate there would be some very serious expression of public opinion that might possibly interfere with the comforts of some of the permanent Civil servants of the Crown in a manner which would not be very agreeable. He hoped that the Committee, instead of being led away by the arguments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County, would strengthen the hands of Her Majesty's Government whenever they made an effort to reduce the expenditure which had already become a very serious burden on the country.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had not appreciated the point of his observations. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had merely set forth the character of the alterations in the staff of the Department. There were 9 clerks of the 1st Class, 10 clerks of the 2nd Class, and 11 clerks of the 3rd Class, and nearly all of these men were at the maximum of their class; the 9 men of the 1st Class, at £800, drew £7,171; the 10 men of the 2nd Class, at £600, drew £6,000; the 11 men of the 3rd Class, at £400, drew £4,498—every one of the 30 men was at the maximum of his class. The Department got rid of all these experienced men, except 6, and those 6 were turned into principals at £800 a-year; and 17 perfectly new men—men who did not appear on last year's list—had been brought in. Having got rid of 30 experienced men, the Department brought in 17 men who had not been at the work before, who were quite new to the Office. He asked any reasonable man, however extravagant his notions might be of the comparative efficiency of the Civil Service, whether 17 men introduced into the Office within 12 months were competent to do the work of 30 old and efficient men who had been engaged on the work for a great many years? They had been told that the superannuation would amount to £5,350. He would not trouble the Committee with figures; but how these 24 men, all at their maximum, could be pensioned at such a sum, he could not understand. That was only one part of the case. In the Registry alone, they got rid of 10 1st Class clerks, and they did not replace them at all. Either there was work to be done, or there was not. The Board of Trade had been employing dozens of men with the mere pretence of work, or they had, somehow or other, managed to get rid of an important section of Departmental work. If that was not so, how on earth did the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Holms) mean to defend such a re-casting of the Department as was now proposed? He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) asserted, of his own knowledge of these Estimates which was not altogether elementary — he had watched the Estimates for a great number of years—that no man, having the responsibility cast upon him of drafting an Estimate for the House of Commons, could have drawn up such a set of figures as this, unless he had in the background something altogether exceptional by which to explain it.

MR. HOLMS said, he thought it was clear that when any Department of the Government was re-organized it must be re-organized to the best of the ability of those who composed it. It was felt that some re-organization was requisite, and the Department endeavoured to do the best under the circumstances. It was believed that considerable saving would accrue to the country. The expenditure of the country was large enough at the present time; and, therefore, he hoped no serious opposition would be raised to what had been done. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had said that the 17 clerks were all new men. On examination it would be found they were not all new men. Upon the whole, the result of the re-casting of the Office would be of advantage to the country. There was no reason to believe that under the new arrangements the Office would be worked in anything but an efficient manner.

MR. WARTON said, they had been told that by the re-organization there would be a saving of about £4,000 a-year. But they had two statements, one by a Minister of the Crown, and another in the Estimate. He could not reconcile the statement they had received by word of mouth, and the statement with regard to the non-effective charge on page 106. Was the whole expenditure of pensioning off or making allow-

ances to clerks indicated by the difference of the non-effective charge; because if there was some other item, where was it to be found? He did not criticize the conduct of the Government in making this change. He was not sufficiently well acquainted with the matter to do so; his only point was that the facts should be stated accurately on the Paper, so that they could be understood. The change might be a very good one, and it might be an economical one. He had nothing to say on that point; all he wished to suggest was the propriety of putting an intelligible explanation on the Paper itself, so that when people came to read the Paper they could see at a glance what had been done. Why could there not be a note to the Estimate such as this?—"Owing to a re-organization of the Office the following savings have been effected. . . . These must be reduced by certain pensions which will have to be granted to certain men."

MR. HIBBERT said, he was almost sorry the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was not in the position which he (Mr. Hibbert) occupied at the present time. Apart from that observation, however, he quite agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that it was always desirable, when any re-organization took place, that the whole facts should be stated. He also agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that the full amount of charge was not shown. This Estimate only showed what amount was brought into charge at the present time; the remainder would appear in next year's Estimate. If he had any power over the Estimates of another year, he would consider whether such information as was desired could not be given. He would like to say, in reply to what the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had said upon the question of the 17 clerks, that he was informed on good authority that of the 17 clerks, 11 were persons who were in the Office before, and were taken from some of the other clerks who had disappeared from the present list. Only six would be men brought into the Office for the first time.

MR. GORST said, he wished to ask a question with reference to the legal branch of the Board of Trade Establishment. The legal branch of the Board of Trade was, he believed, of comparatively modern origin. It originated not very much more than 10 years ago; but it had led to an enormous amount of expenditure. The salaries amounted to about £5,000, and the law charges to about £18,000, making a total legal charge upon the Consolidated Fund of about £23,000, as compared with £52,000 for the whole of the other expenditure of the Board of Trade. No doubt, it was a very convenient luxury for the Board of Trade to have its own legal branch—he believed it was found extremely convenient. Instead of employing the Treasury Solicitor to conduct their legal business, the Board of Trade liked to have a solicitor of their own, as everybody did; but the question was whether the luxury of the Board of Trade indulging in a separate solicitor was not a great tax and charge upon the Public Revenue. He believed there was no branch of the Service in which saving could be more easily effected than in the conduct of the legal business of the Government; and the way to effect this would be to consolidate the whole of the legal business in one Department, over which there could not only be the supervision of the Treasury, but also the supervision of the Law Officers of the Crown. The Law Officers of the Crown were Members of the House, and they were liable to be attacked in the House for excessive legal expenditure. If the Committee were now discussing a general legal charge, instead of the legal branch of the Board of Trade, they would have the advantage of the presence of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, or the Solicitor General, or of both. Under the present circumstances, they had to discuss the matter without the presence of the Law Officers. Now, he would suggest to the Members of the Government who were present, and who were understood to be desirous of distinguishing themselves in effecting economy in the Public Service, that they should consider the advisability of handing over all legal business to the person who was the Solicitor to the Executive Government—the Solicitor to the Treasury. He understood that formerly a great part of the legal business of the Board of Trade was done by the Solicitor to the Treasury, and what was not done by that gentleman was done by

the Solicitor to the Customs. He was certain that if this branch of the Board of Trade were allowed to continue, the expenditure would become more and more excessive year by year. The legal work was not as efficiently done as it would be if there was one consolidated Legal Department.

MR. HIBBERT said, he thought the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) was one well worthy of consideration. He agreed that there was plenty of room for saving in the legal expenses of every Department of the State. Whether some better system could be adopted, so as to save expense as well as to secure better administration, was a matter worthy of inquiry by a Departmental or some other Committee.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £664, to complete the sum for the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was utterly unable to reconcile the figures of the Estimate with the figures issued to the House in Paper 307, 1884. According to that Paper, the remuneration of County Court Registrars in respect of Bankruptcy business was on the increase—in 1883 it amounted to £86,000; but in 1884 it had risen to £89,000. From item D, it was seen that only £33,000 was taken last year, and that £33,000 only was required in the year under estimate. The Paper he quoted from showed that the pensions and compensations amounted to the sum of £24,000 a-year, and that the expenses of the prosecutions for offences under the Bankruptcy Act came to a total of £115,000. Now, those figures were so very much at variance with the figures in the Estimate that some explanation was required. If the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Holms) could not afford any explanation with regard to the two items he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had just mentioned, perhaps he could give the Committee some definite information respecting the salaries of Receivers?

MR. HOLMS said, that the salaries of Receivers would be larger this year than last. With regard to the expenses generally, the sum given appeared to be a little more than the sum put down before. They were able this year to estimate very clearly.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, they all understood that this Vote should be presented in such a form that the state of the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade might come before the House of Commons. But the figures of the Estimate were strangely at variance with the figures given in the Departmental Report. That Report showed that the amounts paid under the different headings were very much higher than those shown in the Estimate; they were higher in the year before last, and they were higher again last year; and while he should like the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Holms) to give, if he could, some explanation of the difference between the two sets of figures, he should also like him to tell the Committee what was the condition of the Bankruptcy Fund. The hon. Member was aware that, under the Bankruptcy Act of 1883, all the assets of bankrupt estates were to be placed in the hands of the Board of Trade, and that the Board of Trade were allowed to bank the money and make, no doubt, a very considerable sum per annum in the way of interest. The question was debated, with a certain amount of animation two years ago, what would be the amount which the money entrusted to the Board of Trade would produce. They were told by the Board of Trade officials that there was no reason to suppose it would ever reach any very large sum; but they had never had a definite statement from that day to this as to the amount of money the Board of Trade had received annually from that source. He should like to know what that sum was, and what the Board of Trade had done with it?

MR. HOLMS said, it would be difficult to give any idea of the amount, because the money was divided into two parts. He did not think that up to the present time they had had any clear or definite Return of the amount of money paid to the Board of Trade in the form asked for.

MR. WARTON said, he must certainly ask why they could not have this very important item of revenue clearly set forth? There was now a new system of Bankruptcy. The Bankruptcy Act was the one performance of the Session of 1883; it was a pet scheme of the Government. There was a sum of £76,000 given here, and yet the Go-

vernment did not condescend to show how it was given up. When such trumpery charges as those for housekeepers and charwomen were clearly defined, it seemed the height of financial hypocrisy not to give the particulars of items amounting to tens of thousands of pounds. If the Government would condescend to state the items, hon. Members would be able to draw a comparison between the sanguine estimate now and the real amount for next year. He would undertake to say that if the Government allowed hon. Members the materials for drawing this comparison, it would be found that the difference in the items was not a few pounds, or a few hundreds or thousands, but many thousands. Could the Government tell the Committee what the progress was last year, and could they say, to a few hundred thousand pounds, what was the amount in the possession of the Bankruptcy Court? This was not the way in which these matters should be dealt with. The hon. Gentleman in charge of the Vote (Mr. Holms) should be in a position to give the required information; but, as a matter of fact, he did not seem to know whether the amount in the possession of the Court was thousands or millions. He (Mr. Warton) did not wish to be suspicious; but it looked very much as though the Government, first of all, indulged their rage for officialism by appointing a great many new officials in the Receiver's Department, putting the country to a great deal more expense than was necessary, and then, in order to cloak the proceeding, made a sanguine estimate of what the receipts would be next year. "Certain increased expenditure on salaries and possible increased receipts in the form of fees." That was the way it was put down. The Bankruptcy Act was only passed in 1883, and the country had had little experience of it as yet, and it was, therefore, rather cool to be adding, to the extent of £5,000, to the Chief Receiver's Department, and still cooler to assume a large increase in revenue without submitting the figures upon which such an assumption was based and which were to repay this additional expenditure.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked, how it was that the non-effective charge was £1,087; whereas the non-effective charge of the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade was £2,300 a-year? Would the hon. Member (Mr. Holms) explain that difference of over £1,000?

MR. HOLMS was understood, in reply to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), to say that the Estimates were larger this year, for the reason that it was now possible to judge of them more clearly. He could not reply to the question put by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), because he did not possess information requisite to enable him to do so. He would inquire into the matter.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that what he complained of was the increase in the charge for the current year. How had it been that, in the same Department, in one place the total non-effective charge was given and in another a comparatively trifling sum was put down?

MR. WARTON said, he recognized the generous feeling of the Minister in charge of the Vote, and his wish to make everything as clear as possible; but instead of general statements, he (Mr. Warton) wanted three figures—namely, the items making up the £76,000—the items "stamps," "fees," and "interest of money last year."

MR. HOLMS: I can easily give that information.

MR. WARTON said, he wanted it now. He did not wish to appear discourteous; but it was all very well to say—"We will give you the figures," or "We must give you the figures." His contention was that they ought to be there now. The hon. Member (Mr. Holms) must have some means of knowing how the £76,000 was arrived at, and yet he would make it appear to the Committee that he knew nothing at all about the matter. Could the hon. Member say to a few thousands what the amount of stamps was, or to a few thousands what the fees were, and what was the interest on money last year?

MR. HOLMS, who was almost inaudible, was understood to reply that there could not be any harm in stating clearly that the Estimate of Revenue was £42,000, as against £41,000 last year. They received £41,000 from stamps last year. As regarded the sub-heads, the Estimate last year was a mere guess, which was not the case this year, as they now had the experience of last year to guide them.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £26,007, to complete the sum for the Charity Commission.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I wish to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, whether the difficulties that have occurred in making provision for the business of the Charity Commission have been got rid of, and whether the works for which the Vote was taken have been fully carried out?

MR. HIBBERT: The works for which provision was made are going on—namely, the works for completing the arrangements of Gwydyr House for the convenience of the Commission. I have no knowledge of any altered circumstances since the Vote on Account was taken for the Charity Commission. Of course, in anything I say I cannot pledge any future Administration as to the use the House will be put to when completed; but, so far as the present Administration is concerned, I do not know that it is intended to make any change in the use of the House. The works that were in progress are still going on, and, I trust, will soon be brought to a termination.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government asked for and took a Vote for furniture and certain fittings, and the objects for which the money was obtained were carried out. In the absence of the necessary fittings, it was not possible to bring into the building the City Charities Commission, and the consequence was that there was great inconvenience experienced in the carrying on of the functions of the City Charities Commission, as well as the work of the Charity Commission itself. Is the hon. Member able to say that the money which has been taken has been properly applied? [MR. HIBBERT: Is being.] Well, is being. Is the work which is necessary for the operations of these two important Commissions being carried out? If so, I have nothing further to say; but the hon. Gentleman is well aware that, for some cause or other, there has been great delay, and that it should not be allowed to continue longer. I think the funds that have been provided for the improvements at Gwydyr House have been provided under an arrangement by which the City Charities Commission contribute nearly the whole sum, so that they are prevented from entering into the occupation of that which they have themselves purchased. It certainly seems extraordinary that there should be any difficulty about a matter that seems so necessary for the proper administration of the work of this important Department.

MR. MOLLOY said, he should like to hear some explanation of the large increase which had taken place in salaries in this Department during the year. The increase was £4,696, and, as the Committee well knew, this was already one of the most overpaid Departments which ever came under the observation of Committee of Supply. The increase to which he drew attention was entirely for salaries. In the first line of the Estimate there was an increase of £1,698 in respect of salaries, and the next increase was £525, also in respect of salaries. Then there was a small increase of £15 for travelling expenses, which could, of course, be easily accounted for. Again, in the City of London Parochial Charities Department, they had an increase of £2,058 on the salaries of last year, and there was no explanation whatever given of it. This, as he had said, was one of the most overpaid Departments of the State, and he should very much like to know what was to be said for the additions to which he drew attention?

MR. HIBBERT said, he could not agree that this was one of the most overpaid Departments of the State, because he considered that the work done by the Charity Commission was of the highest importance, and had been carried out in a most satisfactory manner. It had been an increasing work—in fact, the work of the Department had increased so much that it had necessitated the increase in the Vote in respect of salaries of which the hon. Member complained. In the first place, it had been found necessary to appoint an Assistant Commissioner during the present year. That had become requisite owing to the great delay which had taken place in the consideration of very important schemes which were waiting decision. There were schemes awaiting consideration from Beverley, Chichester, Hull, and Wakefield, in addition to other very important schemes. It had been found impossible, with the present staff, to keep up with the increasing work and carry it out in a satisfactory manner; and, therefore, the Treasury had agreed to the appointment of an

Assistant Commissioner, on the understanding that the Vote for the Educational Assistant Commissioner should be omitted from the present Vote. There had been a sum granted previously in this way, and that was now omitted from the Vote, the amount so saved being paid to an Assistant Commissioner.

MR. MOLLOY: One extra Assistant Commissioner?

MR. HIBBERT: Yes. Then it had been found necessary to appoint two Commissioners in connection with the City of London Charities, in addition to those who had been previously in office; but those new appointments were only to be for 12 months, and were only made in order to overtake the pressing work of preliminary inquiry into individual schemes. The whole matter had been very closely considered by the Treasury, and he did not think a single halfpenny was being spent on those increases which was not necessary for the efficient working of the Department.

MR. MOLLOY said, he did not know what the extra work the hon. Member alluded to was; but taking it for granted that there had been an extra amount of work, and that an extra Assistant Commissioner was appointed for general work, and two Commissioners were appointed for London, he presumed that altogether they would not receive an amount equal to the salary of a regular Commissioner. The increase in the Vote was considerably larger than the salaries of those three new officials added together.

MR. HIBBERT: They will receive £750 a-year each.

MR. MOLLOY: Yes, £2,250 between them; but, as he had pointed out, the total increase was £4,600 odd.

MR. HIBBERT said, that the remainder of the increase was owing to the appointment of an increased number of clerks. The number of Commissioners having been added to, it had, of course, become necessary to re-arrange the whole Department.

MR. MOLLOY said, he trusted that next year the Government would be able to show that there was no necessity for an increase of that kind. He wished to know whether the appointment of an Assistant Commissioner was to be permanent or only temporary?

MR. HIBBERT said, the Commissioners appointed in connection with the City of London Charities would be only appointed for 12 months; but the Assistant Commissioner he had referred to would be a permanent official.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not regret the appointment of the Assistant Commissioner, as it did away with the duties of the Secretary. He did not believe there was much room to complain of the money spent in this Department, having regard to the amount of work to be done. The Commission had a large number of schemes to deal with, the amount of money involved being somewhere about £11,000,000. But, unfortunately, the Commission did not do the work it was supposed to do. The Commissioners themselves, in their Report, said that they had not been able to comply with all the requirements of the law, for even when they got in the accounts of the Charities they were not able to examine and audit them. So far as that was concerned—as they did not do the work for which they were appointed—they might as well not exist at all. It was time the Treasury made some careful investigation into the amount of work slurred over in the Office. On consideration of the facts brought before them the Government had consented to an increase in the staff. Now, unfortunately, the Commissioners insisted on their clerical staff consisting of barristers and solicitors, their contention being that it was convenient in the transaction of such business as came before them to have clerks conversant with legal phraseology and conversant with legal instruments relating to property. It seemed to him, however, that if they had in connection with the Charity Commission a strong staff of barristers and solicitors, there would be great danger that such uninteresting, though highly important, work as the examination of accounts would be performed in a very perfunctory fashion. Could the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury tell him the number of their staff belonging to one or other branch of the Legal Profession, and the strength of the clerical staff, properly so called, which could be trusted to overtake the work of the Commissioners?

MR. HIBBERT said, there could be no doubt that some appointments had

been made amongst gentleman possessing legal knowledge; but he did not think the large majority were barristers and solicitors.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR referred the hon. Gentleman to the Report of the Charity Commissioners themselves on this matter. They said it was now their practice on the occurrence of vacancies to bring into force the new scheme by which it was provided that gentlemen from one branch or other of the Legal Profession should be appointed as clerks.

MR. HIBBERT said, the hon. Gentleman pointed to a certain class of clerks. If gentlemen of this class could be engaged at salaries which were appropriate to the work done, surely it must be economical to engage them. They must be singularly fitted for the class of work to be done. With regard to the accounts, directly they were received they were examined by the Commissioners.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The Auditors say they cannot examine them.

MR. HIBBERT: But they do. It is not their duty to audit the accounts—they have not the power to do so under the Act of Parliament; but they examine them. I do not think that the Commissioners deserve the blame the hon. Gentleman seems inclined to attach to them. It is quite impossible in some districts to examine the accounts as carefully as could be wished, or as carefully as it is possible to examine them in other districts.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £21,739, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had for several years past—certainly for the past four years—in connection with this Vote for the Civil Service Commission, asked for an explanation from the Secretary to the Treasury as to why a certain book prepared by Sir George Dasent, one of the Commissioners, had not yet been published. Why had the public money been spent on it if it was not to be put in circulation?

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he wished to call attention to the inconvenience of the rooms provided for the examinations for the Army and Sandhurst, an inconvenience which he had heard complained of in hundreds of cases. Some days it was so cold that the men could hardly write, and the rooms were not provided with sufficient fireplaces; sometimes they were very close and too crowded. Another matter to which he desired to call special attention was this. During the examinations a person had to read out in dictation a certain passage from a book, and the young men undergoing examination had to write it down. Well, in many cases it was simply impossible, owing to the arrangement of the rooms, for the young men who had, in this way, to write down what was read out to them to hear what was read. He knew that this was the case. On one occasion he was informed that a large number of the candidates failed to hear what was read out to them. He wished to ask the Government whether they would take steps to provide proper rooms for those examinations in the future? At present, the inconvenience to which many of the candidates were put was most unfair, and numerous complaints were made on the subject.

DR. CAMERON said, he had received a letter complaining that the Scotch candidates in certain examinations were not fairly treated. He did not know whether the allegation was general, or whether it was limited to the instance he was about to refer to, but, according to that instance, it was clear that there existed what appeared to be a very unfair system in connection with the so-called "open" competitive examination for the post of assistant surveyor in the Royal Engineers' Department of the War Office. It had been advertized that there were eight such situations vacant, and competitors were invited to apply. On applying, the applicants received a Circular which stated that it was a necessary condition to competition that the applicant must have spent three years in acquiring knowledge under an architect, civil engineer, or surveyor, and that he should be able to show that he was fit for the post for which he was competing, and be prepared to send proof of it to the examining authorities. Well, recently, one candidate, a young Scotchman, complying with the conditions, sent in his papers showing that he had been five years in a surveyor's office. He went through two examinations, which occupied eight days, and came out third on the list. As there

were only eight places, and as he had come out third, he naturally expected to be appointed; but, greatly to his surprise, he found out that the examining authorities, on making further inquiries about him, did not think that his preliminary training fitted him for the post. That was a case of very great hardship. The young man had spent £30 on his examination, and had passed very creditably, only to learn subsequently that all his expenditure had been thrown away, and that he had had all his trouble for nothing. He (Dr. Cameron) did not think that a business-like way of doing things. If they wanted to find out whether or not a man had had sufficient preparation, surely eight day's examination should give the examiners opportunity enough of judging. Whatever inquiries it might be necessary to make should be made beforehand, and the examiners should judge of the knowledge and ability of the applicant on his merits.

MR. HIBBERT said, he was aware that representations had been made to the Treasury with respect to the want of proper accommodation for holding the examinations of the Civil Service Commissioners. A proposal had been made by the Science and Art Department to give up a private room at South Kensington for the purpose, and that would be fully considered. There could be no doubt that some better provision ought to be made for these examinations, and there was every willingness on the part of the Treasury to make a liberal allowance for the use of proper rooms. There were very excellent rooms engaged in different parts of the Metropolis for these examinations, and he would see whether any better arrangements could be made. With reference to the case which had been mentioned by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), there certainly did seem to be some cause for dissatisfaction. It was unfortunate that the fitness of a candidate by his previous training was not ascertained before he was examined. Those matters were, however, very much of a technical character, and he did not know that the Commissioners had been to blame in what had occurred. At the same time, he thought it would be better in future to lay down a rule by which the fitness of a candidate for the position he was seeking, as evidenced by his previous training, should be ascertained before he was admitted to the examination. He would be very glad to call the attention of the Civil Service Commissioners to the subject.

DR. CAMERON said, his correspondent had assured him that inquiries were addressed to the candidate's former employers, who, in reply, spoke in the highest terms of him. That made it all the worse, and showed more convincingly the unfairness and want of reality of those open competitions. If necessary, he (Dr. Cameron) would move for a Return on the subject.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR trusted they would not have to wait a twelvemonth before an examination was made into this case. The Secretary to the Treasury had made one singular observation. The hon. Gentleman had said that he did not know that the Civil Service Commissioners were to blame. It was very likely the War Office Authorities and the Engineers' Department who were concerned. Very probably this particular gentleman, who was well qualified for the open competition, and who came out third after submitting to all the tests, was not acquainted with the Engineer officers at head-quarters. If he had only made their acquaintance before, he would have had a much better chance of being accepted. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was certain that the Civil Service Commissioners had never shown any partiality in any of their dealings that he had ever heard of, and that they were not fairly open to blame; but he believed that the Military Authorities did interfere in these matters, and they did so because it did not suit them to accept a particular individual, however well qualified. He was glad to see the Surveyor General of Ordnance in his place to hear the opinion expressed that the Military Authorities were perfectly capable of rejecting a good man and choosing instead another person who was proved to be inferior by any test to which he could be subjected. In justice to the man who had been rejected in the present case, he thought the Government ought to provide him with such a post as that for which he, taking them at their word, first presented himself. The man had submitted himself to all the tests they required in an examination of a very prolonged and searching character. He

had come out well from that examination, and then, without any blame which could be specified attaching to him, he was told that he should not have the post, and was thrown back into civil life with this against him—that having gone up and been found acceptable, he had for some unexplained cause been rejected. That was very likely to do the man a great deal of harm.

MR. BRAND said, he did not know the facts of the case that had been referred to, and, therefore, he could only assume that they were really as stated; but he was sure there could be no ground for charging the officers of the Engineers' Department with partiality and undue influence. So far as he understood the case, a certain number of gentlemen offered themselves for a certain number of posts, and the Engineers inquired into their technical knowledge, and, having ascertained that it was sufficient, they allowed these gentlemen to go up for examination. In the case of one man they found afterwards that he had not sufficient technical knowledge. If the facts were as stated, that discovery ought, no doubt, to have been made by the Engineers in the first instance, and they should not have allowed the man to go up. But he (Mr. Brand) would make an inquiry into the circumstances.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR wished to ask two questions. He wanted to know how many of the Civil Service appointments were competed for, not in London, but at local examinations in Dublin, Edinburgh, Birmingham, and elsewhere? And he would also like to know something about the fees paid by the candidates who went up for examination. These were apparently very small points, but they were points of very great importance in Ireland. It was, unhappily, the case—though he hoped it would not always be so—that a large number of the educated youth of Ireland looked to the Civil Service as frequently the only outlet for their ability and exertions; and, in proportion to nationality, Ireland contributed a far larger number of Civil servants than any of the other nationalities. That was not entirely due to the fact that Irish students were particularly apt and quick and well suited for examinations; but it was, unfortunately, the case that Ireland did not present to the young men of the country any proper sphere of work. He could speak with assurance on the subject, for he was himself brought up in a certain Irish country town which possessed a College, and he was sure that even a small fee of £2 or £3—not so much, he hoped, in some cases, but he would like to know precisely what it was—even a small fee of £1 would add very considerably indeed to the heaviness of the burden borne by those youths, who had in this direction the only means of carving fortune for themselves. He would also like to know whether the system of local examinations at Dublin and elsewhere could not be extended? He did not know how many Departments did hold these competitive examinations in Dublin; but it would only be fair to the Irish students, so many of whom went into the Civil Service, that the system of local examination should be spread as far as possible. He had heard that the fees for the Indian Civil Service examinations were as high as £5. If that was so, he thought it highly objectionable, as placing an insurmountable obstacle in the path of poor but able young men.

MR. HIBBERT said, he was unable to give the number of the local examinations; but as to the question of fees, he might say that the fees for the smaller Offices were exceedingly moderate. Where the initial salary did not exceed £50, the fee was 1*s.*; where the salary did not exceed £75, the fee was 2*s.* 6*d.*; where the salary was £100, the fee was 5*s.*; and from thence up to £300 of salary, the fee was £1. The hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was quite right in saying that the fee for the Indian Civil Service was £5. He (Mr. Hibbert) had not been aware before that it was so heavy; and its amount would, no doubt, be a great impediment to a great number of the poorer classes who would wish to enter into competition. It seemed to have been fixed in 1870. He did not know whether there was any probability of the amount being reduced; but he would draw the attention of the India Office to the fact that the question had been raised, and that some alteration had been asked for.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, the fee of £5 for the Indian Civil Service was fixed some years ago, and the rea-

son was this—that 400 or 500 candidates went up for examination, and of those quite 200 were absolutely worthless. It was, therefore, thought expedient—he believed it was done by Mr. Lowe—to put on a tolerably heavy fee, in order to choke off from the examinations those candidates who had not the smallest prospect of success.

MR. SEXTON said, he thought the explanation given by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) was very much the reverse of clear. The hon. Gentleman declared that the reason why the fee was made heavy was that some of the people who came forward had no merit. Did the hon. Gentleman mean to say that to impose a heavy fee was sufficient to stop a stupid man from going in for the examination? He might just as well say that he could convince a man of his own stupidity by subjecting him to taxation. The provision was very much more like to stop the clever men than the stupid ones. A stupid man often had a great deal of money, while a clever man was very often very poor. By putting an impost of £5 on the admission of every candidate, they would not keep out the stupid men, whose papers shocked the eye of the hon. Professor (Mr. Thorold Rogers), but only the clever ones. A heavy admission fee in the old days of nomination and corruption was reaosnable enough, for when a man had a good place given to him simply because he was somebody's son or nephew, it was only reasonable that he should pay something for it; but the whole system of competition rested on the assumption that the best men that could be got should be provided for the Public Service. Private interest and corruption had now been given up. The examinations were intended to prove that the men who passed were the best that could be got. But what was the use of the examination if a turnpike was set up with it, and the poor man, who had ability and every conceivable qualification except money, was told—"No; you shall not come in here. We will not permit you to satisfy us that you have the requisite qualifications unless you pay us 1*s.*, or 2s. 6*d.*, or 5*s.*, or £5?" There was no reason for setting up this financial bar, the only result of which would be that the rich man without brains would be allowed to pass, while the poor man, who had brains and no money, was stopped the moment he presented himself.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, there was no body of examiners who did not charge a fee, and he did not know why they should not, seeing that examinations cost a great deal of money—considerably in excess of the receipts. He did not see why anybody should have the opportunity of going in for a good office for life, and pay nothing for it. But he could assure the hon. Members for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) and Sligo (Mr. Sexton) that that did not prevent poor men from competing, for people of very humble birth and very mean fortune, but of good character and very considerable capacity, were continually passing into the Indian Civil Service, notwithstanding the fees.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the old question, Who was to examine the examiners?—because most of the papers set were remarkable for their extreme stupidity; and Mr. George Henry Lewes, one of the most highly-educated men of this or any other age, confessed that he himself could not have answered the questions that were put to his son, who was a candidate on one occasion for the Civil Service. In fact, the examination papers were, next to the answers of the Babooss of India, the most extraordinary monuments of pretentious ignorance that the present age had afforded. He felt sure that the Secretary to the Treasury would not accept the plea put forward by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers). A fee of £5 might well keep out the clever poor man, and admit the stupid rich one. There was no virtue in £5 to insure competence. In Ireland there was a system of education which brought University training home to the doors of the people, and he had known cases where a man in training to be a doctor of medicine had found the railway fare which he had to pay between Galway and Dublin a very serious consideration indeed. Was it not monstrous that a poor young man, who was obliged to borrow £1 10*s.* or £2 to pay his railway fare, should have to pay £5 when he got to Dublin as a fee for his examination? There ought to be no fee whatever.

MR. HIBBERT sympathized with the views just expressed by the hon.

Gentleman, but did not quite agree with the proposition that there ought to be no fee at all. Still, £5 was a very large sum to pay as a fee; but the Treasury had no direct power in the matter—it was in the hands of the India Office.

MR. SEXTON retained the opinion that there was no sufficient reason for maintaining the fee.

MR. GORST asked whether the Government would consider the question of the fees paid by artizans and labouring men in Her Majesty's Dockyards on promotion? That point was one entirely within the powers of the Secretary to the Treasury. He had had several complaints in cases where men were not going up for a first time, but where they had a natural right to expect promotion and advancement, and they had to pay a tax on each successful step they made.

MR. HIBBERT: Are they examined by the Civil Service Commissioners?

MR. GORST: Yes.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR repeated his question as to how many Departments held local examinations in Dublin?

MR. HIBBERT said, he did not know, but he would try to obtain the information for the hon. Gentleman.

MR. MOLLOY asked, whether a man who passed first, second, or third in an examination for eight appointments was not entitled to one of them under the Act as a matter of absolute right? Was it in the power of the Military Authorities, after the Civil Service Examiners had passed the man, to say he should not receive the appointment?

MR. BRAND said, he did not know the facts of the case, but he would make inquiries.

MR. MOLLOY said, he would repeat the question on another occasion, because if the Military Authorities had that power the whole intention of Civil Service Examination was set at naught.

MR. HIBBERT said, he did not know how far the hon. Gentleman was right in his assumption; but for his own part he (Mr. Hibbert) should have thought that the Military Authorities would not have had the power of refusal. He could, at any rate, assure the hon. Gentleman that his hon. Friend the Surveyor General proposed to make an inquiry into the subject. He would then fully ascertain what the powers of the Military Authorities really were.

DR. CAMERON said, at present there was no evidence that the Military Authorities had refused to make appointments in the way stated.

MR. MOLLOY said, after the answer he had just received from the Treasury Bench, he would not go further into the question at present. The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert) had said he was not prepared to answer the question put to him at the present moment, and had proposed that inquiries should be made. That being so, he (Mr. Molloy) would raise the question on the Report, because he regarded the point as one of considerable importance, inasmuch as if the Military Authorities had the power of refusal, their action might prejudicially affect the whole system under which candidates were now appointed.

MR. WARTON wished to put a question with regard to the £5 fee that was charged for entrance to the competitive examinations for India. It had been stated that fees in respect of the open competition for the Indian Active Service would be appropriated to the Imperial Exchequer, and he desired to know whether that was the practice at the present moment.

MR. HIBBERT: It is the custom now.

MR. WARTON: Why not say half?

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £40,189, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer, including the Chancery Audit Branch."

DR. CAMERON rose to move a reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000, and in doing so said, he desired to call attention to the fact that the Audit Department was one of the most important spending Departments of the country, and that as it was at present conducted it was a simple sham. The Appropriation Accounts for the Navy contained a note to which, it might be in the recollection of the Committee, he had already directed attention. It appeared that during the time of the second Russian War scare a large quantity of hay had been purchased by the Admiralty Department in Rotterdam—a quantity

amounting to something like 1,200 tons. When the war scare was over the Admiralty proposed to hand over the hay to the War Office; but the War Office would not take it, and it was ultimately sold to a Glasgow Tramway Company for a sum that was less even than the cost of its storage at the Millwall Docks. Similarly unprofitable transactions had occurred in the purchase of porter and beer, which had been ordered for the consumption of the troops who might have been sent out. In connection with those transactions, the Accountant General had inserted in the Naval Appropriation Accounts a note to which he (Dr. Cameron) had referred on an occasion when he had taken the opportunity of commenting upon those matters at some length. The Accountant General said had either the porter or the hay, or the other stores, been taken in charge at any of the Naval Stations, or sold by auction in the ordinary way, in the absence of any audit, or other accounts by the Department, those transactions would have passed unnoticed unless the Admiralty themselves had called attention to them. He (Dr. Cameron) had thought the matter of sufficient importance to bring it under the attention of the House; and he believed he was right in saying that the right hon. Gentleman, a former Lord of the Admiralty, joined with the Representative of the Admiralty in the present Government in the endeavour to whitewash what had been done, and in assuring the Committee that he (Dr. Cameron) was very wrong in having called public attention to what had appeared to him to be something worse than a scandal. Nevertheless, after having defended the system of which he had complained, the first thing Her Majesty's Government did was to change it altogether, and to take the right to purchase out of the hands of the Admiralty and place it in the hands of the War Office. The result had been to do away altogether with all control over the stores on the part of the Audit Department. Last year a Select Committee sat to investigate matters that had occurred in the Commissariat and Transport Service during the Egyptian War in 1882. He (Dr. Cameron) was a Member of that Committee, and he was able to say that they took a great deal of evidence regarding the manner in which the supplies were obtained. Among other things they found that the accounts had come under the cognizance of that Department, and that the Department had actually written a letter to the Department of Supply and Transport, demanding an explanation regarding an item of hay, which had been objected to, to the value of some hundreds of pounds. The result was that it obtained an explanation of the item; but that explanation was not considered satisfactory because, although the net loss on the hay was stated, nothing was said about the heavier loss in the matter of freight. Now, he would put it to the Committee, was it to be imagined that that was the only item that should have come under the notice of the Department? They found in the matter of hay alone that about £20,000 worth had been purchased by a contractor in Liverpool for the use of the Force in Egypt; and with regard to the quality of that hay he thought he could best describe the nature of the transaction by relating an incident that was brought under the attention of the Select Committee. In doing that he desired to put before the Committee of the House evidence with regard to that hay which could not be considered as being based on *ex post facto* considerations. The chief veterinary officer of the Egyptian Army was examined, and he (Dr. Cameron) asked him to read a letter that had passed regarding the subject. The first paragraph read was to this effect—

"There is a contractor in Liverpool of the name of Cozens, I believe, who, if he had his deserts, would be hanged to the nearest tree."

That did not appear in the Report of the proceedings of the Select Committee, because the Chairman of the Committee considered it to be a very strong statement, and ordered the reporter to score it out; but other portions of the evidence given before the Select Committee was equally strong. It appeared that £20,000 worth of hay had been purchased at the rate of £9 per ton. It had been bought of a number of persons, and in only one case was it reported to be merely good; in every other case it was described as "excellent." That was the hay of which one officer told the Committee that he had seen in it pieces of brickbats, old hay rope, and all sorts of rubbish. Another officer informed the Committee that

some Cavalry officers, to whose regiment the hay had been served for fodder, refused to allow their horses to be bedded on it, lest they should eat it, and sicken themselves; and they were also told that some of the hay that had been served out for bedding was so abominably offensive that the men refused to lie upon it. A lot of that hay was sent out to the Indian Contingent, and the officers refused to take it because it was so bad. The result was that it was sold in Liverpool at £2 0*s.* 9*d.* per ton, at a money loss to the country of something like £3,058. What notice, it might be asked, did the Exchequer and Audit Department take of that? The answer was, none at all, the fact being that the Director of Contracts knew so little about the matter that he actually complimented the gentleman who had effected the purchase arrangement on the manner in which the contract was carried out, and that gentleman was paid a handsome sum by way of compensation before the termination of his contract. Why, he asked, were none of those losses taken into account by that Department? The reason was that, technically speaking, the hay had been taken into charge. It had been taken by an officer, who had received direct communications and orders from the Civil Department of the Supply and Transport Authorities. Another case of a similar character, which he might mention, had reference to the purchase of flour. The Supply and Transport Department employed a broker to purchase flour for the Egyptian Expedition. The flour was purchased on the advice of the broker, but against that of the Commissary General. The amount of the purchase was 70 days' supply for the entire Expeditionary Army; and when it was sent out to Egypt it was found that the first two shiploads were in such an execreable condition, that the Chief of the Staff telegraphed back that it could not be used; and it was said that it was in such a state that the bags stood up like pillars of plaster of paris. The whole of that 70 days' supply of flour was utterly useless, and had to be sold as starch. Why was it that nothing had come before the Audit Department with reference to that transaction? It had been bought through a broker, and there was nothing whatever to have prevented that broker buying his own flour at a commission. He did not say that that was the case, but still there was nothing to have prevented it. It came out that no sufficient sample had been kept, and that for the five cargoes of flour that were sent out to Egypt there was only a sample of four ounces which could be produced. It was said that originally there were bulk samples, but those were not producible. Why did the loss of that flour not come under the cognizance of the Exchequer and Audit Department? It would again be said because the flour had been technically taken in charge; but he asked in what way? The fact was that it had been bought by a broker, and was never submitted to the Commissary. It had been sent out to Egypt, where it was the duty of the Commissary to clear the vessels in which it was sent, and when the vessels were cleared of that rubbishing article, it was technically taken in charge, the result being that any bungling or mismanagement, or anything even worse, could not come under the cognizance of the Audit Department. The same thing might be said with regard to a quantity of oats that had been sent out. Complaints had been made respecting the quality of those oats, and there was a dispute about them. It turned out that they had been purchased by a man who was a dealer in oats, and who bought for the Government at a commission. He (Dr. Cameron) did not know how the oats were taken into charge; but if anything had gone wrong with them, he presumed that the Auditor would, as in the other cases, have known nothing about it. Then there was the case of the mules, in which a similar result had occurred. The Director of Supply and Transport, who bought the mules as well as the forage, wrote to the Governor at Cyprus, asking him to get some mules. That gentleman entered into a contract with a Mr. Christian, a banker out there, and, knowing nothing about mules himself, employed another person to make the purchase. He (Dr. Cameron) believed it was necessary that someone representing the Military Authorities should go and take the animals into charge, and a captain from the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, who was in the Civil employment in Cyprus at the time, was sent out for the purpose of taking the mules into charge. The result was that there was a very

considerable loss in that transaction. Another purchase of a similar kind was made by Major Currie at Smyrna. He was sent out at the recommendation of the Surveyor General of Ordnance, and the result was that out of 661 mules, which were sent to Ismailia from Smyrna, 414 proved to be good for nothing, and were rejected as being absolutely useless for any work during the Campaign. The Commandant had made a note in reference to those mule purchases, and had said that it was a very serious matter that out of 1,100 mules, 758 were found to be unfit for work when landed. He added that they could not be sold, and, in fact, were not worth the expense of sending to market; but meanwhile they were a source of great expense and trouble to the Government. That piece of mismanagement must have cost the Government a very large sum; and it appeared to him to be exactly one of those cases that ought to have come under the cognizance of the Exchequer and Audit Department. It did not, however, come under notice because, as he understood, the mules were taken into charge, in one case by the captain of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, and in the other case by Major Currie. Then, again, there was the case of saddles. Major Currie should have taken in charge the saddles bought by the contractor for the mules; but the contractor did not buy the saddles with the mules. Major Currie, consequently, gave an order for a lot of Turkish saddles, and when those saddles got to Ismailia they were found to be useless. A lot of them were brought to the Commissariat depôt, and pitched on the ground, and a lot of them were never taken out of the ship. By whom, he asked, were those saddles taken in charge? The loss upon them was £700. To sum up briefly, he might say that in this one single Department of the Director of Supply and Transport, £130,000 was spent upon mules, excluding those purchased for the Reserve; and on that sum there was, as nearly as he could make out, a direct loss of no less than £75,000, or over 50 per cent. The loss upon the hay purchased in the case of Mr. Cozens alone was £20,000, and there was a loss in the purchase of the flour, to which he had referred, of between £9,000 and £10,000. That was the direct loss in money out of pocket at this end. When they came to consider what was the loss in Egypt, through the waste that had been sustained in things that would have been almost invaluable out there, it might be put at something between £100,000 and £150,000. It was said, and it was constantly urged upon the Committee, that the Department had to purchase something like 50 different articles, out of which only four went wrong—those articles being flour, oats, cheese, and potatoes. Of the sum of £59,000 spent in those articles, £29,638 was absolutely wasted; and yet the Exchequer and Audit Department took no notice of that loss. The only case to which the attention of the Comptoller and Director General was called was the case of the West of England hay, which was objected to by the Commissary General, and was never technically taken in charge. He considered that that was a very important matter, and well deserving of the attention of the Committee, because his complaint applied not only to a single instance, but to every Campaign that had been undertaken of late years. The recent Campaign in the Soudan had been full of similar incidents. A lot of biscuits that had been sent out had not been properly packed, and the Committee had been told that tons of those articles of food had been put aside as totally unfit for use. In his opinion, the Auditor General ought to make a note of those things, as he had done of the Naval—he would not say misappropriations—but absurdities, in 1878-9. If the Auditor General were to take that course, the House would have the means of knowing what was going on; while the officials in the different Departments, knowing that all those shortcomings would be exposed, would be induced to exercise a greater amount of vigilance and care. As it was, they would never hear anything more about the biscuits he had spoken of, and they would never be able to learn with whom the blame rested with regard to this particular transaction. If the facts in all those cases were fully known, a remedy might be applied; but, as it was, they would have nothing but compliments all round. The House would be told that the Director of Supply and Transport had worked marvels, and he

would be probably recommended for promotion and made a K.C.B. Those who did not know the real history of the Campaign of 1882 might consider that it was desirable to confer some such reward upon him; but he (Dr. Cameron) wished to impress upon the Committee that unless the Director General took cognizance of the things he had been pointing out, they would continue to have an enormous amount of waste, and not only would the loss be felt in a monetary point of view, but the result might be to endanger the safety of any Expedition they might be called upon to send out in the future. As the hour was so late, he did not wish to detain the Committee at any farther length, or he might have gone much more fully into those matters; as it was, he would content himself by moving the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £39,189, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer, including the Chancery Audit Branch."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to point out to the Committee that I have allowed the hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) to proceed with the arguments he has used, because I thought that, as he intended to move a reduction of the Vote, he would in some way connect his observations with that proposal; but it seems to me that he has made many observations with regard to the purchase of stores which are altogether unconnected with the subject of the Vote, and I cannot, therefore, allow the discussion to continue upon those lines. In my opinion, he has not brought matters to which he has referred into their necessary connection with the Vote before the Committee, and I should have stopped him some time ago if I had not been under the impression that he was about to establish a connection between his remarks and the proposal he was about to make.

DR. CAMERON said, he was sorry if he had transgressed the Rules of the House; but he had been desirous of pointing out that there was absolutely no audit in connection with one of the most important spending Departments of the State.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he had risen for the purpose of pointing out to the Committee the very objection to the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) which had just been ruled by the Chairman. It was clear that the hon. Member had travelled far beyond the mark in his attacks upon the administration of the War Office and Admiralty, with whose Executive action in such matters the Comptroller and Auditor General had nothing to do. The hon. Member had said that the control of the Exchequer and Audit Department was a "perfect sham." Now, as one who had had considerable experience in the working of that Department, from having served on the Committees of Public Accounts, he (Sir Henry Holland) strongly protested against such a charge. The Comptroller and Auditor General and the officers under him did all the work that was intrusted to them by Parliament in the most admirable manner; but, of course, they had no right to travel beyond the powers so vested in them. The charge made against the Comptroller and Auditor General amounted to this—that he had not reported upon certain ill-advised contracts and action of the War Office and Admiralty. But he had no means of doing that, as he had no power to audit the stores and manufacturing branches of those Departments. Whether he should have such power vested in him was a question of great difficulty, which had been discussed over and over again. It had been several times brought before Public Accounts Committees, and he would venture to read to the House one paragraph from the Report of the Committee of 1880. That Committee reported as follows:—

"The Comptroller and Auditor General points out that, as Parliament is well aware, his Department exercises no supervision over the Manufacturing and Stores Department of the Army, and that he is unable to give an opinion whether such accounts should supply means of ascertaining the total value of the stores actually issued to the Navy in a given year. Whether any independent criticism of Store accounts should be established, and, if so, how far and with what limitations it should be exercised, are questions of old standing and of great difficulty. The Committee of Public Accounts, in their Report of last year, considered that it would be unadvisable to enter into the question of the extension of the duties of the Exchequer and Audit Department, until

the Test Audit of the Appropriation Accounts has been made more complete, and in this opinion your Committee concur. They trust, however, that the question will not be lost sight of, and they are disposed to think that the appointment of a Committee, formed of gentlemen from the different Departments interested, to examine into the subject might elicit useful information."

He was afraid that no attention had been paid to the suggestion made in the concluding part of that paragraph; at least, he had never heard of the appointment of any such Committee; but he hoped that this discussion might lead to that step being taken, and that the suggestion would be reconsidered. Until, however, such an audit of stores had been intrusted to the Comptroller and Auditor General, he could only report upon cases which might accidentally come under his notice while auditing the War Office or Admiralty Accounts; and that he did in the hay and porter cases referred to by the hon. Member for Glasgow, and that he had done in some other cases of a like kind. Till his power of audit were enlarged, such cases must be dealt with by a Committee of the House, or in debate by attacks on the action of the Department, but not by attacks on the Exchequer and Audit Department. He did not desire to prolong the discussion; but he thought it his duty to rise in his place and testify to the careful and excellent work of the Exchequer and Audit Department, which the hon. Member for Glasgow seemed to impugn.

MR. RYLANDS said, he entirely agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland); and, as a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, he could bear testimony to the admirable manner in which the Department of the Comptroller and Auditor General performed its duties. Although he agreed as to the importance of the points raised by his hon. Friend, he was not quite sure that he would not have been more in Order in bringing them before the House in a different way. But what they wanted—and what he believed they must get if they were to have reform in respect of the extravagant use and purchase of stores—was this; there must be in the Department itself a strong determination to make the men who committed or permitted faults of the kind to which his hon. Friend had drawn attention, seriously responsible; and he believed that until that was done in the case of those gentlemen in the Public Service who fulfilled their duties in a most outrageous manner, the public would not be satisfied. He did not think the Comptroller and Auditor General would be able to protect the public from the abuses to which the hon. Member for Glasgow had drawn the attention of the Committee; but he did think that they had a right to expect from the political Representatives in that House of the great spending Departments, when such matters came before them, as great mistakes, and probably worse than mistakes, in the purchase of stores for the Public Services, that they would see that the officials responsible were punished.

MR. BRAND said, that the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) laboured under the same error as when this question was discussed in the Committee upstairs. He instanced three or four purchases—namely, purchases by the Admiralty in 1879; a purchase by the War Office of hay in the West of England; and another purchase of hay at Liverpool by the same Department; and he complained that the practice was not uniform in those cases, the Auditor General reporting upon the loss in some and not in others. The explanation was perfectly simple. If, in the course of his examination of accounts, the Auditor General were to find a sum for purchase of hay, and against that purchase the voucher of an Accountant for its receipt on charge, he would naturally accept that voucher as conclusive. But when, as in the case of the West of England hay, he found that there was no receipt voucher, he followed the purchase, reporting that the hay, not having been received on charge, was sold at a loss. What the hon. Member wanted was to make the Auditor General undertake an audit of stores, and to shift on the Auditor General the responsibility for issues which now attached to the Secretary of State. The contention of the hon. Member divided itself into two heads—first, that there was no independent audit of the cash accounts of the Supply and Store Department, as the heads of those Departments audited their own accounts; secondly, that stores could be struck off charge by the Secretary of State without independent control. As to the first point of

contention, it was not accurate to say that there was no independent audit of those cash accounts. Any payments made by the War Department directly were audited weekly by the Auditor General. But the Heads of those Departments audited the accounts of the out-station officers, and their examination was subject to the test audit of the Exchequer and Audit Department. That system was established upon a recommendation of a Committee upon the conduct of business in the Army Departments, composed of the Earl of Northbrook, Mr. Stansfeld, Sir Edward Lingard, and Mr. Anderson. The Report said—

"Store accounts would be kept in the Department which is responsible for the preparation of estimates for stores, which must have the best means of determining questions which arise relating to the consumption of stores, and which cannot effectually fulfil its own administrative duties without itself dealing with those accounts; for the information required for the purpose of insuring economy in the consumption of stores can only be derived from a thorough acquaintance with the accounts, and constant reference to store ledgers is necessary on the part of those who have to maintain supplies of stores."

It was obvious that officials having daily experience of the numerous and yet minute details of Army administration, and having an intimate knowledge of the regulations governing all issues, were better able to check and examine the accounts, keeping a watchful supervision over the performance of their duties by the issuing officers, than an independent authority, who could not possibly hope to acquire the same grasp of the intricate details of Army administration. In proof of the statement that the cash accounts were carefully examined and checked by the Departments concerned, he might point to the Report of the Auditor General recently laid before Parliament of a test audit which he had lately applied to Vote 10—the Supply Vote—which was of a satisfactory nature, and showed that both the regulations were clearly framed and the examination properly carried out. Upon an expenditure of over £3,000,000, the total errors discovered, arising from all causes, did not exceed £90. The second question raised by the hon. Member—that was, the independent audit of stores—was a very important, difficult, and complicated one. It had been frequently discussed, and was now under the consideration of the Public Accounts Committee. He believed that the organization of an efficient independent audit of stores was quite impracticable, and that, even if it could be organized, the cost would be out of all proportion to the results obtained. The hon. Member in his argument lost sight of the fact that the Heads of those Departments were not the spenders of stores—the troops were the spenders of stores and supplies—the Heads of Departments being interested in seeing that the stores and supplies were issued in proper quantity, of the right quality, and that they were economically used. He did not believe that it was desirable to relieve the Secretary of State of his responsibility. He thought that the Auditor General ought not to be in a position to question the issue of stores or supplies by the Secretary of State, and that, properly speaking, an auditor could not go behind the voucher of the accountant who had received the stores on charge. The stores had then passed into the Service, and the Secretary of State became responsible for them. The statement that stores could be written off without special authority must have been made under a misapprehension of the system of account. Stores when purchased were, as a rule, taken on the books of some public accountant of stores; when so taken on charge the accountant could only be relieved of the charge, first, by producing a voucher showing that the stores had been issued according to regulation; secondly, by the proceedings of a board of officers explaining any loss or deterioration of stores—the decision of which Board, after approval by the General Commanding, was reported to the Secretary of State for final sanction. When, under exceptional circumstances, stores were not taken on charge by an accountant, and the payment for them was, therefore, not supported by the receipt of an accountant, the matter came under the notice of the Exchequer and Audit Department, and required the special sanction of the Treasury. The question of whether the Secretary of State should have the power of approving the proceedings of boards in losses of stores, or whether another Department, such as the Exchequer and Audit, should decide the matter, was one which had

been much considered. The Report already quoted said—

"It may be argued that the acts of the Chief of the Department himself should be checked by an independent Department. But to provide such a check is not the object or function of the detailed examination of store accounts of which we are now speaking. No system of mere audit, independent or not, could expose abuses on the part of the Chief of a Department. The auditor must take for granted that an order issued by a competent authority was necessary for the Public Service. He has neither the authority nor the requisite knowledge to enable him to question its necessity, and his function ceases when he has satisfied himself that the store accountant who makes an issue has obtained a sufficient voucher to free his charge. He is, in fact, a check upon the accountant; but he is not, and cannot be, a check upon the Chief of his Department."

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had listened with great interest to the observations and suggestions of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and had come to the conclusion that if the proposal of the hon. Member were adopted it would be the means of inflicting more injury than it could possibly do good to the Public Service. He thought it most important that the functions of the Comptroller and Auditor General should be perfectly distinct from administrative functions, although the hon. Member appeared not to wish them to be so. It was not desirable to cast the responsibility in those matters upon persons who might be only imperfectly acquainted with the duties to be discharged, and, therefore, not able to follow the disbursement of public moneys so well as those officers who were accustomed to the duty, who ought to be held responsible, and whose mistakes ought to be severely and impartially punished. The hon. Gentleman had complained that mistakes had been made. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) had no doubt whatever that serious mistakes had at times been made with regard both to the administration of the Navy and of the Army; but he was satisfied that mistakes of the kind could not be made less frequent by any further interference with the Audit Department. With regard to the stores consumed, it was absolutely impossible, under any system that might be established for auditing the accounts of the Department, to follow the consumption of stores when once taken into charge. That could only be done by the officers of the Department; and upon the Department the responsibility ought to be fixed, keeping, at the same time, the Exchequer and Audit Department to their duties. They had always been most anxious to secure the most perfect audit of the accounts of the spending Departments, which experience showed to be practicable. The test audit with regard to those Departments was, in his opinion, much more advantageous than an audit extending over every single item, which would necessitate the expenditure of more labour and money than the result would justify. It was, he said, necessary, in the interest of the Public Service, to insist on the responsibility of the administrators of the various Departments, and to visit them most severely for any errors they might commit; but, at the same time, to extend to them that confidence which public servants, on the whole, required to possess in order to discharge their duties effectually.

DR. CAMERON said, that the doctrine preached from the two Front Benches of "Every man his own auditor" was, no doubt, very pleasant, but eminently unsatisfactory. He wished to state that he had made no imputation whatever on the way in which the Comptroller and Auditor General did his work. He had said that the audit in these great spending Departments was a perfect sham; but he did not say that it was so because the Comptroller and Auditor General did not properly discharge his duty; he said it was a perfect sham, because, under the present system, the things he had brought before the Committee did not come under the notice of the Comptroller and Auditor General. The hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of Ordnance had evaded that point altogether; he never explained how a number of things came into charge at all. He (Dr. Cameron) had no wish whatever to interfere with the responsibility of the administrative Departments. He proposed to bring responsibility home to them as the Accountant General in the Appropriation Account had brought home to the late First Lord of the Admiralty his responsibility for those absurd purchases of beer and other things for the Navy—he let him buy his stores where he chose; but he came down upon him, so to speak, in the Appropriation Account.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Vote before the Committee related only to the Exchequer and Audit Department; it had no reference to any of the Departments to which the hon. Member was referring.

DR. CAMERON said, he was referring to the Navy Appropriation Accounts of 1878, and he contended that the system which then came into effect should come into effect all round. He was told that it would interfere with the administrative Departments.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out that the hon. Member was travelling beyond the Vote before the Committee in commenting on the proceedings of the First Lord of the Admiralty under a former Administration. The hon. Member had given such a development to his allusion that he should not have allowed him to proceed had he not thought he was about to connect it with the Vote for the Exchequer and Audit Department. His opinion was that the question now raised by the hon. Member was not within the Vote.

DR. CAMERON said, he had merely wished to show what appeared to have been misrepresented in the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) and others. However, as the explanation of the Surveyor General of Ordnance appeared to him entirely unsatisfactory, he should not pursue the subject further, but should proceed to a division on his Amendment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 15; Noes 41: Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 200.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he should like to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether the Comptroller and Auditor General would have an opportunity of investigating the remain of stores which had been taken at Woolwich during the last few months. Already, in the Report of the Public Accounts Committee laid before Parliament, it had been shown that the Comptroller and Auditor General had no means of ascertaining the value of the stores deteriorated at Woolwich. The Accountant General of the Army also had shown in his Report that he was not able to form an Estimate within £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 of the value of the stores lying at Woolwich. There was no Report showing the result of the investigation which had taken place at Woolwich; but he wished to ascertain whether the Comptroller and Auditor General would, in his turn, have an opportunity of reporting on the matter?

MR. BRAND said, he had no doubt that there would be an efficient investigation in this case.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I beg to move that you, Sir, do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again. I do not think the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert) will make any objection to that course. It is usual to do it at this hour—12.30 P.M.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

MR. HIBBERT: The next two Votes are not of importance.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: The next Vote, at all events, that for the Friendly Societies Registry, is not a very important one, and might be taken now.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: That is certainly not very important, and in order that it may be taken I will withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(10.) £5,622, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Registry.

MR. SEXTON said, that cases had been brought under his notice where Friendly Societies had been wound up in Ireland—notably in the case of the Society which had existed amongst the workmen of the Great Southern Railway—and where the money in hand, instead of being divided amongst the members, had been kept in the pockets of certain individuals whose title and position in the matter was not well defined. He wished to know what was the law on the subject? What period should elapse after the winding up of a Society before the money the members had subscribed was handed back to them? Another case which had been brought under his notice was that of the Crown Building Society of Dublin. That Society

was started by State officials. An order was made—by what authority he had not ascertained—for liquidation. That order was in the hands of a professional man, and in all reason it should have been executed long ago, and the money handed back to those entitled to it. He was not, however, aware that that had been done, and he desired to ascertain as much as he could on the matter. If he did not get a satisfactory answer he should raise the question again, and should expect either that the money had been paid back, or that there would be no further delay in paying it back.

MR. HIBBERT said, that with regard to the Society which had existed in connection with the workmen of the Great Southern Railway, he could not give the facts, but would endeavour to ascertain them. He had no information whatever about the Crown Building Society; but he believed that inquiries were being made into the matter. He would endeavour to give the hon. Member the information he sought on Report of the present Vote.

MR. SEXTON said, he was obliged to the hon. Member for his promise. He desired that official statements in regard to these Societies should be made as public in Ireland as they were in England.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

POST OFFICE SITES *(re-committed)* BILL.—[BILL 193.]

(Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—*(Mr. Shaw Lefevre.)*

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he begged to move an opposition to this Bill on the ground that it was of an inadequate character, of an expensive character, and of a dangerous character. The Bill brought in was to increase the accommodation of the Post Office. A Select Committee was appointed to sit and consider that question; the Committee had met and had concluded its labours; but its Report was not yet in the hands of Members. It would be in the hands of Members to-morrow. It seemed to him a most unusual thing that the House should be asked, the first night it met after a long holiday, to vote on a question which had been considered by a Select Committee, without the Report of that Committee being in the hands of Members. The whole of the evidence had not yet been printed, so that Members had no power to form an opinion on the matter. When a Committee was appointed to consider a subject, it seemed to him to be the intention of the House that the Committee should thoroughly investigate that subject; but, as a Member of the Committee in question, he could say that every effort had been made by certain Members of the Committee to prevent evidence being received which seemed to go against the Government policy. Every plan that independent Members had brought forward had been objected to on the part of the Government; and on several occasions, owing to the attitude of the Government and their supporters, private Members had been obliged to say that they could not go on with the evidence they desired to submit. More than that, it had been sought to call before the Committee a gentleman whose evidence on this matter would have had the greatest weight with the country — namely, Captain Shaw, of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade; but the Chairman, by his casting vote, had prevented the calling of that gentleman. It was believed that if that evidence had been received by the Committee it would have been so damning to the Bill that the House of Commons, on reading it, would have refused its assent to the Government proposal. What he (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) wished to bring before the House of Commons was that, even if the Bill were passed, the arrangement it would effect would only be of a temporary character. It had been shown by Mr. Blackwood, Secretary to the Post Office, that the Bill would only give accommodation for five or six years, and that at the end of that time a new scheme would have to be introduced and other premises sought for. To carry out a temporary arrangement, which would

only last five or six years, the country was asked to provide something like £400,000, and at the end of the five or six years the whole question would have to be reconsidered. He doubted whether the arrangement proposed would last even five or six years, because at that moment the accommodation was so unsatisfactory that the Telegraph Department was driven to the third and fourth floors at the west side of the St. Martin's-le-Grand Post Office. Those offices had, during the day, 1,400 or 1,500 people in them — sometimes 1,800 people were on those floors at one time; and during the night, when less work was going on, there were 400 or 500 people on them. Water, in case of fire, could only be thrown upon those floors when the mains were at high pressure, which was only two hours out of the 24, so that if at any time, either by accident or malice, fire reached that Department, there could be no doubt that the whole telegraphic communication of the country would be thrown out of gear and destroyed for days, during the time it would take to restore the instruments and appliances. He need not remind the Committee of the value of telegraphic communication to the country. It was incalculable; and, therefore, everything which was likely to interrupt it should be evaded or amended. If the Committee could bring it home to its mind that if a fire occurred in the Post Office under existing arrangements the whole telegraphic communication of the country would be destroyed, he was sure it would never consent to the present system going on, but would insist on a Post Office site being purchased which would enable the Telegraph Department to be rendered secure from fire or any other accident. The Postmaster General had endeavoured to make out that those who opposed the Bill did so on the ground that they were connected with Christ's Hospital, and believed that it would be to the advantage of the hospital to find a purchaser for it. He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) disclaimed any such idea. The Committee had called the authorities of Christ's Hospital before them to speak on the subject; but they found them unwilling witnesses. This was one of the things the House would see for itself if it was allowed to see the evidence taken by the Select Committee, which at present it was not. The House would see that the authorities of Christ's Hospital were unwilling witnesses, and that they did not wish to sell their property. They thought they could do better than sell it to a Departmental Committee. What he, and those who went with him in this matter, contended was that the Post Office, in this Christ's Hospital site, had a favourable opportunity which would never occur again, and that the Government were pursuing a penny-wise and pound-foolish policy to purchase a site at the rate of £250,000 an acre when the Christ's Hospital site could be bought for half as much. The extent of the Christ's Hospital site would be about five acres. That would give ample space for increasing Post Office requirements. There would be abundance of room to put the new Offices on it. The Postmaster General said, simply —"That is too large a site." If the site was too large for the purposes of the Post Office, that need be no objection to its purchase, for it would always be competent for the Government to sell off a portion. St. Bartholomew's Hospital wanted land, and doubtless they would buy a portion. At any rate, he should consider it a much better venture for the Government to buy more land than they wanted at a small sum than to buy only enough to accommodate them for five or six years at a very high price. Mr. Blackwood had given his evidence very fairly, and he (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) thought the subject was one which should have the full consideration of the House before hon. Members were asked to vote upon it. No such demand as that contained in the Bill had ever been made to the House without the Report of the Select Committee being presented, or without, at any rate, the evidence being delivered to Members before they were asked to give an opinion on the measure. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General would do well if he were to allow hon. Members to receive the Report and read the evidence of the witnesses called before the Committee before he sought to take a vote upon this important question. On those grounds he would move the adjournment of the debate, so that hon. Members might have an opportunity of considering the subject in the light of the evidence

taken by the Select Committee before voting on it.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he rose to second the Motion. He considered the House placed in a most ridiculous position. A most important question had been raised, a question involving the expenditure of a large sum of money, and the House felt it could not give an opinion on it without having the matter carefully inquired into, and therefore appointed a Select Committee to consider it. That was done, and now the Bill was brought forward before hon. Members had heard of or seen the evidence taken by the Committee, or knew anything of what had been done. Assuming that everything his hon. Friend (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) had said was wrong—that the Postmaster General did not keep out an important witness by his casting vote, and so forth—how could the House tell whether the view of the Postmaster General, as expressed in this Bill, was right or wrong, and in accordance with the evidence before the Committee? He hoped the House would not consent to the present violent and extraordinary proceeding on the part of the right hon. Gentleman.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dixon-Hartland.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the Bill was for the acquisition of five different sites, only one of which was objected to by the hon. Gentleman opposite. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) should be perfectly ready to give the House an opportunity of discussing this particular site objected to in Committee, all he wished to do now being simply to get Mr. Speaker out of the Chair. Mr. Speaker out of the Chair, he should at once move to report Progress, so as to give the Committee full opportunity of discussing the details of the Bill. If he allowed the present opportunity of moving the Speaker out of the Chair to pass, it might be a long time before another presented itself. It was important that the Bill should pass that House in reasonable time, in order that it might go to the House of Lords early enough to be carefully considered. The question raised by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) was really one of detail, which could be considered in Committee. As he had said, there was only opposition to one site—namely, the proposal to take additional land adjoining the existing building.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: What are the totals for the other sites?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, they were for buildings at Birmingham, Bristol, and Newcastle, and for a Savings Bank in London, and would involve a considerable expenditure. No objection was taken to them, the only objection being to the site in the City of London—namely, immediately adjoining the Post Office.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the right hon. Gentlemen that the Question before the House is that this debate be now adjourned.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he knew he was not entitled to go into the merits of the case. He would ask the House to allow him to move the Speaker out of the Chair, and would promise to give hon. Members an opportunity of raising the question of the City site in Committee.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman had failed to see that this was not really a question of detail, but a question of principle, and one so important that the House had appointed a Select Committee to consider it, which Committee had sat and reported, but whose Report the House was not yet in possession of. The House really did not know anything whatever about the proceedings which had taken place before the Committee, and on that account an adjournment of the debate was asked for. Speaking for himself, he thought it very likely that when he saw the Report of the Select Committee he should be of opinion that the majority of the Committee had acted wisely in the course they had taken; but he had not seen that Report, and other hon. Members had not seen it, so that, so far as the House was concerned, the labours of the Committee were of no avail whatever. As involving a question of precedent, the matter was of great importance to the House, and he thought a case had been made out for adjournment. No doubt, when the House was in full possession of the Papers, it would recognize the strength of the arguments the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General put forward, and would assent to further proceeding with the Bill; but at present

they had no information on the matter—they had nothing but the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; and if that statement was to be held sufficient, it was clearly a work of supererogation to appoint the Committee at all.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he did not think it was correct to say that the House, by taking the course suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would be depriving itself of the full advantage of the Report of the Select Committee. The Bill dealt with five matters; and even if the objection taken to the City of London site were sustained, he did not suppose that it would also apply to the other four sites. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) seemed to think that the Committee had reported on all the matters dealt with in the Bill; but that was not so. The Committee had been appointed to deal with one site, and one site only. The four other sites were not dealt with by the Committee, and the Report would not throw the slightest light on those questions. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General had, therefore, considered that the reasonable course would be to go into Committee on the Bill, and give ample opportunity on that stage for the consideration of the one point of detail objected to by the minority on the Select Committee. The Committee stage would, of course, be put off a sufficient time so as to enable the point in question to be dealt with exhaustively.

DR. CAMERON said, it appeared to him that the action proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General was that best calculated to facilitate the discussion of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman who had proposed the adjournment of the debate was one who had been most energetic in the Select Committee in the advocacy of his own scheme, as he had been energetic on other occasions in connection with subjects in which he was interested. The hon. Member was exhibiting great zeal on the present occasion; and he (Dr. Cameron) could not help thinking that if the House did not allow Mr. Speaker to leave the Chair now, in all probability the hon. Member would place himself in communication with the Clerks at the Table, and place a useful barrier in the way of proceeding with the Bill on future occasions.

MR. PULESTON said, he thought the two speeches they had just heard made out a very strong case for the adjournment of the debate. If Committees of the House were of any use at all, the House ought to have their Reports before it, before attempting to legislate upon the subjects dealt with in those Reports. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down would not seriously contend that because someone holding a strong view on the subject of the Bill—it might be adverse to that entertained by the Government—might cause the discussion to be procrastinated hereafter, therefore they were now to move Mr. Speaker out of the Chair at once, and go into Committee without seeing the Report of the Select Committee. It was true that there were four other sites dealt with besides that objected to; but all those four were not nearly so important as the one objected to. He should certainly vote for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: I will give my word to the right hon. Gentleman that if he will bring the Bill in at a proper time some other night I will not challenge it—if he does not attempt to proceed with it at 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I will undertake not to do that.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* next.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TRANSFER OF REGISTRY, &c.) BILL.—[BILL 179.]

(*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HOLMS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that its object was to transfer merchant shipping registration entirely to the Board of Trade. The subject had been considered by a Departmental Committee of the Board of Trade appointed in 1883.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Holms.*)

MR. WARTON said, he did not wish to offer opposition to the Bill. He

merely wished to remark that if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Holms) thought it a recommendation for the Bill that it was to extend the powers of the Board of Trade, he would remind him that that was the very worst recommendation he could have offered to the House. He trusted that before long the House would have an opportunity of considering the very great length to which the jurisdiction of the Board of Trade already extended.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SHANNON NAVIGATION (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 171.]

(*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. SEXTON said, that unless the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert) would consent to the postponement of this measure he would move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. HIBBERT said, the Bill had been before a Select Committee upstairs, and he was in agreement with the Irish Members with regard to it. He did not see why they should not go on with the Bill that night; but if that course was seriously objected to he would agree to a postponement. At any rate, the House might consent to his moving Mr. Speaker out of the Chair.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 138.]

(*Viscount Lewisham, Sir Charles Mills, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Boord.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 18th May.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he had already, on the former occasion, made a speech upon Clause 1; and he need not, therefore, detain the Committee any longer. The discussion had been brought to an end on the last occasion by a division which showed that there were not 40 Members in the House. The hon. Baronet who had made the Motion (Sir Sydney Waterlow) which had led to that division was now satisfied, as also was his (Sir Charles W. Dilke's) hon. and learned Colleague (Mr. Firth), who had also, on the last occasion, made his speech, and who did not now intend to persevere with his opposition. The hon. and learned Member would content himself with the observations he had already made. With regard to his (Sir Charles W. Dilke's) proposals to leave out Clause 1, and sundry other clauses, as the noble Viscount in charge of the Bill (Viscount Lewisham) knew, it was with a view of amending the drafting of the measure, it being easier to leave out clauses and bring them up again in an amended form than to effect elaborate alterations in them.

MR. WARTON said, he felt himself obliged to enter a humble protest against the manner in which they were proceeding. They were about to make provisions in the Bill for what did not exist in it, but which were to be embodied in it presently. He entered a protest against that course, and also against the form of the clause to be proposed by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the course he had taken was only adopted with a view of showing what the purpose was. It was true they were adopting consequential Amendments without having the preceding clauses before them; but it had been necessary to pursue that course, which could not be obviated except at great inconvenience.

Clause 1 (Election of two Members instead of one), and Clause 2 (Election of one Member each, instead of one jointly), on the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, *struck out* of the Bill.

Clause 3 (Term of office).

On the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 25, leave out "said six additional," and, after "members," insert "of the Metropolitan Board of Works first elected under this Act;" in page 2, line 1, leave out "third," and insert "members;" and

in lines 3 and 4, leave out "constitute the one third," and insert "be the members."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Acts to be construed as one Act), and Clause 5 (Short title), separately *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, the following Clauses *agreed to,* and *added* to the Bill, in lieu of Clauses 1 and 2, previously struck out :—

(Additional members of Metropolitan Board of Works.)

"From and after the passing of this Act the Vestries of the Parishes of Saint Mary Islington, Lambeth, Saint Pancras, Saint Mary Abbott Kensington, and the Board of Works for the District of Wandsworth, shall each be entitled to elect three persons to be members of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the Vestries of the parishes of Camberwell and Paddington, and the Boards of Works of the Greenwich, Hackney, and Poplar Districts shall each be entitled to elect two persons to be members of the said Board, instead of the number in the said recited Act mentioned with respect to those Parishes and Districts.

(Districts of Plumstead and Lewisham.)

"The Districts of Plumstead and Lewisham shall, from and after the passing of this Act, cease to be united for the purpose of electing a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works, as in the said recited Act provided, and the Board of Works of each of those Districts shall be entitled to elect a separate member, as though each District were mentioned in the first part of Schedule B to that Act. The first election of a member for each district shall take place on or before the first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, and, on that day, the member elected for the united Districts of Plumstead and Lewisham shall go out of office, and, on the following day, the new members shall come into office."

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had been requested, on behalf of Fulham, to undertake charge of the Amendment proposing the separation of Fulham and Hammersmith, which would be only a slight alteration in the Bill. In order to show the Committee that there was no political or partizan feeling in the matter, he might remark that he had been requested to propose this Amendment by the Vestries of both Hammersmith and Fulham, and other Local Authorities.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, after Clause 2, insert the following Clause :—

(Separation of Fulham and Hammersmith.)

"From and after the twenty-fifth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, the Board of Works for the District of Fulham shall be dissolved, and the Vestries of the respective Parishes of St. Peter and St. Paul, Hammersmith, and Fulham, shall from that date be incorporated, and shall have all such powers and be subject to all such provisions as if they had been named in Part II. of Schedule A to the said recited Act.

"The Vestry of each of the said Parishes shall on the said day elect one person to be a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and on that day the member elected by the Fulham Board of Works shall go out of office, and on the following day the new members shall come into office."—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

Clause *brought up,* and read the first time.

Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Question, "Tha tthe Clause be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE : I would suggest to the noble Viscount (Viscount Lewisham) that it would be as well, as considerable changes have been made in the Bill, that the measure should be reprinted before the Report stage is taken. I would also suggest that the Report should be taken this day (Friday) week.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Friday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 200.]

MOTION.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDER (MUNICIPAL CORPORATION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm an Order of the Local Government Board, under the provisions of "The Municipal Corporations Act, 1883," relating to the Town and Port of Seaford, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 199.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 5th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl Cairns, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment * (127); Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment * (128).

Second Reading—East India Unclaimed Stocks * (113).
Committee—Report—Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) * (118).

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACT, 1875—REGISTRATION OF NEW SOCIETIES.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the working of the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, with regard to the admission of new societies to registry."—(*The Lord Greville.*)

LORD THURLOW said, he had no objection, on the part of the Government to grant the appointment of this Committee, if their Lordships should be of opinion that it was expedient. The subject of friendly societies was one of very great importance; and if there was any allegation that the working of the Act was not quite satisfactory, or that it tended to insolvency among these societies, then it was quite right that this Committee should be appointed by their Lordships. At the same time, it must be remembered that in the other House of Parliament there was sitting a Committee which had under its consideration the somewhat kindred subject of national provident assurance, which, he was informed, would incidentally have the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, under its purview. In these circumstances, it was a matter for consideration whether it would not be more convenient to wait for the result of the Committee now sitting in the other House before appointing the one which was now moved for.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, after what had been stated by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Thurlow), he did not think it would be desirable to appoint this Committee. It would be a mistake to have these two Committees going on at once.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 9; Not-Contents 50: Majority 41.

Resolved in the *negative*.

SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL STANHOPE, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Whether he could now give the House some information respecting the proceedings of the Suez Canal Commission; whether Earl Granville's Circular, dated 3rd January, 1883, had been accepted as the basis of the arrangement; and, if not, what course he proposed to take, said, that he thought no apology was necessary for bringing this subject before their Lordships. Considering the vast interest which this country had in the question, the Suez Canal was our shortest route to India; and any interference with its free navigation would be a calamity to England which might lead to the disruption of the Empire. By a Parliamentary Return the other day it had been shown that of the whole amount of shipping which passed through the Canal 76 per cent belonged to this country, while that of France only amounted to 9·6 per cent. He would remind their Lordships of the Declaration signed by the Great Powers on the 18th of March, 1885, relative to the finances of Egypt, which contained 20 Articles, preceded by the three declarations. The third declaration was as follows—namely:—

"III.—It has been agreed between the seven Governments above-named that a Commission composed of delegates named by the said Governments shall meet at Paris on March 30 to prepare and draw up this Act, taking for its basis the Circular of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty of the 3rd of January, 1883."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated these terms on the 18th of March in the House of Commons. What was, then, the main purpose of the Foreign Office despatch of January 3, 1883? It had had for its main object the free and unimpeded navigation of the Canal at all times, to all nations, for the passage of all ships—to neutralize the Canal. But by the 6th clause it had been proposed that—

"Egypt should take all measures within its power to enforce the conditions imposed on the transit of belligerent vessels through the Canal in time of war."

The Sub-Commission had now drawn up a Report, dated May 28, which was, at the present moment, being considered by the full Commission; and one Article of the Report was, he contended, of a most dangerous character to the interests of this country. It was to the effect that—

"A Commission of the signatory Powers, to whom shall be added a delegate from the Egyptian Government, shall watch over the execution of the Treaty."

It seemed to be framed for the evident intention of injuring England; but the

English Commissioners had proposed amendments. There was also a Sanitary Commission sitting at Rome, which had recommended that quarantine should be carried out in regard to vessels coming from places where cholera existed, and they should be detained for five days; but that was not before the consideration of the Government at that moment. As to the Suez Canal, there was the greatest possible difference between neutralizing and internationalizing it. He trusted the noble Earl might give an answer to his inquiry. It might be said that the Question he had put was premature, or that the subject had not been decided; but he contended that if decided steps were not now taken, he did not know what might happen to the great interests involved. Unless the Government, through their Representative at Paris, immediately insisted on the amendment of this clause, or threatened to withdraw from the arrangement, the greatest possible danger might arise to India, leading to the disruption of the Empire. He was, therefore, in hopes that the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary would rather be glad of an opportunity of showing for once a little more firmness and decision than they were accustomed to expect from him, by giving to the House and the country an undertaking that England would not allow the Suez Canal to be under a Board of International Control.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, although I do not go the full length of the noble Earl in saying that the closing of the Suez Canal will lead to the disruption of the Empire, yet I entirely agree with him that the subject is of the greatest importance. The Commission which has been sitting has very nearly arrived at the close of its proceedings; I believe they will conclude their labours before the close of next week. The Commissioners have bound themselves not to publish the proceedings, and therefore I am not able to give all those details which the noble Earl has invited me to do. I may state with regard to the bases on which the proceedings have gone that they are the bases of the English Circular of January, 1883, which have been adopted. There have been some clauses introduced in the draft Treaty to be submitted to the Powers, and, a discussion having arisen as to whether they do or do not pass the limits of the Circular, the English Commissioners made all necessary reserve.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I quite understand the necessity of preserving a discretion as to the proceedings of the Commission while the Commission is still deliberating; but I wish to ask whether the draft Treaty, before being signed by the Powers, will be published, so that Parliament may have an opportunity of expressing its opinion concerning it?

EARL GRANVILLE: We are anxious to give the information to Parliament as soon as possible; but I do not think it proper to answer further at a moment's warning. In adhering to the rule of not answering Questions without Notice, I do not mean in the slightest degree to invalidate the declaration that Parliament would have the information before we committed the country to any proceedings with regard to the Suez Canal.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I would draw the attention of the noble Earl to the fact that there is a considerable difference between asking a Question without any Notice at all and asking a Question on a subject as to which due Notice has been given and which is under discussion. If the noble Earl says that our debates should never take an interrogatory form, and that he will carefully close his mind against receiving any suggestion of that kind, I think he is introducing a restriction which they certainly do not practice in the other House, and which would be inconvenient in this.

EARL GRANVILLE: I guard myself against the desire attributed to me by the noble Marquess. On the contrary, I am grateful to the noble Lord for his suggestion; but I think I am right as a general rule in answering Questions not to give pledges. With regard to the doctrine which the noble Marquess has laid down as to a Question arising out of Questions, I am not sure that I am or am not controverted by the practice in "another place" at this moment. When I was in the House of Commons a long time ago it was contrary to usage, after a Question had been put and answered, for Members one after another to put Questions more or less in connection with the original Question.

EARL STANHOPE: I should like to ask the noble Earl whether the Report

of the Sub-Commission which appeared in the newspapers is authentic or not?

EARL GRANVILLE: I have nothing to do with the publication. It is contrary to the express understanding entered into by the Commission. The noble Earl must see that if I answer a leading Question like that he puts me in the position of telling him that which I have already declined to tell.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 5th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * [201].

Second Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders * [182]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [183]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3) * [188]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * [185]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5) * [186]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * [194].

MOTIONS.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NO. 7) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the Borough of Batley, the Improvement Act District of Bournemouth, the Borough of Evesham, the City of Manchester, the Local Government District of Worthing, and the Ystradyfodwg and Pontypridd Main Sewerage District, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 201.]

QUESTIONS.

—o—

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—HARBOUR AT CLOGHER HEAD, CO. LOUTH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, considering that several months have passed since the guarantees and subscriptions required to fulfil the Treasury conditions with regard to the erection of a pier and harbour at Clogher Head, county Louth, were given by the people of the locality and the Grand Juries of Louth and Drogheda, he can now give an assurance that the works will be delayed no longer?

MR. HIBBERT: The hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that there has been any delay at the Board of Works in dealing with this case. Nothing could be done there until it was recommended by the Fishery Piers and Harbours Commission, which was only done a short time ago. The notices and other formalities required by law were immediately proceeded with, and in order to save time the contract plans were simultaneously commenced. Nothing else could be done to expedite the matter; but there is no reason to expect any avoidable delay.

INSOLVENT SOCIETIES (IRELAND)—THE CROWN TERMINABLE BUILDING SOCIETY, DUBLIN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he can say what is the present condition of the matter of liquidation of the Crown Terminable Building Society (Dublin), the Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer of which were officials of the Crown, and the affairs of which were handed over, more than two years since, by a judgment of the Recorder of Dublin, to Messrs. Kevins and Kean, public accountants, of that city, to act as liquidators; and, when the persons entitled may expect to receive their shares of the assets?

MR. HIBBERT: I am afraid I am in no better position for obtaining information on this matter than the hon. Member himself. The Attorney General for Ireland may be able to give the information asked for.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—THE "MARIE BROCKELMANN."

MR. SEXTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the *Marie Brockelmann*, a Drogheda vessel of 400 tons burden, has been and is detained there by the officials of the Board, and prevented from going to sea, in consequence of a claim of £4 3*s.* 6*d.* by the Receiver, arising out of the grounding of the vessel for one tide; whether the

services performed by the officials were such as to entitle them to make the claim in question; whether on the 20th ult. the owner, in order that his vessel might go to sea, tendered, under protest, the full amount of the claim, but the officer of the Board refused to release the vessel; and, what notice the Board will take of these proceedings?

MR. HOLMS: The *Marie Brockelmann* stranded on February 16 last while crossing Drogheda Bar. She filled with water, and was taken in charge by the Coastguard. On the following day the Receiver of Wreck came from Drogheda (a distance of five or six miles) and took the depositions of the master and mate, who declared the vessel to be full of water. After being lightened and having her leak stopped, the vessel was on February 18 towed into Drogheda Harbour. There she was seen by the Dublin Surveyor, who reported that she had received serious injuries, and was under no circumstances to be allowed to leave until certain repairs had been executed. A claim of £4 3*s.* 6*d.* was made for services rendered and expenses incurred by the Coastguard and Receiver of Wreck. These the owner refused to pay, and on May 7, the vessel being declared seaworthy, he sent her to sea. On May 18 the vessel returned to Drogheda, and on May 20, in obedience to instructions from the Board of Trade, a Customs officer was placed in charge. The owner then tendered payment under protest; the Receiver at once communicated with the Board of Trade, and the vessel was released the same day. The amount claimed for services and expenses was in accordance with the usual scale, and the officers of the Board of Trade acted in accordance with their instructions.

SOUTH AFRICA — BECHUANALAND — DESPATCH OF SIR HERCULES ROBINSON.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, When the Colonial Office received the Despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson, which has been published in the Amsterdam *Dagblad;* whether the substance of that Despatch is correctly stated in the "Central News" telegram of 4th June; and, when Papers, including this Despatch, will be presented to Parliament?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that the despatch referred to in the hon. Baronet's Question, extracts from which appeared to have been published in the Amsterdam newspaper, was received at the Colonial Office on April 23, and, together with other Papers, it was laid upon the Table the day before the House separated for the Recess. He hoped that it would be in the hands of hon. Members in a day or two.

EGYPT—ARMY OF OCCUPATION—THE FOOT GUARDS.

COLONEL DIGBY asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is the intention of the Government to keep the three battalions of Foot Guards much longer at Alexandria?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have every reason to hope that it will be unnecessary to prolong the detention of the Guards at Alexandria much longer; but I am not now in a position to state when orders will be issued for their return.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—MILITIA MAJORS.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will consider the case of Majors who entered the Army from the Militia after the age of twenty, with a view to granting them the same indulgence recently given to Majors of Royal Artillery and Engineers, namely, exemption from compulsory retirement up to the age of fifty?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The cases of the majors of Artillery and Engineers referred to in the right hon. Member's Question is quite different from that of officers who have entered the Army through the Militia; and I am not aware of any reason why it would be desirable or expedient to postpone the compulsory retirement of officers of the latter class in the rank of major to the age of 50. This relaxation of the Regulations, if allowed, could not take effect for 12 or 14 years.

EGYPT (MILITARY EXPEDITION)—THE SUAKIN-BERBER RAILWAY.

MR. GORST asked the Secretary of State for War, How many ships are now afloat laden with material of the projected Suakin-Berber Railway; what

the cost of this material was to the Government; what amount of demurrage is being paid to the shippers by reason of the material not being landed; and, what attempts have been made by Government to get rid of this material by a sale or otherwise, and with what results?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understood that a communication had been addressed to the hon. and learned Gentleman requesting him to postpone putting this Question until Monday.

MR. GORST said, that he had not received the communication referred to by the noble Lord; but he would postpone the Question with pleasure.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE RESOLUTIONS —THE SPIRIT AND BEER DUTY.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yesterday I stated, in reply to the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), that I would, in Committee of Ways and Means, move certain Resolutions with reference to the Revenue. The right hon. Gentleman then asked me whether I had any objection to give at the present hour the heads of the statement which I should have to make in Committee. That is not a very usual thing to do, and I am not aware, indeed, that there is any precedent for it. But the convenience of the House, and that of hon. Members who take an interest in questions of this kind, may be a reason why, on this occasion, I shall, perhaps, be permitted by the House to depart from the ordinary practice. With that permission, I will make a short statement now, premising it by saying that I will enter into no argument whatever. In the first place, I will state what is our most recent estimate of the expenditure under the Vote of Credit, the necessary provision for which so greatly affects the Revenue of the year. I am able to say this—that if the state of affairs which led Her Majesty's Government to ask for the Vote of Credit should present an aspect which would justify the cessation of further preparations, we anticipate that about £9,000,000 out of the total Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 will have been spent or incurred. More than that, I am sure the House will feel that it will not be within my province to state. As to the matters to be dealt with by the Committee of Ways and Means to-night, I have nothing to state to the House on the subject of the Income Tax, or of the other Revenue in the nature of direct taxation proposed in the Budget. We shall continue to prosecute those parts of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill without change; but, in addition to the proposals on the subject of the Income Tax, the Death Duties, the stamp on Bonds to bearer, and the taxation of Corporations, the Budget dealt with the taxation of spirits and of beer; and I have now to state to the House that it is our intention to propose, instead of an additional duty of 2*s.* a gallon on spirits, whether manufactured in the United Kingdom or imported from foreign countries or our Colonies, an additional duty of only 1*s.* a gallon. The Resolution which I shall move to-night in Committee of Ways and Means will carry out that intention; and I may say that, although the practice has not been uniform as to taking Resolutions in Committee of Ways and Means when a duty is reduced, I have thought that it would be fairer to the trade that, on this occasion, a Resolution should be taken in Committee of Ways and Means in order that the change of duty may be brought into operation at the earliest practicable moment. If, instead of taking such a Resolution in Committee of Ways and Means, we waited until the clause was reached in the Bill, the reduction from 12*s.* and 12*s.* 4*d.* a gallon to 11*s.* and 11*s.* 4*d.*, as the case might be, would take place at an uncertain date. But by voting the reduction in Committee of Ways and Means to-night, we shall be able to bring the reduced duty into operation on Tuesday, the earliest day on which it could practically take effect. The second change proposed in the Budget in connection with indirect taxation was the duty on beer. I proposed in the Budget to add 1*s.* to the present duty of 6*s.* 3*d.* per barrel of 36 gallons. We do not propose to make any change in that increase; but in Committee on the Bill we shall provide that the duty shall only last until the 31st of May of next year, so that in the course of the early part of the first Session of the new Parliament, when the Budget is brought forward, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have

to propose a Resolution as to beer, precisely as he will as to tea, which is only an annual duty. That could not be done as to the Spirit Duty. ["Oh, oh!"] I will not argue it at this moment; but, practically, if the duty on spirits were left only determined up to a particular day in next year, the trade and the Revenue would be in a complete state of disorganization. But as to beer, inasmuch as practically it is made and consumed, almost from hand to mouth, the same objection does not exist; and by taking the duty up to the end of May next the receipts of the present financial year will not be affected. Then I may say at once that we propose no other change in the Budget. The right hon. Gentleman opposite refers, in his Amendment, to the item of wine. We do not propose to add to the Wine Duty. We propose to leave the Resolutions as to wine adopted in Committee of Ways and Means and the clauses of the Bill founded upon them exactly as they stand. On that subject also I give no reasons whatever now; but I shall be quite prepared, when the right hon. Gentleman moves his Amendment, to state to the House why we do not consider it expedient to add at the present time to the Wine Duties. The financial effect of the changes we now propose will be a loss to the Revenue of £300,000 for the year. In the Budget I proposed to derive from the additional Income Tax £5,400,000, and certain smaller amounts from the increased Death Duties, from the duty on Corporations, and from the additional Stamp Duties on Bonds to bearer. Altogether those additional duties come to something under £6,000,000. We proposed an addition to indirect taxation of £1,650,000—namely, £900,000 from the 2*s.* duty on spirits, and £750,000 from the additional 1*s.* on 36 gallons of beer. The £750,000 from beer will, of course, remain unchanged, and from spirits we estimate that under the 1*s.* duty we shall receive in the present year £600,000 instead of £900,000. Thus the additions to indirect taxation will amount to £1,350,000. For these charges I will give no reasons now; but we shall be quite prepared on the second reading of the Bill to justify our revised proposals.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is his intention to proceed with the proposal to raise the limit of the 1*s.* duty on wines above the 30 degrees of alcoholic strength?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; I thought I had said I did not propose to alter at all the Resolutions about wine which were adopted in Committee of Ways and Means. We shall propose to carry out precisely the policy recommended to the House in the Budget—that is to say, to leave the Wine Duties alone, except as to taking power to raise the superior limit of the 1*s.* duty to 30 degrees.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how the statement just made will affect the general balance of the National Income and Expenditure?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I will not go into the whole details of the Budget; but, as I have explained, the general effect will be to take £300,000 from the estimated Revenue.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: But with regard to the non-expenditure of the £2,000,000 out of the £11,000,000, how will that affect the general Expenditure?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I beg pardon—I did not catch the exact purport of the noble Lord's first Question. Of course the £2,000,000 which we estimate at present as the saving on the Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 will reduce the amount to be carried forward as the deficit of the year from £2,800,000 to somewhere about £800,000; but to that must be added the £300,000 to which I have just alluded.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: I beg to ask whether the people who have paid the 2*s.* of increased duty on spirits will get it back again; and whether we are to understand that the right hon. Gentleman contemplates that the additional duty on spirits will be permanent, whereas the duty on beer will be subject to revision next year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): As to the first Question, I do not propose that those who have paid the 2*s.* additional duty should receive back 1*s.*—["Oh! oh!" *and* "Why not?"]—for the best of reasons, that those who have paid the

duty have received it back as a general rule from those who have drunk and paid for the spirits. As to the second Question, I thought I had made it very clear that it would be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer next year to consider whether the Beer Duty should be again raised or not. As far as the Spirit Duty is concerned, it will be on the same basis as all other duties.

MR. ONSLOW: I understand that to-night the Chancellor of the Exchequer will propose this Resolution in Committee of Ways and Means. I hope it will be distinctly understood that the House will not pledge itself to-night to pass this Resolution. It seriously affects the trade to a large extent, and it would be well to give them time to consider it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): All I can say is, that I understand the trade will greatly regret if the Resolution reducing the duty is not passed to-night.

MR. ONSLOW: But how about the Beer Duty?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): There is no Resolution needed as to beer, because the duty remains as we proposed it. We shall put words into the Bill providing that the increase of duty should only last to May 31. The only Resolution I shall propose to-night is the one with regard to reducing the duty on spirits, and I am in a position to say that nothing would be more unwelcome to the trade than allowing the Resolution to stand over.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I understand that the Resolution as to spirits which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to move to-night in Committee of Ways and Means would be practically in substitution for the Resolution which the House has already passed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes; from Tuesday next.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Then how will the Bill stand? Will there be a clause establishing one rate of duty on spirits for the two months which have just expired, and another rate for the following 10 months of the year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes; that will be the provision of the Bill. It will establish the rate of duty according to the Budget Resolutions for the month that is passed, and then from Tuesday the reduced rate of 1*s*.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Can the right hon. Gentleman cite any precedent for such a course?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): That is a question of argument. If the right hon. Gentleman has any objection, of course he will, in his speech on Monday, enlarge on the subject, and I shall be in a position to answer him.

MR. GORST: After what hour to-night will the right hon. Gentleman not take the Resolution in Committee of Ways and Means?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The Resolution I intend to propose is one of the most formal character. I propose it solely in the interests of the trade, and therefore I trust there will be no objection to taking it at any hour.

MR. GORST: Then, supposing the ordinary Business goes on until the usual hour, the Resolution may be taken at half-past 12 or 1 o'clock?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes.

MR. HENEAGE: Will not this reduction of the Spirit Duty, in the event of the £2,000,000 being saved out of the Vote of Credit, just prevent the accounts of the year from being balanced?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): That is also a matter of argument, which I would rather not enter upon at present.

MINES, &c.—INUNDATION OF THE PHILADELPHIA COLLIERY, LAMBTON, COUNTY OF DURHAM.

MR. BURT: I beg to ask the Home Secretary, If he has any information with regard to the deplorable inundation at the Philadelphia Colliery?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have received a Report from the Inspector dated last night, and he says 13 men are still entombed in the mine in spite of most strenuous efforts which have been made for their rescue, and I regret to say there are but little hopes of their being found alive. The inrush of water has abated to a considerable extent; but it is still flowing at the rate of about 500,000 gallons per minute. This flow of water renders the work of the explorers so difficult and slow that it

has been determined to cut away through the solid coal to the place where it is expected the men will be found. That place is at a distance of about 30 yards, and at present they are cutting away the coal at the rate of one yard an hour. So far as can be ascertained at present, the accident was caused by cutting into some ancient workings, which were abandoned 80 or 90 years ago, and the plans of which appear to have been very inaccurate.

SUPPLY—GRANT TO H.R.H. PRINCESS BEATRICE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had seen on the Paper to-day for the first time a Notice with regard to a grant of £30,000 to Princess Beatrice as a marriage portion. He wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would promise not to bring on that subject to-night at an unusually late hour?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): That is the customary Resolution following upon the grant of £6,000 a-year to Her Royal Highness. It has been put down for Committee to-night, and I trust there will be no objection to proceeding with it.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION—SIR PETER LUMSDEN.

MR. CHAPLIN gave Notice that on Monday he would ask the Prime Minister, Whether his attention has been directed to the statement in *The Times* of June 5, purporting to be the report of a conversation between Sir Peter Lumsden and *The Times* Correspondent at Vienna, in which the following passage occurred:—

"Our reputation for good faith has suffered considerably among them (the Afghans), and we are still more deeply disgraced in India. What makes all this the harder to bear is the certainty I have that the Russians would never have urged their absurd demands if they had believed for a moment that our Government was in earnest about resisting them. They were not prepared for war, they did not mean war, but then they knew they were dealing with a Government who did mean to fight either, so they played a game of diplomacy and bluster, and won it;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government have received any communication from Sir Peter Lumsden or otherwise which led them to the belief that the statement in question represented in any degree the opinions of that gallant and distinguished officer?

MR. GLADSTONE: Without prejudice to any other matter, I may say that no communication whatever of that kind has been received from Sir Peter Lumsden. I undertook yesterday to reply to a Question of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners) with respect to the negotiations and communications with Russia, and likewise to a Question respecting Business. As regards the communications with Russia, my undertaking had reference to the Question put by the noble Lord whether I was in a position to give any information with respect to the point of arbitration. The state of the case is this:—The two Governments are agreed as to the reference to be made, and are likewise agreed as to the illustrious person to whose judgment they will propose to submit the matter. But the agreement is not yet in its final form, and the request has not yet been made on the part of the two Governments to that illustrious person. Consequently I cannot at present go further than to state that we are agreed upon the matter of reference, and upon the name, and to say that further information will be given at the earliest moment that it is in our power to do so.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

MR. GLADSTONE, in continuation, said: With respect to the order of Business, there are three subjects which will be proceeded with. First, there is the second reading of the Budget Bill; secondly, the second reading of the Crofters (Scotland) Bill; and, thirdly, the introduction of the Bill to which the name of "Coercion Bill" has been given. But I cannot, and do not, concur in that name, but will refer to it as the Bill which is to replace the Crimes Act in Ireland. The Budget Bill will stand, as it does now, for Monday. If that measure should occupy the whole evening on Monday, the Crofters Bill, of course, cannot be brought on that night; but it will be put down as the second Order on Monday. If the Crofters Bill is not brought on on Monday, the

second reading of that Bill will stand as the first Order on Thursday, and the introduction of the Bill to replace the Crimes Act will stand as the second Business on Thursday. Perhaps I may reserve to myself the power to consider whether it would not be for the convenience of the House to make the Motion on an earlier day with respect to the Bill to replace the Crimes Act, simply for the purpose of making it an Order of the Day, and not for the purpose of discussion. If it were not proposed to discuss it at that stage, it would stand after the Crofters Bill on Monday.

MR. SEXTON: It may be for the convenience of the Prime Minister to know that the Bill to replace the Crimes Act will not become an Order of the Day without considerable discussion.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: May I ask if it is the intention of the Government, as, I think, the Prime Minister intimated before the House rose for the Recess, to ask for an increased possession of the time of the House?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I do not make any intimation to that effect. I have not at present seen any such great cause as would justify my making that proposal at the present time.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The right hon. Gentleman has made no mention of another Bill. He said before the Recess that he intended to introduce a Bill dealing with the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act. Does the Government still adhere to that intention?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is the intention of the Government to deal with this question. But I cannot undertake to say anything about the time until we have made some further progress in the three matters to which I have just referred.

NOTICE OF RESOLUTION.

—o—

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: I beg to give Notice that the following are the terms of the Resolution which I will move in Committee of Supply this evening in reference to the Barbavilla convictions:—

"That, in consequence of facts which have recently been ascertained bearing on the cases of persons now undergoing penal servitude for a conspiracy to murder, alleged to have taken place at Barbavilla, county of Westmeath, in March, 1882, it is desirable, in the interests of justice, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant should order a fresh inquiry to be held into the circumstances under which the convictions were obtained in those cases."

MR. SPEAKER said, the Motion could not be made, as the Notice was not sufficient.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: Then, Mr. Speaker, I will not move the Motion; but I will call attention to the subject.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN, who had given the following Notice:—

"To call attention to the means by which convictions for a conspiracy to murder were obtained against certain persons from the neighbourhood of Barbavilla County, of Westmeath, and to move a Resolution,"

said, that as the Resolution, of which he had just given Notice, regarding the Barbavilla convictions was not in Order, he desired now to call attention to the Notice on the subject which stood on the Paper in his name. He desired to say at the outset, in reference to those cases, that he would not have troubled the House with this matter if he were not convinced that a great miscarriage of justice had occurred regarding these prisoners, and that a number of men guiltless of crime were now suffering, through that miscarriage of justice, all the terrrible horrors and pains of penal servitude. Before he undertook to call the attention of the House to those cases, he made it his business to go to the scene of the deplorable events, and to make personally, aided by the parish priest of the locality, an inquiry into them for the purpose of ascertaining, to the best of his ability, the actual facts of the case, and forming a judgment upon them. In the first place, he was inclined to believed that a great wrong had been done when he found

the respected clergyman of the district taking the deep and active interest he did in these cases, and challenging the result of an inquiry into them. That clergyman, the Rev. Father Curry, Administrator, was a man of great judgment and well-known ability, and certainly would be the last man in the world to take any action that would shield criminals from justice. Father Curry's knowledge of the facts, however, convinced him that a great wrong had been done; and so impressed was the rev. gentleman with the gravity of the matter that he had spared neither time, trouble, nor expense in endeavouring to obtain a reconsideration of these cases, because he believed, if the facts were reconsidered by any impartial and competent man in the light of fresh evidence now forthcoming, a reversal of convictions would follow. That a horrible murder had been committed was certain, and clearly there must have been some conspiracy leading up to the murder of Mrs. Smythe; but what he contended was that the true story of that conspiracy was not got at, and that the story on which the convictions were obtained was a fiction. For the conspiracy 11 men had been sentenced to various terms of penal servitude, and he drew attention to the fact that, notwithstanding that the men were tried by Prevention of Crime Act juries in times of panic and excitement, the Crown found great difficulty in securing their conviction; and it was only after repeated endeavours on the part of the prosecutors—five trials and two disagreements of juries—that the Crown were at last able to procure the conviction of the men. That in itself, he thought, would show that the Crown case was a doubtful and shaky one; and he contended that the men were convicted at last, after so many trials, by the jury giving too ready credence to perjured witnesses like the informers M'Keon, whose story on the face of it was incredible and absurd, and who would never have been listened to in ordinary times by an ordinary jury. As for the other informer, Patrick Cole, he subsequently recanted his evidence, and declared it was perjury, and that he had concocted it. He was forced by temptation into giving the evidence, and now he wanted, as far as possible, to make amends for committing the perjury which had contributed very materially to the conviction of innocent men. Than the M'Keons, father and son, two worse characters were not to be found in a very wide district of Ireland. Their character was notoriously and admittedly bad. The younger M'Keon was, by his own admission, a perjurer. It was on the evidence of these men, and of Patrick Cole, that the convictions were obtained. The evidence of these perjurers was allowed to outweigh a mass of evidence to the contrary effect brought forward by witnesses of good repute. The jury classes at that time were panic-stricken; and it was only at such a time, when rumours of murders and assassination were rife, that it was possible for even such a jury as tried the men in this case to accept the evidence of bad characters and discard the reliable evidence of men whose characters were untainted. The Crown Officers very naturally used every trick and stratagem within their power to obtain convictions. They first tried one batch of men against whom they fancied they had the strongest evidence, and into that evidence they brought testimony not merely with regard to the alleged conspiracy, but also with regard to the murder itself, for the purpose of influencing the minds of the jury. A conviction, after one disagreement, of the jury having been obtained against these men, of course the weight of that conviction told very heavily against the second batch of prisoners, although the evidence against them was very much weaker than against the first. The evidence was to the effect that the murder was the result of a conspiracy entered into on the night of the 24th of March, 1882, at the house of the Widow Fagan, who lived about half-a-mile from the spot at which Mrs. Smythe was assassinated. The story of the M'Keons was that a large number of men were invited to this house on the pretence that a dance was going to be held, and that while the dance was going on inside the house these men formed themselves outside into an assassination society and proceeded to administer an oath. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) did not believe any party of Irishmen ever framed a society under such a name; but let that pass. The story was that the oath bound them to remove tyrants and hard landlords; but the M'Keons said they did not take the oath themselves—they saw

what was going on, and then they took their departure. But the idea that persons engaged in the terrible work of forming a sworn conspiracy for the purpose of assassination would allow two men of bad repute to remain amongst them after they had refused to join the society was too absurd to be entertained. The younger M'Keon said he was perfectly willing to take the oath, but that his father checked him. ' And this was the drunkard, thief, and perjurer on whose evidence a large number of men were sent into penal servitude. The story told by the two M'Keons in the later stages had been found to correspond, and the allegation had been made on the part of the Crown that this could not have been so unless the story was substantially true, inasmuch as these two men had no means of concocting it; but this was one of the serious points of the case. The rev. gentleman whose pamphlet he held in his hand, and who took so deep an interest in this case from motives worthy of a clergyman, had evidence to prove that the story of these informers was a concoction from first to last; and he was prepared to come forward with proof positive that the two men had opportunities of making their evidence correspond when they were in Dublin in charge of the police. The first statement given by the younger M'Keon made no reference, however, to the alleged meeting at Widow Fagan's, on which the whole case turned. The father, on being told that such was the fact, said—"Let me have a chat with him, and we will soon settle the matter." The Judge who tried the case, unaware of some of the tricks of the Crown, stated in the course of the trials that if any such thing as that had happened the sources of justice would be polluted. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) stood there mainly for the purpose of bringing before the House the important fact that the two M'Keons got an opportunity from the Crown of concocting their story and making it agree in all its parts. If that fact could be proved, would the Attorney General not accede to the application that this case should be re-heard? He did not mean that the case should be re-heard before a jury, with great trouble and labour, but that an impartial and high-minded member of the Bar should be appointed to hear this new and important evidence, and give judgment upon the matter. This had been done before, and with excellent results. It was on the evidence of a police constable of good character and repute that the Rev. Father Curry would prove that these men had opportunities of concocting their evidence. This police constable had no interest in the matter except the interests of justice; and, indeed, his interference in the case would tell not for him, but against him, with the police authorities. He (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) had a long interview with the informer Cole. He asked him why he tendered his perjured evidence. Cole said he had been in gaol for about 10 or 11 months. He had been a farmer in comfortable circumstances; he had a wife and family to provide for; he was informed that he had been sworn against by the M'Keons as being present at a meeting at the Widow Fagan's, and that unless he gave evidence in the case he would have no chance of escape. There was, indeed, no chance of escape for any man accused under the Crimes Act. Cole's story was taken down by a police constable; but next day the police constable came and said—"This story is of no use whatever; we have all that already. Unless you swear to the meeting at the Widow Fagan's you will have to take your chance with the rest." That was the terrible temptation which overbore the virtue of this man. He made up his mind to swear what the Crown wanted. He swore that this meeting took place at Fagan's; that he was there, and so were Dan Curley and Michael Fagan, and that Dan Curley made a speech. Cole told him (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) that not only did he not hear any such speech, but that he was not at the alleged meeting, and there was corroborative evidence of the fact that he was miles away at the time. Cole also assured him that he never saw Dan Curley in his life, and that he did not believe any such meeting was ever held. It was upon such rotten evidence that the Crown Officers were satisfied to hold those men in penal servitude. He hoped they would think better of it. It was true Lord Spencer had refused an inquiry into this matter; but his refusal was based, of course, upon the allegations of the policemen, and magistrates, and others concerned in the getting up of the case. He hoped that the Crown

would not persevere in their opposition to the proposed inquiry. He held in his hand a letter of one of the jurors, who, writing to Father Curry, said that he had no hesitation in stating that he would have acquitted the prisoners if it had been proved on their behalf that the M'Keons had an opportunity of communicating with one another while in charge of the police. That was the very thing that he was prepared to establish on evidence that could not be refuted. He omitted referring to a number of minor points. He relied upon the larger issues to show that these men had been punished upon evidence altogether tainted, unreliable, and unworthy of belief. When the evidence of these three men, on whom the whole case rested, was taken away, what remained? The chief witness, young M'Keon, was a journeyman blacksmith, like one of the prisoners, and had been proved to be a person of bad character. He had threatened to take the life of the prisoner referred to, with whom he was upon bad terms. He did not do so, however, but stabbed him in another way by means of a perjured oath, which consigned him to seven years' penal servitude. If he might say so, he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Walker) for the honour of the Crimes Act, whether he would not endeavour to show that under that Act no evil was done or wrong committed in this particular case? He challenged the justice of the verdict in any event; but this he would say—that some of the men who had been convicted of this alleged conspiracy were as guiltless as the hon. and learned Gentleman himself. Owing to an accident he was not able to move his Motion; but he hoped they would have a statement from the hon. and learned Gentleman on the subject. So impressed were the Irish Members with the necessity for a re-investigation of this case that if they did not get a satisfactory answer to their request for an inquiry the application would be renewed upon a future date.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that the hon. Member for Westmeath had related the circumstances which took place in regard to the murder which was committed in the county he represented. The case had been stated and the evidence reviewed in a pamphlet which had been put into the hands of most of the Members of that House. The pamphlet set forth with the skill of an advocate the evidence which was given on the trial, and also some evidence which was not given at all. For this reason, the House could not form a fair judgment or ascertain the real merits of the case from reading the pamphlet. The occurrence to which the hon. Member had referred was the murder of Mrs. Smythe on Sunday, the 2nd of April, 1882, while she was returning home from church in a closed carriage with her brother-in-law. Just as they had reached the entrance door of their residence shots were fired, one of which took effect on this unfortunate lady, and she was killed. The shot was undoubtedly intended for her brother-in-law. The hon. Member had admitted that that murder must have been the result of a conspiracy. Obviously, many were engaged in that conspiracy. It was in 1882 when such conspiracies were rife. What the hon. Member had said was that the Crown had not been fortunate enough to get the right men, and that the real criminals were still at large—in other words, he alleged that 14 innocent men were arrested, and 11 of them were punished improperly. This was a serious charge, and one which would require to be well supported. Now, he wished to keep separate the evidence of Cole from that of the other witnesses. The prisoners were tried in two batches—five at first, the remainder at another time. Cole was not a witness when the first batch was tried, and their conviction was obtained without his testimony. He was one who was, perhaps, more deeply implicated than the others in the conspiracy to the existence of which he swore. There were three trials of the first batch. The first trial proved abortive, because when the Judge proceeded to charge one of the jurors was suddenly taken ill. On the second trial there was a disagreement of the jurors; but on the third the men were found guilty of conspiracy to murder. The charge was one of conspiracy to murder, because no human eye had seen the crime committed. He did not intend to go into the whole of the details of the case, as they had not yet a Court of Criminal Appeal, and that House was not one. He would, however, give a brief outline of the evidence upon which a con-

viction was obtained. The prisoners were arrested on the information given by the two men named M'Keon, who subsequently at the trial deposed that they had been present at a meeting held in a widow's house in the locality; that it was attended by a number of men, among whom were all the prisoners, and also three persons who were afterwards of notorious character. They were members of the "Invincible Society," as it was called—namely, Curley, M'Caffrey, and Michael Fagan, who were executed for the terrible murders in the Park in May, 1882. Under the direction of these three men, who had been sent down to the district for the purpose, a local society was formed with the object of removing obnoxious persons and others, landlords and other tyrants, and that among those whom it was determined to murder was Mr. Smythe, who had made himself obnoxious by a certain eviction. A circle was formed outside the house, a prayer-book was passed round, and an oath administered. There was nothing incredible in the story, for such meetings and such formalities were known to have occurred in different parts of Ireland about the time of this murder. Some of those present did not like to join, and the two M'Keons excused themselves from taking the oath, as they said they would attend at a subsequent meeting, and two others named Mulvaney and Cosgrove excused themselves also. The M'Keons gave at the trial a very precise account of what occurred at this meeting, and they mentioned the names of 14 men, who, they said, were present. If they were inventing a story it was not likely they would have been so foolish as to name so many men, for it would have been much safer, if their story was untrue, to have given the names of only very few as present. There were many circumstances which corroborated the statement of the M'Keons. One of the M'Keons stated that on the day of the murder he saw Elliott, one of the prisoners, going with a cut down gun or revolver under his coat towards the place where the murder took place, that he heard shots fired, and that shortly afterwards Elliott came back with the gun again under his coat, and said he was very dry, as he had left the whisky bottle behind him. In the place where the murderers must have lain when waiting to commit the murder a whisky bottle was subsequently found by the police. Then, again, the M'Keons stated that the gun which Elliott carried was broken up in a forge, that the wood was burnt, and the lock and other metal belonging to it were hidden in the wall. On examination of the wall behind the forge this lock was discovered. All these circumstances were before the jury, and the M'Keons were severely cross-examined by one of the ablest counsel at the Bar, his learned friend Dr. Boyd, and the jury believed them and convicted the prisoners. The learned Judge, the Lord Chief Baron, had expressed his concurrence in the verdict of the jury, and this was a Judge whom he had rightly heard hon. Members opposite describe as one of the most enlightened and impartial judges in Ireland. There was a mis-statement in the pamphlet, where it attributed to a learned Judge that in his charge he had expressed his belief of the prisoner's guilt. The word "not" was omitted from the quotation. He stated the contrary of what was attributed to him, and that he had always endeavoured in criminal cases to 'postpone until passing sentence the expression of any opinion on the case itself. With regard to the second batch of prisoners, after the first trial the man Cole, through his wife, volunteered to give evidence for the Crown; but now the statement of Cole was that the evidence which he voluntarily gave at that trial was nothing but the wicked invention and creation of his own brain. He, however, believed that the evidence of that man, twice given on oath, was far more to be credited than his unsworn and unsigned statement afterwards.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN: But he is prepared to swear to it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that might be; but he attached greater weight to what was sworn to on two previous occasions. Cole's motive in volunteering his evidence was obvious; it was to save his life and property. It appeared he could not sell his farm when he went back to his native place; he was very odious there, and his presence there was the subject of questions in the House. Being in that position, with the odium of an in-

former's name attaching to him, he then came forward to make an unsigned and unsworn statement which the hon. Member for Westmeath, no doubt with perfect *bona fides*, said he implicitly believed. Then, could anyone find fault with the way in which the learned Judge left the question to the jury? His conduct of the case was most fair, and he expressed himself perfectly satisfied that no other verdict could have been found. Under the circumstances, though he disclaimed the wisdom of re-trying cases in the House over which a jury had presided not once only, but two and three times, he had thought it right, having regard to the observations of the hon. Member for Westmeath, to give the House an outline of the case. The hon. Gentleman asked what harm could be done by granting an inquiry. Much harm would be done if by pursuing such a course public confidence in the administration of justice in Ireland would be shaken. Nothing could be more disastrous than to grant on insufficient grounds an inquiry which would only create a suspicion that justice was not being rightly administered.

Mr. SEXTON stated that the real reasons why the Irish Executive refused to grant an inquiry into this lamentable case had not yet appeared, nor had they even been suggested in the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Those reasons were two, the first being the obstinate determination of Lord Spencer to allow no revision of the trial in a case of this kind resulting in a verdict and sentence, no matter what might be the cogency of the fresh evidence adduced, and no matter to what extent public justice and the public conscience might require it. The deplorable obstinacy of the Lord Lieutenant troubled more eminent persons than the hon. and learned Gentleman. It affected the politics and policy that prevailed beyond the shores of Ireland, and assumed a significant prominence even among the Imperial questions. The second reason was that the police agents who managed the case, and who worked up a putrid mass of perjury, had been rewarded with promotion and gifts; their names had been mentioned in the roll of honour, and they had been held up as examples to the remainder of the force. It would, therefore, not be convenient now to admit that they had gained their fame, their emolument, and their honour by practices which, if they did not amount directly to subornation of perjury, at least amounted to holding out gross temptations to the dishonest and abandoned. What man outside the Castle was safe either in his property or in his life if an informer chose to take the sacred Book into his hands and put it to his lips to accuse his fellows of a crime for which life might be forfeited? It was said by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite that justice would be imperilled in Ireland if cases like the present were re-opened. But how could it be imperilled? The 11 men who had been convicted were now in penal servitude, and they would remain in the same position if the inquiry into the case should not show that they had been improperly found guilty. The fact was, the interests of justice were more fatally injured in that which ought to be the very citadel of justice—the heart of the people—when one verdict against which the public conscience cried out was upheld than they could be even by the escape from punishment of 100 guilty men. What a horrible contrast might be drawn between the system in Ireland and that pursued in the English Home Office. In England the Home Secretary was willing to peruse the papers sent to him with reference to any case in which justice was alleged to have miscarried. He consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, and a competent agent was sent to the scene of the crime to investigate the circumstances on the spot. Unlike Lord Spencer, the Home Secretary refused to look upon the verdict of a jury as immutable and final. He weighed carefully all the evidence, whether old or fresh, bearing upon a case, and, after this revision of the trial, decided whether the prisoner should be set free or not. Had such a course been followed in the Barbavilla case, and had an accredited agent of the Government been sent to examine the hut of the widow, where the conspiracy was alleged to have been entered into, he would have found that the cabin was so small that a cat could hardly turn in it, and that to dance in it would have been impossible. This would have proved the absurdity of the evidence given at the trial, to the effect that a dance was held in the cabin by the supposed conspirators. He feared that it was useless to hope for a revision

The Attorney General for Ireland

of the case. He knew of a case in which, after the conviction of an innocent man, the real offender, who had absconded after the perpetration of the offence, returned to Ireland with the object of being arrested, his conscience having smitten him. From the day of his return home to the present time, however, he had not been interfered with by the police, who knew the purpose with which he had returned. Why was this? Because if the man were arrested and tried, the impropriety of the verdict against the innocent prisoner would be proved, and Lord Spencer's system would be discredited. That system amounted to this—"Have a prisoner found guilty by fair means if you can; but, at any rate, have him found guilty." He complained that it was a fixed practice for Catholics to be struck off the juries. The reason of this was that it was thought, owing to their creed, they might have a general sympathy with the accused, and that a Protestant would not inquire too closely or curiously into the case as stated by the Crown. Of course, the result of such a system was that frequently unjust verdicts were given, and that innocent men were sent to prison for offences they never committed. What human force could induce the Castle Authorities to give up their system of suppression and silence when the Archbishop of Tuam's appeal was unheeded, and the case of Myles Joyce remained unremedied? When such things happened from time to time in Ireland, what hope could there be for a Motion in the House of Commons? Even the ordinary means of establishing truth were tampered with in Ireland, and police officials resorted to the administration of intoxicating drinks to witnesses undergoing private examination, in order, no doubt, to deaden their consciences. In the case of the 11 men who had been convicted of taking part in the murder of Mrs. Smythe, it was beyond dispute that Patrick Cole, the informer, had been protected by a guard of honour of four constables as long as he had persisted in his perjury, which had secured the conviction of those persons—the life of an informer was a precious thing to the Government in Ireland—but the moment that he declared that he had given false evidence with regard to them, the guard of honour was withdrawn, and anybody was welcome to kill him as far as the Government were concerned. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The Prime Minister shook his head. Well, the right hon. Gentleman might dissent from his (Mr. Sexton's) inference; but the fact was undeniable. The statement of Cole himself, that he had taken part in securing the wrongful conviction of 11 innocent men, had been corroborated to the fullest extent by the solemn confession of his wife. One night the distinguished priest who was the author of the pamphlet he held in his hand received a message that the wife of Patrick Cole wished to see him. Knowing her relation to Cole the informer, the rev. gentleman refused to see her except in the presence of a witness. He summoned to his aid an aged and experienced priest, and they received the woman in the sacristy of the church. She threw herself upon her knees and made a statement, acknowledging that she encouraged her husband to offer evidence, and that she did so knowing the evidence that her husband was to give—and did give—was concocted by him to satisfy the Crown, and for the sake of herself and her children. Patrick Cole did not offer to give evidence against the prisoners until he had been in gaol for upwards of six months, and until he had been visited by his wife, who had implored him to do anything to obtain his release. What were the inducements to Cole to swear falsely? The wife of a fellow-prisoner who had visited Cole in gaol, in company with Cole's wife, swore on the table in Court that when she went into the gaol she said to Cole—"These M'Keons are swearing terrible false;" and Cole replied—"I would swear anything myself to get out of this." This was the case of a man who had seen the first batch of prisoners convicted upon the same evidence which he knew would be brought against himself; and therefore he was perfectly aware that he had only the option before him of penal servitude, or of committing perjury. In all matters that were essential to a conviction, the evidence of the M'Keowns was identical. In all other matters which they would not have the ingenuity to agree about, because they could not anticipate the questions, they disagreed entirely. There was no doubt that the police gave the M'Keons an opportunity of meeting. He had seen in the

public papers a letter from four of the jurymen, stating that if it were proved that the M'Keons had any opportunity of communicating together they would not have convicted the prisoners. There was abundance of evidence that such communication did take place. If ever there was a case in which there was the gravest doubt, it was the Barbavilla case. After an honest and impartial study of it, without the shadow of a desire to impede the administration of justice when it was directed against the really guilty, he was compelled to accept the view that although the Government might refuse to do justice to these unfortunate men, they could not entirely defeat the ends of justice; and the time would come next year or the year after when the sentence passed on these men would be reversed, and when the brace of wretches, the drunken sot and the youthful perjurer, the two M'Keons, would suffer the punishment due to their cowardly and abominable crime.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, he regretted to find the House so thin when a question of this kind was under discussion, as this case was one of especial importance at the present time. In a short time the House would be called on to renew certain provisions of an Act under which these men were convicted; and although a pamphlet containing all the facts had been circulated amongst the English, Scotch, and Welsh Members, he ventured to say that not three English, or Scotch, or Welsh Members had taken the trouble to read it, and not a dozen Members cared to stay in the House to hear the statements of the Irish Members. That showed how hopeless it was for Ireland to obtain redress of its grievances through that House. If they could not reach English Members through their conscience, they would at least reach them through a matter of vital importance to them—the convenient despatch of Public Business. So much care was taken in the packing of the jury as to bring discredit on trial by jury, and to suggest that it would be better to abolish it altogether.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Eight o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 8th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (108).
Committee—Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) (109-129).
Committee—Report—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2) * (83); Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation * (82); Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation * (81); East India Unclaimed Stocks * (113).
Third Reading—Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) * (118), and *passed*.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—(No. 109.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, in rising to move that the House do resolve itself into Committee on this very important Bill, I think it is right I should give a very brief sketch of its principal provisions. Your Lordships will doubtless remember that when the Franchise Bill, which it is calculated will give the voting power to not less than 2,000,000 additional persons, was under discussion, it was considered just that it should be accompanied by a Redistribution Bill, and accordingly Her Majesty's Government gave a very strong pledge that they would use their utmost efforts to introduce and carry such a Bill during the present Session; and in redemption of that pledge the present Bill has been passed through the other House, and has now reached your Lordships. The difficulties attending a Bill of such minuteness and of so far-reaching a character could hardly have been overcome, so as to allow of the Bill being passed, had it not been for the Government having the advantage of free communication with the Leaders of the Party opposite with regard to the principal provisions of the measure. Those communications have resulted, as your Lordships are aware, in an agreement as to the main principles of the Bill; and the agreement come to has been most honourably and faithfully followed by the Party opposite; and it is a matter for congratula-

tion that, by their agreement and the general support which has been accorded to the Bill, it has now reached its present stage. The principle of the Bill is to redress the great inequalities which have existed, up to the present time, in the distribution of seats, and especially the very great inequalities which have existed between county and borough representation as regards the population of the several constituencies. In a matter of this kind, it was impossible to produce exact equality unless we had done what I am sure your Lordships would not have approved — arbitrarily divided the whole country into electoral divisions, without any reference to ancient practice or tradition. We have not pursued that course, but have endeavoured, as far as possible, to respect the ancient divisions of the country, and to make no unnecessary changes. The result is that certain anomalies, as between some constituencies and others, exist in the Bill; but they are very few in number, and of no great extent, the general result being to adjust the inequalities I referred to in a manner that, upon the whole, is to be regarded as substantially equitable and fair. I may mention that, under the present system in England, the proportion of seats to population is, in counties, one to 70,800 persons, and, in boroughs, one to 41,200. Under the Bill the proportion will be one to 52,800 in counties, and one to 52,700 in boroughs. To obtain these results it has been necessary that the Bill should be of a far-reaching character; and, accordingly, the present Bill deals with a much larger number of seats than either the great Reform Bill of 1832 or the Bill of 1867. The plan pursued has, in the first place, been that boroughs have been disfranchised in which there was not a population of 15,000. In the second place, what are known as the Hundred Boroughs, such as Cricklade, and large rural boroughs like Stroud, have been merged into the counties. Thirdly, one Member has been taken from every borough which has not a population of 50,000, and one Member has also been taken from each of the three counties of Herefordshire, Rutland, and Sligo. In addition to that, the boroughs of Macclesfield and Sandwich, which had been disfranchised for corrupt practices, have been merged in the counties. Besides the seats which have been thus made available, it has been determined to increase the number of Members of the House of Commons by 12, in order to obtain a sufficient number of seats for redistribution. By these operations 162 seats have been gained—namely, 134 in England, 2 in Scotland, and 26 in Ireland. To these must be added the seats taken from the disfranchised boroughs of Beverley, Bridgwater, Cashel, and Sligo, 6 in all. With the 12 additional Members to which I have alluded, the total number of seats available for redistribution is therefore 180. The seats have been distributed in this way—97 Members have been given to the counties, and 83 to existing and new boroughs and the Metropolis. The result of the operations is as follows: — At present, in England and Wales, the counties have 187 Members, and the boroughs 297; under the Bill the counties will have 253 Members, and the boroughs 237. In Scotland at present there are 32 county seats and 26 borough seats; under the Bill there are 39 county seats and 31 borough seats. In Ireland the present distribution is 64 Members for counties, and 37 for boroughs; under the Bill there will be 85 for counties, and 16 for boroughs. The totals for the United Kingdom are as follow: — There are now 283 county seats and 360 borough seats; whereas, under the Bill, there will be 377 county seats, and 284 borough seats. There is another point which your Lordships will probably regard as of some importance. The rural and town constituencies have been kept separate as far as possible, and towns have not been unnecessarily merged with the counties, so as to deprive the counties of their rural character. Of course, under the Bill, a large number of small towns are merged in the counties; but, on the other hand, large additions have been made to boroughs. It may be important that the House should know exactly the results. In England and Wales the population taken from the counties is 185,627; in Scotland, 45,205; and in Ireland, 13,478 —making a total of 1,244,310. On the other side of the account, the population merged in the counties is—in England and Wales, 924,039; in Scotland, 23,903; and in Ireland, 168,070—making 1,116,012, as a result of the whole operation. I ought also to mention

what has been done as regards the Metropolis. At the present time there are only 22 Metropolitan Members; under the Bill there will be 59 Members. An addition has been made throughout the Metropolis, and a diminution in one case only—that of the City of London, which now has 4, and will in future have 2 Members only. The original plan of the Bill was to take the districts under the Metropolis Management Act, and to follow those divisions to a considerable extent; but, in some cases, this plan has been altered in the House of Commons. I need not allude in detail to the different cases. But although there has been a considerable increase in the number of Metropolitan Members, even now the Metropolis will not have its full proportion of Members as compared with other parts of the United Kingdom. Under the Bill the Metropolis will have one Member to 65,000; whereas the proportion in the rest of the Kingdom will be one to 52,800. There is another point with regard to the Bill to which I may direct the attention of the House. We have introduced a plan to divide constituencies returning several Members into single-Member districts. Many have held that is necessary to respect the right of minorities to representation; but, although many ingenious schemes have been propounded —so ingenious, in fact, as to be rather difficult to understand—what has been adopted, in order not to neglect this important part of the subject, has been what is known in France as *scrutin d'arrondissement*. In boroughs, however, where there are only 2 Members, those 2 are still left. That, no doubt, is an anomaly, and no one can deny that it is so; but it is not essential to the working of the Bill that everything should be perfectly logical. I believe that now I have explained all the really important parts of the Bill. There is, however, another large part of the Bill—that which deals with names of divisions—upon which, I think, your Lordships will not require me to say much. All I will say is, that there is no general system whatever with regard to these names; every kind of plan has been adopted with regard to different parts of the country. In some counties the names are compass names alone. In others there are alternative names; and in others, again, the districts are named from towns only. I will only add that, from the Amendments proposed to this Bill, which are not very numerous, I think it is clear that your Lordships are disposed generally to receive it with satisfaction; and I may congratulate the House and the country upon a work of this extraordinary magnitude having been brought to a satisfactory conclusion mainly through the good sense and moderation displayed—with the exception, perhaps, of a short period at the close of last Session and the earlier part of the Autumn—upon both sides, which, in my opinion, forms a most happy augury for the continuance and good working of our Constitutional Government in the future. I now beg leave to move that the House resolve itself into Committee upon the Bill.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

LORD DENMAN, in rising, according to Notice, to move, as an Amendment, that the House do resolve itself into Committee that day six months, said, it seemed as if their Lordships would rather encourage the advocacy of anyone than his (Lord Denman's). In 1856, the Earl of Clancarty had waited on him stating his intention to, and afterwards moved the rejection of the Life Peerage Bill, against which he (Lord Denman) had already given Notice; but, in every case, either a vote in "another place," or a reaction on the part of their Lordships, had justified his early opposition. On another occasion the Earl of Malmesbury had opposed, and succeeded, on third reading, in defeating, a Bill for 28 Life Peers; while, against the second reading, not a Teller could be found by him (Lord Denman). In the first-mentioned Bill his advice had been followed, and Lord Wensleydale became an hereditary Peer in July, 1856, and Lord Kingsdown in 1858, and for 20 years the appeals were well decided without any paid Law Lords. On the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill he (Lord Denman) had given Notice of opposition to the third reading; but the late Duke of Marlborough took it out of his hands, and, to his great honour, succeeded in rejecting the Bill by exertions which might be supposed to have shortened his valuable life. On the present occasion he (Lord Denman) could not hope to succeed at first; but, on a measure on which

opinions were always fluctuating, opposition would arise hereafter. On June 26, 1855, Lord Lyndhurst, in a most remarkable speech, said that—

"No man can admire more than I do the extraordinary eloquence of the right hon. Gentlemen . . . . . but I must say that I do not regret . . . . . that they (Sir James Graham and Mr. Gladstone) have retired from the Cabinet. With all their talents they do not appear to me to possess that manly character, that vigour of mind, and that fixity of purpose, which are essential to a Cabinet Minister at a period like the present, though in a time of calm and peace nothing could be more ornamental or useful than their services."—(3 *Hansard*, [139] 136.)

But how, in time of peace, could such a vague measure as the present be useful? The multiplication of new boroughs and of candidates made it an object to name a talking lady for Camberwell. The names of counties were not according to the definition before the 7th Schedule, as it originally stood in "another place." "High Peak" was confined to a small part of that well-known district. The City of London was deprived of two Members. Sheffield was cut into small divisions. The minority vote had not prevented all votes being given on one side. Where there were four Members, four votes should be given to each voter, and so the hearts of all men be unanimous. He was convinced that what Mr. H. Drummond called the "counting of noses" was carried too far, and felt sure that before the completion of the registration much alteration would be made by the maturer judgment of the people.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On Question, That the word ("now") stand part of the Motion?

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

LORD EMLY, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—

"To ask, What are the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the giving a Member to the Royal University of Ireland?"

said: My Lords, in accordance with the Notice I have given, I rise to ask my noble Friend below me (the Earl of Kimberley) to explain why, by this Bill, the Royal University of Ireland is excluded from Parliamentary representation? I ask this question on behalf of the Senate of the University. Our case is surely a reasonable one. We ask your Lordships to deal with us as you dealt with the University of London in 1867. Our claims, I shall show you, are much stronger than theirs were then. They obtained their Member, without depriving any other University of any of its privileges; and we entirely repudiate the suggestion made in the other House that our Member should be taken from the University of Dublin. We shall be the foremost in defence of its present right of representation, which all, without distinction of Party, admit that it uses so well. I am confident, my Lords, that if you will give me your attention for a very few minutes, I shall be able to show that, from the number of the graduates as compared with that of the Universities that have Parliamentary representation, from its peculiarly representative character, and by the precedent passed 17 years ago, a serious and palpable injustice will be done to the Royal University if it is not given a Member. I know the difficulty which the compact between the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) and Mr. Gladstone opposes to any alteration in this Bill; but a compact to commit injustice is immoral, and can bind nobody's conscience. Now, putting aside Durham, which has only a few hundred graduates, and Victoria, which, I believe, has none, every University in the United Kingdom, with the exception of the Royal University, is given by this Bill Parliamentary representation. Let your Lordships compare the London with the Royal University. I have a Return here from which the names of the deceased members of each have been eliminated; and I find that while the London University has only 2,400 electors the Royal University would have 2,700. Again, the annual increase in the Royal is double that in the London University. In the four years beginning with 1881, the London University increased by 300, the Royal by 600; so that in 10 years the electors of the latter will probably be double those of the former. Then, my Lords, I ask you to recollect that the London University is merely a supplement to the existing Universities, while the Royal University is pre-eminently national, embracing, as it does, large classes who would otherwise be excluded from University education. It is the University of the Catholics and Presbyterians, constituting

the vast bulk of the population of Ireland. On its Senate sit the Representatives of all the religious Bodies of Ireland; and it is the only University in Ireland to which large numbers of the Catholics of Ireland can go without violating their consciences. Then, again, while the London University is only an examining Body, the Royal University teaches through its Fellows, and among those Fellows are many who have won the highest distinctions, such as Professors Cunningham, Hopkins, and Arnold. Now, my Lords, I come to precedents. In 1867 your Lordships gave a Member to the London University, which then had somewhere about 1,300 electors. You did so by acclamation, without an objection, without a division. I recollect that Mr. Bright on that occasion said that, although he was opposed to any University representation, because he found that University Members always voted against him, he would vote for London University, seeing that other Universities had Members in the House of Commons. How can that precedent be got over? Is it wise, my Lords, especially at this time, to inflict a glaring injustice on the flower of the middle classes of Ireland; on the young men among them of the highest spirit, culture, and abilities? Is it wise to flash before their eyes the comparison of London University, with some 1,300 or 1,400 electors, 18 years ago getting a Member by acclamation, with Dublin, with nearly double the number, now contumeliously refused; and is this the equal justice to Ireland of which Her Majesty's Ministers are the special Representatives and patrons? My Lords, what is the argument that will be used against me on the other side of the question? Some doctrinaires are opposed to all University representation, and object to its being extended. I reply to them as Mr. Bright did—"Refuse all, or admit all." It is difficult for me to well conceive how any rational man can believe that high learning and culture are likely to be too largely represented in the next Parliament, or that the educated classes in Ireland will be masters of so many constituencies that it is necessary to perpetrate an injustice to deprive them of this one. Such a course reminds me of an answer given in 1874 by an elector in a Southern county in Ireland to a friend who entreated him not to vote for an uneducated candidate. "Sure," he said, "the educated men have had the country long enough." Another argument I have heard is—Ireland is not entitled to have three University Members. Surely, my Lords, we are still, thank God, a United Kingdom. You cannot refuse a Member to the only unrepresented University, otherwise entitled to have one, on account of the particular part of the United Kingdom in which it happens to be placed. You might as well disfranchise an English town because there are so few urban constituencies in Ireland. This, I repeat, is the only unrepresented University in the United Kingdom. I thank you sincerely, my Lords, for having allowed me to plead the cause of this University. It was founded by the late Government. Its success has been greater than the most sanguine could have expected it to be. Many of the best men in Ireland of every school in politics, and of every religious denomination, have laboured, and are still labouring hard, to raise it to the level of the best of your ancient Universities. Do not, I entreat you, allow the mark of inferiority to be branded on its brow; do not allow it to be left alone of all the Universities of this United Kingdom without the distinction of being represented in Parliament.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT said, he thought the noble Lord who had just spoken (Lord Emly) had made out a good case on behalf of the Royal University of Ireland. He (Viscount Powerscourt) would call their Lordships' attention to the fact that the Universities having representation—notably the London University—had always sent to Parliament distinguished Members. He could not think that the Royal University would be an exception to the rule. If, as he conceived it was, it were held worthy of the franchise, he heartily supported the proposal.

THE EARL OF GRANARD said, that the Royal University had realized much of the anticipations of its founders; but there could be no doubt that, if the present demand were resisted by the Government and their Lordships' House, it would be such a slur upon the institution that its prosperity and success in the future would be materially affected. He considered it a gross anomaly that, when the franchise was being extended,

and it was already possessed by other Universities, such a University as this, consisting of a Body so learned and so eminently fitted to exercise the franchise, should be debarred from the privilege.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he also supported the proposal of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Emly). He wished their Lordships would take note of the fact that it was supported not only on the Liberal, but also on the Opposition side of the House. He thought it would have been easy to afford a Member for the Royal University, which, from its numbers and from its national position, was eminently entitled to consideration in this respect. He, therefore, regretted that the Government had not seen their way to give a Member to the Royal University of Ireland.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD suggested that out of the 10 supernumerary Members that had been allotted to Ireland provision might be made for a Representative of the Royal University.

THE DUKE OF ABERCORN said, he cordially concurred in regretting that Her Majesty's Government had not thought fit to accord representation to the Royal University. Although a recent creation, that University was an institution of great and increasing importance, and represented a large proportion of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. As such a representative institution, it certainly was entitled to representation, and he very much regretted that the Government had not seen their way to afford it at least one Member. At the same time, he and those who agreed with him would object altogether to any re-adjustment or increase of the numbers of Members at present fixed by the Bill for that purpose, and which would necessitate an interference with the number of Members which the University of Dublin now returned with so much credit to itself and such advantage to the country.

THE EARL OF ROSSE said, he cordially supported the proposal to give a Member to the Royal University of Ireland.

LORD FITZGERALD said, that, taking, as he did, a great deal of interest in the question, he hoped the noble Earl in charge of the Bill (the Earl of Kimberley) might find it in his power to facilitate the application of his noble Friend. He did not disguise from himself that there was a great deal of practical difficulty surrounding the question; but, however much it might be, it could be overcome by the Government if they felt inclined to yield to the manifest wish of the Irish Peers. He agreed with the noble Duke (the Duke of Abercorn) that those who supported this proposal felt no hostility whatever to the existing representation of Dublin University, and he would appeal to the Government to leave this question to be decided by their Lordships. Indeed, if interference with that institution were necessarily involved, he should hesitate to adopt the present proposal. He would remind the Government that it was exceedingly desirable at the present time, even outside the merits of University representation, that wealth, education, and devotion to the institutions of the Empire should be represented, and the only place they could look with confidence for such representation would be the giving of a Member to the Royal University of Ireland. He would point out that the whole of the middle class education of Ireland which was not covered by the Dublin University was in the hands of this Royal University, and strongly appealed to their Lordships to give favourable consideration to the proposal of his noble Friend (Lord Emly).

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, there was such a general concurrence of opinion from those persons in the House who were willing and able to speak on behalf of the Royal University and its interests that it gave him great pleasure to hear that that institution was so successful. It had been said that the refusal to give the Royal University a Member in this Bill was to be regarded as casting an insult or slur upon it. For himself, he could not conceive a more unfortunate mode of looking at the matter, because the question was really one of the granting of a new privilege, and not of taking an old privilege away. If it had been a question of the taking of a privilege away, of course it would have been another matter, and then the argument might have held good. He had not a word to say in disparagement of this University Body. He had had no personal opportunity, of course, of acquainting himself with the working of the Royal University; but all that he had heard

on the subject showed that the University was pursuing a most successful career. If anything could be done to strengthen the position of that University he should certainly be found a warm supporter of such a project consistent with other considerations of public policy; but, on the present occasion he was compelled to offer opposition to the wishes of the noble Lords who had preceded him. The reason why the Government could not accede to the request to give this University a Member was not owing to any considerations peculiar to that University; their refusal was based on broader grounds. Reference had been made to what was done in 1867, and to the contrast between the University of London and the present case. This was exactly the point of the whole question, because the contrast was with regard to the feeling which prevailed with regard to University representation generally. No doubt, 18 years ago, there was a general desire to give Members to Universities; but that feeling had materially changed since then, and at the present time there was a considerable and growing feeling against University representation at all—not only as regarded the representation of a new University like the Royal University of Ireland, which he admitted was worthy of great consideration, but against representation being continued in any form to the different Universities in the Kingdom. In the face of that feeling, therefore, Her Majesty's Government could not propose to Parliament any addition to the existing number of University Representatives. It was enough if the Universities could keep the Members they at present possessed, and no doubt they would have to fight hard to keep them; but to add to this representation was a proposition which could not be acceded to. Indeed, he was of opinion that to propose to give further University representation anywhere in the United Kingdom was a thing which anyone cognizant of the general feeling of the country would regard as impracticable and impolitic.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not take so gloomy a view of the prospects of University representation as the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley); and if it were true, as might be inferred from the speech of the noble Earl, that they would have to fight for their separate representation in the future, he ventured to hope, and almost to predict, that the Universities would find adequate assistance in their Lordships' House. He should, therefore, have been glad if it had been possible to have fulfilled the wish, which was entertained by many connected with the Royal University, to give it a Member; and he heartily echoed all that had been said as to the excellent work which this University had done, and the success it had achieved, and which had more than rewarded the anticipation of its promoters. Judging from that, it was heartily to be desired that some day or other the wisdom of Parliament should see fit to give this boon. He believed that the University Members, in view of the changes that were taking place in the bases on which Parliament was founded, would be more and more an important and salutary element in the Constitution and Councils of the nation; and he, for his part, thought they should be increased, and would be glad to see it done. The real difficulty to his mind, however, consisted in the fact that, being asked to give a University Member in this Bill which was already framed, the House was asked to undertake a series of changes which would lead their Lordships far astray, and plunge them into considerable difficulty. The House of Commons had been unwilling enough to make the increase in the numbers which had been asked; and he thought there was no chance of their giving this additional Member to oblige the Royal University. If, however, they were to give this additional Member, it must be taken from some other constituency; and where were they to find this constituency? He had been told that the first community to be considered in this respect was the flourishing town of Belfast. If that was the case, he fancied that the proposal to take a Member from Belfast was one which would hardly be consistent with that absolute unanimity in Ireland which they hoped for on Irish questions. He thought, therefore, that, without the slightest slur being cast upon the University, it would be impossible to assent to the proposal. He would ask his noble Friend (Lord Emly), should he think there was anything in the nature of a slur, to bear in mind that many years elapsed before the University of

London received its Member. It had also to be remembered that Ireland had not suffered in any comparative inferiority in the number of University Members. She had a University Member to 2,500,000 of population; England had a University Member to every 5,000,000 of population. He did not think, therefore, they could be accused of any indifference to the claims of the Royal University, if they did not, at the present moment, in face of the difficulties which surrounded them, introduce the representation of this University in the Bill. He wished now to make an observation as to some of the Amendments which lay before their Lordships in Committee. They belonged principally to a class which he did not think excited the same passionate enthusiasm inside the walls of Parliament as they had excited outside. They belonged to the class of questions concerning the names of the future constituencies. It was very difficult to adjust the rival claims which, during the last few days, had been poured in upon them from all quarters. It was difficult to reconcile statements that often seemed to be conflicting; but there was one ground of consideration which seemed to him to be a predominant one, and that was the decision of the Royal Commissioners. One of the results of those colloquies to which the noble Earl had referred, with which Parliament had most reason to be satisfied, was the appointment of this Royal Commission. He did not believe, whichever Party were in power, that a more satisfactory system could have been adopted than that which resulted from the appointment of those impartial Commissioners, whose decision should be rigorously adhered to. As to the boundaries, that had been done. No one had impugned either the ability, or industry, or impartiality of the Commissioners. Indeed, he never knew a public body which performed so difficult a task in so short a time and with such general satisfaction. The House of Commons, to the great satisfaction of men of both political Parties, refused to interfere with the boundaries laid down by the Commissioners; and what had been done in that respect, it seemed to him, should also be done in the less important matter of the names. Several changes had, however, been made with regard to them; and while he confessed that he considered the principle which was good in the one case was good in the other, he should personally retreat from the responsibility of deciding on claims which he could not measure, by supporting, in all cases when pressed to a division, the decision of the Commissioners.

House in Committee.

Preliminary.

Clause 1 (Short title) *agreed to.*

PART I.

REDISTRIBUTION.

Boroughs.

Clause 2 (Boroughs named in First Schedule to become parts of counties or boroughs) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Disfranchisement of certain boroughs for corruption).

LORD BRABOURNE said, he wished to call attention to the disfranchised boroughs, as he thought that scant justice had been done them. As a rule they were more sinned against than sinning; and he especially desired to enter his protest against the great act of injustice about to be done to Sandwich, a borough which he represented for 23 years, and which was now to be deprived of separate representation. The Royal Commissioners reported that Sandwich was the centre of great corruption at the election of 1880. He attended a sitting of the Commissioners, upon their summons, and was prepared to go into the previous elections. Had he been able to do so he should have been able to show that the expenditure upon those elections had by no means been unreasonable; and he himself had, during six contested elections, spent an aggregate sum very much smaller than that expended by the successful candidate in 1880. But the Commissioners held that they had no power to inquire into any election behind the uncontested and pure election of March, 1880. No doubt they were correct; but mark the extraordinary course of their subsequent action. In forbidding inquiry behind a pure election, the Legislature doubtless intended that such election should be held to have condoned any previous offences. But in this case the Commissioners, holding themselves precluded from taking evidence which, as his (Lord

Brabourne's) would have been favourable to the borough, actually assumed that there had been bribery at previous elections, which was precisely contrary to the intentions of the Legislature. They grounded this assumption partly upon the fact of the organization of the bribery in 1880; but the truth was that this was not attributable to the people of the borough, but to the very able organizer employed by the successful candidate—an agent who, having "made a clean breast of it" before the Commission, went scot free and was now a candidate for another borough, whilst his victims were to be disfranchised. This was a hard measure, and the harder because, whilst many boroughs which had not been punished had often been convicted of bribery in former years, as a matter of fact there had never before been an Election Petition at Sandwich. If the facts were really known, the record of Sandwich would be far less bad than other places that had escaped; and, although he knew that it would be ineffectual, he entered his protest against the disfranchisement.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Boroughs to have number of Members reduced); Clause 5 (Boroughs to have additional Members); Clause 6 (New boroughs); Clause 7 (Boroughs with their boundaries altered); and Clause 8 (Division of Parliamentary boroughs), severally *agreed to.*

Counties.

Clause 9 (Division of counties).

LORD NORTON, in moving an Amendment with the object of providing that no divisions of a county should be described by the name of a town except when it could not be avoided from the number of divisions, as in those of the counties of Lancaster and York, said, the claims of rival towns had excited much discussion in the House of Commons. This Amendment was more far-reaching. It raised the question whether the names of towns should be given to counties at all, and that was no mere matter of nomenclature, for in it was involved the principle of representation of interests as against a representation of numbers. No two interests are more distinct than of town and country; and anything tending to obliterate the distinction, and to merge the knight of the shire in the burgess, was alike destructive of the representative principle, and degrading to Members of Parliament, treating them as mere nominal counters of population, instead of spokesmen for local constituencies. The feelings of the Boundary Commissioners, he believed, were against the county nomenclature adopted in the Bill. Their Instructions put it out of their discretion, and made clear the reason of its adoption—namely, that it was the wish of the Government to propitiate certain boroughs which were merged by the Bill, by giving their names to counties. That was just the sort of case in which their Lordships might wisely interfere. It was for their Lordships to maintain what was really a vital principle of representation — namely, the constitution of the National Council of representation of every interest and locality, as distinguished from a collection of Members at a rate of one for so many thousands of population. The question was between representation of interest and mere representation of numbers. He would conclude by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 3, line 19, leave out from ("division") to end of clause and insert ("and no division of a county shall be described by the name of a town excepting those of the counties of Lancaster and York.")—(*The Lord Norton.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that, though he had heard a good deal on this subject, he had not the slightest conception that it was possible for anybody, however ingenious he might be, to imagine that some great Constitutional principle remained at the bottom of the controversy about these names. Agreeing entirely in what the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) had said as to the admirable manner in which the Commissioners had discharged their duties, he ventured to suggest that it would be very unwise to go directly contrary to their recommendations. There was a very strong feeling in different localities in favour of the points of the compass, and in deference to that feeling the alternative method of designation was adopted. He thought it would be very undesirable, as well as being unwise, for their Lordships' House to go now into the very laborious task of re-naming all the

divisions of counties. He therefore hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he could not see that it was possible to agree to the proposal of the noble Lord behind him (Lord Norton), and he wished to express his entire dissent from the Constitutional view he had laid down. The matter was of little consequence, and he could not believe that the future distinction between counties and boroughs would depend on the name which was given to any constituency. His own impression was that it would be truer philosophy to say that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." The difficulty of adopting such a rule as was suggested, of finding a systematic style of designation, was not confined alone to Lancashire and Yorkshire, and would be enormous. If any noble Lord would take the cases of Cheshire, Devonshire, and Staffordshire, in addition to those which he had named, he would see that, even with all the resources of boxing the compass at his disposal, he could not do it in a way which would be at all clear to Revising Barristers and other officials. Though he did not in the least wish to commit himself to the view that there might not be cases as they went on in smaller counties where it might be desirable to make alterations, he was quite sure that such a general rule as that proposed was impracticable.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

PART II.

SUPPLEMENTAL PROVISIONS.

Clause 10 (Qualification by occupation of premises in immediate succession in divided borough) *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Provision as to Pembroke).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 38, at beginning of clause insert as a separate paragraph: "The borough of Warwick shall be called Warwick and Leamington."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Returning officers in new boroughs).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 43, leave out "required."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in moving, as an Amendment, to insert, at the end of the clause, the first of the following sub-sections:—

"(4.) In any new borough constituted under this Act, the whole or the larger part of the area of which was before the passing of this Act comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Westminster, the high bailiff of Westminster shall be the returning officer for the new borough, and also the town clerk for the new borough within the meaning of the Registration Acts, and may, by writing under his hand, appoint a fit person to be his deputy for all or any of the purposes relating to Parliamentary elections in any such new borough, and anything in relation to a Parliamentary election authorised or required to be done by, to, or before the returning officer, may be done by, to, or before the high bailiff himself or such deputy.

"(5.) Every such deputy shall, in so far as he acts as returning officer, be deemed to be included in the expression 'returning officer' within the meaning of the law relating to Parliamentary elections,"

said, the Amendment was merely part of a general proposal which he hoped the House would accept, and that was to restore the borough of Westminster to the condition in which it was left by the Boundary Commissioners. The case in question was somewhat peculiar. In the first instance, Westminster was to consist of three boroughs, returning one Member each; but when it was thought desirable to give a fourth Member, it was consolidated into one borough with four divisions. Afterwards it was thought undesirable that Westminster should have four Members, and then the plan of three Members was returned to. But the original plan of the Boundary Commissioners was only returned to in a halting fashion; because Westminster was left as a borough with three divisions, instead of being divided into three boroughs. The great principle of single-Membered constituencies was that each constituency should form a separate integral body, and should not be limited in the amount of votes it conferred by the condition of any other constituency near it. The position of a voter having property in more than one division of a borough was somewhat anomalous. If he had a qualification in two boroughs closely adjoining, he voted in respect of each qualification. But if, instead of two boroughs, he had qualifications in two divisions of one borough, he could

only vote for one division, and in that arrangement there did not appear to be any justice. Again, he believed the arrangement he proposed was very much more agreeable to the inhabitants than was the arrangement as it stood in the Bill. They considered that if they could not have four Members, they would far rather revert to the original proposal of the Boundary Commissioners. Therefore, on the general principle of maintaining the single-Member system, and also on the principle of restoring the structure of the Bill to the state in which the Boundary Commissioners left it, he would venture to move a series of Amendments, of which this was the first.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 5, line 2, at end of clause insert: "(4.) In any new borough constituted under this Act, the whole or the larger part of the area of which was before the passing of this Act comprised in the Parliamentary borough of Westminster, the high bailiff of Westminster shall be the returning officer for the new borough, and also the town clerk for the new borough within the meaning of the Registration Acts, and may, by writing under his hand, appoint a fit person to be his deputy for all or any of the purposes relating to Parliamentary elections in any such new borough, and anything in relation to a Parliamentary election authorised or required to be done by, to, or before the returning officer, may be done by, to, or before the high bailiff, himself or such deputy."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he did not think there was sufficient difference between the views of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) and the Government upon the point in question to justify him in asking the Committee to divide. He would, therefore, accept it.

Amendment *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Marquess of SALISBURY, remaining sub-section *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (As to boroughs divided into divisions).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, line 9, leave out ("determination,") and insert ("fixing.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 14 (Registration of freemen in divided boroughs); and Clause 15 (Adaptation of 46 & 47 Vict. c. 51 to divided borough), severally *agreed to.*

Clause 16 (As to place of election).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendment made:—In page 6, line 41, leave out the words ("Provided that this sub-section shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland,") and insert—

("Provided that in Ireland the place of election, in the case of a division of a county at large, shall be fixed by the returning officer, and shall be situate within the division or within a county of a city or town adjoining that division.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 17 (Saving of rights of voters on change of Parliamentary area if otherwise qualified); and Clause 18 (Detached part of parishes), severally *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Transitory provisions as to registers of voters).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendment made:—In page 7, line 34, at end of line insert—

("Divisions of counties may be divided into polling districts at any time after the passing of this Act in like manner as they might be divided after the end of this present Parliament.

"Where any act or thing has, before this Act came into operation, been done in pursuance of the Registration Acts, or in relation to polling districts or polling places, such act or thing shall be as valid as it would have been if this Act had previously thereto come into operation, and it had been done by the officer or authority and in the form and in relation to the constituency by whom, and in, and in relation to which it would have been done if this Act had previously thereto come into operation, and where any act or thing ought to have been done which if this Act had come into operation before the time for doing the same, the same shall be done forthwith after this Act comes into operation, and shall be as valid as if it had been done at the right time.

"In England the clerks of the peace and town clerks shall, as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, send to the overseers on whom they have served precepts under the Registration Acts, such supplemental precepts as are necessary or desirable for instructing the overseers to carry into effect the Registration Acts in the constituencies as altered by this Act, and in municipal boroughs affected by this Act, and in particular shall, where necessary, instruct overseers as to the difference between the county and borough lists of voters, and shall direct the overseers of parishes situate in municipal boroughs, and included by this Act in Parliamentary boroughs, to prepare lists of burgesses in conjunction with the lists of parliamentary voters, and shall send the corrupt and

illegal practices list containing the names of voters disqualified by this Act. Every such supplemental precept shall be served by the clerk of the peace or town clerk who would have served the former precept if this Act had come into operation before the time for the service of such former precept.

"In Ireland the boundaries of any polling districts which have been formed in anticipation of the provisions of this Act shall have full effect; nevertheless, if the districts are inconsistent with the boundaries of any divisions of counties constituted by this Act, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, may make such order as may be necessary for bringing such polling districts into conformity with the boundaries of such divisions.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 20 (Marking of boundaries where they do not follow well-defined lines); and Clause 21 (Adaptation of writs) severally *agreed to.*

Clause 22 (Election laws to remain in force) *agreed to.*

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he had an Amendment on the Paper, to insert, as a new clause, after Clause 22, the following:—

"It shall be lawful for Her Majesty in Council to alter by Order in Council the names of any Parliamentary county, where it shall appear that the alteration is in accordance with the general wish of the people of the locality; provided that such order shall be presented forthwith to both Houses of Parliament."

He understood, however, that the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) had drafted an Amendment with the same object, and, therefore, he should leave the matter in his hands.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the clause which he proposed was that—

"If, on a Petition to the Queen, of the registered electors of any division of a county, praying that an alteration may be made in the name of such division, it appears to Her Majesty in Council that such alteration will be in accordance with the general wish of the inhabitants, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by an Order in Council, to make such alteration in the name of the division; and every order so made shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament."

He hoped that it would meet the suggestion of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury).

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he could not help expressing his surprise that, after what had already taken place on this subject, they should keep open a controversy for years to come with regard to so trivial a matter. He thought it would be better to settle the question now.

LORD NORTON said, he wished to point out that there would be difficulties in ascertaining the views of the electors, and it would be far better to decide at once to keep to the old and accustomed naming.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he quite concurred in the views of the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook).

EARL GRANVILLE said, he would call their Lordships' attention to the fact that the Amendment was not at all owing to his noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley), but was that of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury).

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that his impression was that there would be considerable discontent with some of these names, and it would be well to have some means of making alterations. On the other hand, it was quite true that, as the clause stood, it might be put in operation too easily. As the Conservative Party, however, appeared to be profoundly divided on the question, he thought the better course would be for him not to press the clause.

Amendment (*The Earl of Kimberley*) (by leave of the Committee) *withdrawn.*

Clause 23 (Definition in schedules).

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendments made:—In page 8, line 38, leave out ("by which they are wholly surrounded,") and insert ("to which they adjoin"); in page 9, line 1, leave out ("or townland,") and insert ("townland or place"); in line 12, after ("by,") insert ("the whole or part of"); in page 9, line 23, after ("districts,") insert—

("Or, in the case of a borough in Ireland, by the town council or town commissioners, and in the case of a parliamentary division of a county in Ireland, by the Local Government Board for Ireland, by order made after local inquiry, and taking effect when made");

in line 35, leave out ("contents and boundaries,") and insert ("limits"); in page 10, line 6, before ("Act,") insert ("the"); in line 10, leave out ("the area comprised in,"); in page 15, column 1, line 42,, leave out ("district,"); and in page 18, line 44, after ("and,") insert ("including.")

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 24 (Definitions) *agreed to.*

Application to Scotland.

Clause 25 (Application of Act to Scotland) *agreed to.*

Application to Ireland.

Clause 26 (Application of Act to Ireland) *agreed to.*

PART III.

DISQUALIFICATION OF VOTERS FOR CORRUPT PRACTICES.

Clause 27 (Repeal of Acts in Eighth Schedule respecting corrupt practices) *agreed to.*

Clause 28 (Disqualification of certain voters for corrupt practices).

THE EARL OF JERSEY, in moving the omission of the clause, said, that it was contrary to justice and to sound maxim that penal law should be made retrospective. He thought, therefore, that the electors who had been scheduled for corrupt practices at the Election of 1880 ought not to be disfranchised, as this clause proposed. Many of them gave their evidence, and made full disclosures, upon the faith of the indemnity given them by the Commissioners. If, therefore, they were now to be punished, the indemnity would be deprived of its value. He did not wish to stand up for bribery and corruption; but he thought that there was no occasion to keep up the recollection of these unfortunate occurrences now that the whole electorate was being remodelled. Byegones might be allowed to be byegones, and a fresh start given to these men, particularly as the electors of Reigate, Beverley, and other places, would be enfranchised by the Bill.

Moved, "To omit Clause 28."—(*The Earl of Jersey.*)

LORD BRAMWELL, in supporting the Amendment, said, he did so on the ground that the clause imposed a penalty to which the persons affected were not subject before. Besides that, these men to whom it referred had never been tried. It was true that their names had been scheduled upon such evidence as the Commissioners had had before them; but they had not been tried. It was also true that many of them had themselves gone before the Commissioners and told them what they had done; but that was not a trial. No penalty attached to the mere fact of being scheduled. Besides, they had been promised absolution for that confession. Notwithstanding that, however, they were now to be punished by this Act of Parliament. That would be a very hard case indeed. There was another point to which he would call their Lordships' attention. By the clause, the penalty was not to apply to persons tried and acquitted. There was no exemption, however, of those against whom the Attorney General had entered a *nolle prosequi*. In his opinion, the very fact that the Attorney General had not gone on with the trial against a person showed that he had a weak case against that person, weaker than that which he had against those whom he had prosecuted, and who had been acquitted.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he hoped that their Lordships would not be persuaded by the arguments which they had heard from his noble and learned Friend (Lord Bramwell) to remit all the penalties upon bribery, and now, for the first time, to determine that persons guilty of corrupt practices were to be regarded as entirely irresponsible. In all these cases, special laws had been passed to punish the offenders with respect to their Parliamentary privileges. The immunity from punishment extended only to the Criminal Law. This was not a Criminal Law; they could not ask a man to come forward in that case and punish himself, but there was no reason why he should be exempt from Parliamentary punishment. As a matter of fact, the law as laid down in this clause was of unusual leniency; under the Act of 1883 those persons who were dealt with under the clause would have been disqualified for a longer time. In this clause the course was pursued which had been taken before, and it was quite in accordance with Parliamentary practice. With regard to the question of those against whom the Attorney General had entered a *nolle prosequi*, he hardly ventured to argue with one who had had the legal experience of the noble and learned Lord; but he thought that a *nolle prosequi* was by no means equivalent to an acquittal, since it was but the opinion of one individual man.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that a man was acquitted after evidence against

him had been heard; a *nolle prosequi* meant that there was no evidence to be heard.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, the noble Earl who had charge of the Bill should remember that whole constituencies consisting of boroughs were restored under the Bill, although previously disfranchised for corrupt practices.

THE EARL OF POWIS said, that, in many instances, this clause, which he thought unnecessarily severe, would carry disfranchisement beyond the existing law.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he would call their Lordships' attention to the fact that by the existing law—the Act of 1883—persons guilty of this offence were disqualified for seven years from voting at any election, either Parliamentary or municipal; whereas, under the present clause, they were only disfranchised in the division in which the offence was committed. The existing law was, therefore, more severe than this clause.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that what was spoken of as the existing law was not the law which had existed at the time of the commission of these offences. He could not say that the matter was of great importance; but when they looked at the 27th clause, where wholesale amnesty was given, it seemed rather unnecessary, and, if he might say so, unworthy, to pounce down on those unfortunate people in Chester and Oxford and make them the subject of a special penalty, for that was what it came to.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that Clause 27 referred to the perpetual disfranchisement of voters in certain boroughs.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that the question whether the indemnity given to those who gave evidence before Commissioners appointed to inquire into corrupt practices at elections extended to a protection against statutory disfranchisement had been often considered and discussed in Parliament, and always decided in the negative. The present Bill, on that point, was in strict accordance with the former precedents.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that what he objected to was to those persons being convicted, not by the law of the land but by Act of Parliament, without being heard. What the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack said amounted to this—that it was only a very little injustice that they were going to do.

On question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Clause *agreed to.*

First, Second, Third, and Fourth Schedules *agreed to*, with Amendments.

Fifth Schedule.

Amendment *moved*, in page 24, at end of Schedule, insert—

"Limerick.	So much of the present Parliamentary as is contained in the municipal borough of Limerick."

—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he was unable to accept the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN, in moving an Amendment, to add to the presently constituted Hawick District of Burghs the municipal burgh of Jedburgh, said, their Lordships might be aware that the burgh of Jedburgh formed at the present moment one of the group called the Haddington District of Burghs, which group would be disfranchised by the Bill under the consideration of their Lordships. Of the Border Burghs, Hawick had a population of 16,000, and an electorate of over 2,500; Galashiels had a population of over 15,000, and an electorate of 1,865; Selkirk a population of 6,090, with an electorate of 900; while Jedburgh had a population of 3,400, and an electorate of 395. Thus, if Jedburgh were added, the total population of the Border Burghs would be about 41,000, and the electorate 5,634. This would not make the constituency exceed that of some other similar constituencies in Scotland. On the other hand, if Jedburgh were taken out of Roxburghshire, that county would still have a population of over 33,000, which he thought was sufficient to entitle it to return a Member. He admitted that, generally speaking, it was the wish of Jedburgh to be added to the county; but it struck him that the question was not so much what the burgh wished, but what the county, which was much larger, wished. As to the other reason, that Jedburgh was not a manufacturing town, he contended that Jedburgh was essentially a

manufacturing burgh, and could not be called an agricultural burgh. Jedburgh had an individuality of its own, and in feeling, tradition, and every other way, it was an urban burgh. The place was increasing, and he submitted that there was every reason why it should be preserved from being merged in the county, and added to the Border Burghs.

Moved, in page 23, after line 12, to insert—

"Hawick District.	The present district as above defined, and the municipal burgh of Jedburgh."

—(*The Marquess of Lothian.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he had listened attentively to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian), but he had heard no reason for placing Jedburgh in the Hawick District. Indeed, the reasons given by the noble Marquess appeared to him to be rather conclusive against his proposal. This question was raised in the House of Commons, and was then, he understood, practically settled. Their Lordships might remember that the Government had a scheme for re-grouping the Scottish burgh constituencies; but that was found not to be generally favourable to the Representatives of Scotland, and it was entirely abandoned, and these constituencies were, so far as that scheme was concerned, left practically as they were. The noble Marquess said Jedburgh was a small town. So were some others which formed the Haddington Burghs. That group, indeed, was disfranchised because it did not contain a population of 15,000. Why should Jedburgh be singled out by the noble Marquess for favourable consideration from among the other towns forming the group. The mere fact that Jedburgh was a small town did not seem to him to be an argument calling for special consideration, because it was not a solitary instance, there being very many towns in the position of Jedburgh as dealt with by the Bill. He understood that the Hawick Burghs with Jedburgh added would have a population of something like 41,000; but their Lordships had to remember that the population of Roxburghshire was already very small, and if Jedburgh was taken out of the county the population would be reduced to 34,000. It did seem to him, therefore, an extraordinary proposal that a burgh should be augmented to 41,000, in order to leave the county with a population of 34,000. In his opinion, no sufficient ground had been presented for altering the decision which had been come to.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, the question was not as to whether this particular Scotch county had or had not a large population. There were many Scotch counties which had very small populations; and, if there was any defect in the Bill, it was the somewhat exaggerated representation given in that respect. The point, however, was that the principle of the Bill was, as far as possible, to separate the urban from the rural constituencies. In this matter of Roxburghshire, that had not been done, and it had not been done in opposition to the process and principle which were followed in other parts of the Bill. As their Lordships knew, where individual constituencies had been disfranchised, single burghs had been thrown into the counties; but this had not been the case with groups. Only two groups of burghs had been abolished—the Haddington Burghs in Scotland, and another group in Wales, that of Haverfordwest, which if it had been dealt with as the Government had dealt with the Haddington Burghs would have been thrown into the counties; but this had not been the case. Haverfordwest was united to the neighbouring borough of Pembroke; but what he contended was that the principle of the Bill was to separate the urban from the rural constituencies, and that ought to be done by observing a fair and uniform process in dealing with special constituencies. In dealing with those groups, however, the Government were not observing a uniform process. It was difficult to argue this question without having the appearance of insinuating something; he was most anxious to avoid anything of the kind; but the practical effect in both of the cases here under review was that they pleased the local Party which was favourable to the Government and did not please the other Party. If they had proceeded upon a uniform principle, this would be no argument at all; but when the Government went upon one principle in Wales and another principle in Scotland, he thought their Lordships had a right to ask them to make their practice uni-

form, and do in Scotland as they had done in Wales.

THE EARL OF MINTO said, that Jedburgh was not a thriving burgh, and was not increasing in the same way as the other Border Burghs were. It was one of an old group of burghs, all of which, for Parliamentary purposes, were proposed to be put into the counties in which they were situated. Why should they take this step with regard to Jedburgh? He had an intimate knowledge of the district; and, on the merits of the case, he thought the arrangement made by the Bill was more satisfactory than the one proposed by the Amendment.

LORD BALFOUR said, he thought it was a matter of great regret that more advantage should not be taken of this opportunity to re-arrange the constituencies and the grouping of burghs in Scotland. Anything more anomalous than the present arrangement he thought it would be impossible to conceive; and he was certain that the present system had only been adhered to, because sufficient trouble was not taken to procure agreement upon any other system. Almost anything, he believed, would on the merits have been better than the present system of grouping burghs in Scotland. Any system which grouped two burghs like Ayr and Campbeltown together, and which made some of these groups so small in point of population, as compared with some county constituencies, must, he thought, of itself stand condemned. The present system left one division of Ayrshire with a population of more than 90,000, while the Ayr group of burghs had not more than 40,000. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) told them that the Government had attempted to produce another scheme; but that scheme, he (Lord Balfour) believed, was condemned almost universally, and it contained anomalies fully as great as those which were allowed at present to exist. One of the proposals, for instance, was that the constituency of Mid Lothian should have no less than 93,000 of a population, which would have been the largest county constituency, he believed, in the United Kingdom. He thought, under present circumstances, it was hardly worth while to bring forward such a proposal as that made by his noble Friend (the Marquess of Lothian), simply because he (Lord Balfour) was quite satisfied that, in a very few years, the question of grouping of burghs and of the constituencies generally in Scotland must be again raised. It was impossible that the present system could be defended; and he was certain, as nothing could be done now to settle it, that it must be again discussed in a very short time. That, he thought, was very unfortunate; because, in such a case, there were always imputations made of a desire to gain Party advantage, when, by some arrangement, a settlement of the question might have been effected. Therefore, he would again say that he regretted that some attempt had not been made to devise a better scheme by arrangement between the Parties.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, the noble Lord opposite who had just spoken (Lord Balfour) had expressed an opinion as to the non-permanence, in all human probability, of the present arrangement. But, while he (the Earl of Rosebury) quite agreed with it, from that argument a very powerful reason might be drawn against the Amendment. The Government, or the Lord Advocate, produced a scheme which they thought, on the whole, was a distinct improvement on the scheme of the Bill. That scheme did not die a natural death under the universal condemnation described by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour). It died of a much more portentous and unfortunate complaint. It was sent to the wall against what was called, in the parlance of the day, the "sacred covenant" entered into by the Chiefs of both Parties. So honourably was that "sacred covenant" adhered to by the Government side of the House of Commons, that all those who, like the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian) and, to some extent, himself (the Earl of Rosebery) agreed that the present representation of Scotland was full of anomalies, withdrew all their schemes and all their Amendments, and submitted to the operation of the sacred bond. What was the noble Marquess going to do, if a little burgh, which was kept merely in existence because it was a county town, and possessed a large share of county business and county offices, which practically kept it alive, was going to upset all their arrangement——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, interposing, said, his noble Friend oppo-

site (the Earl of Rosebery) was not a Member of the Government when this arrangement was entered into, and he therefore spoke under great misapprehension when he said that this question was any part of it. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) spoke under great difficulty; but he assured the noble Earl he was wrong. The matter referred to in the Motion before the House was not in the "sacred covenant" at all.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that, at all events, that was the impression "elsewhere" when the Amendments were withdrawn; and he was quite convinced Liberal Members in the other House would complain very loudly, and very strongly, if there was to be a rearrangement of the borough system of Scotland in the petty degree in which it was contemplated by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury). The noble Marquess said he did not impute motives to the Government. He (the Earl of Rosebery) did not wish to impute motives any more than the noble Marquess himself; but there were rumours in the air that this was a sort of what the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian) called "Jeddart justice" towards the sitting Member for Roxburgh County. Whether that were so or not, he thought it was an unfortunate state of things that, at that hour and at that stage of the Bill, the noble Marquess thought it necessary for one single disarrangement of the system to bring forward his Amendment.

LORD DENMAN said, that nothing could be worse than turning boroughs into counties. Indeed, it was against the 6th clause of the Franchise Bill, which prevented occupation of a house in a borough giving a vote for a county. But boroughs which Sir Francis Palgrave wrote were indestructible were destroyed, and thus they were transformed into counties. Haddington was formerly grouped with Jedburgh, and it was an historical borough, for General Monk was there when he designed to restore the Monarchy; and though he openly cuffed an officer for stating that such was his intention, yet, by returning to Edinburgh and marching with his army, he brought all England to his opinion. Such a borough ought to have a vote with other boroughs, as was the case all over Scotland except as to Haddington and Wigton.

The Marquess of Salisbury

On question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 66; Not-Contents 53: Majority 13.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Sixth Schedule.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT proposed an Amendment, in regard to the Dublin divisions, to leave out "Donnybrook Division," and insert "St. Stephen's Green."

Amendment *moved*, in page 42, line 26, to leave out ("Donnybrook,") and insert ("St. Stephen's Green.")—(*The Viscount Powerscourt.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY opposed the Amendment.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he decidedly objected to the proposed alteration, and would like to know who the noble Viscount represented? No one wished for the change; and, certainly, he (the Earl of Milltown) did not. Donnybrook was partly his property.

On question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 35; Not-Contents 31: Majority 4.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Seventh Schedule.

LORD WROTTESLEY proposed to amend the Schedule by altering the name of the South-Eastern Division of Staffordshire by calling it the Handsworth Division.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 76, line 1, to leave out ("South-Eastern,") and insert ("Handsworth.")—(*The Lord Wrottesley.*)

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH, in supporting the Amendment, said, that it had the support of both the local Conservative and Liberal Associations.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that although he agreed that the rival claims to give a name to this division were pretty evenly balanced, yet he should not oppose the Amendment.

Amendment *agreed to.*

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM proposed that the Whitby Division of the North Riding should be called the Eastern or Whitby Division.

Amendment *moved*, in page 83, line 12, after ("The,") insert ("Eastern or.")—(*The Earl of Feversham.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he thought that the adoption of this Amendment would only increase the confusion with regard to names.

Amendment *negatived.*

LORD AUCKLAND, in moving, as an Amendment, that the Batley Division of Yorkshire should be called the Morley Division instead, said, that the change would give great satisfaction to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the division. Batley contributed only 1,900 to the population of the division, whereas Morley contributed 15,000. The original decision of the Commissioners had been in favour of Morley, as were 36,000 out of the 50,000 persons in the district.

Amendment *moved*, in page 84, line 29, to leave out ("Batley,") and insert ("Morley.")—(*The Lord Auckland.*)

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH said, he thought that a strong case had been made out in favour of the name of Morley for this division. The final division on the subject in the House of Commons had been quite a surprise, as, in the first instance, a majority of the House had pronounced in favour of Morley.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, he hoped their Lordships would support the decision to which the House of Commons had ultimately come. He was informed that it was an error to suppose that the majority of the inhabitants of the district wished for the change. Beyond that, the name of "Batley" should, for many reasons, including railway and postal, be retained. Batley was very much more central than Morley, and a large proportion of the people residing in the division, when travelling by railway, would have to pass through Batley in order to get to Morley at all, which in itself he regarded as a very strong consideration. With regard to the question of areas, Morley was within the parish of Batley. Batley was also a very progressive place, and the seat of a considerable industry.

LORD DE ROS said, he was also in favour of the retention of the name of Batley, which was a post town, whereas Morley was not. Batley was also a corporate town, with a town hall and other conveniences for election purposes.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he thought that on the question of merit Morley ought to give the name to the division, as Batley was only known in connection with Dewsbury. The fact of the difference in population was strongly in favour of Morley.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that the Government were divided on this question. For his own part, he would be influenced by the opinion of the noble Marquess the late Viceroy of India, who belonged to that part of the county, and he would vote for the name of Batley being retained. The question was, however, entirely an open one.

On question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 21; Not-Contents 18: Majority 3.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM, in moving the omission of the name "Spen Valley Division," and the insertion in its stead of "Birstal Division" (Eastern part of the West Riding of Yorkshire), said, the Spen Valley was not known to anybody, and was only remarkable for being the receptacle of all the sewage from Birstal; whereas Birstal was a very important parish, and the general feeling of the district was in favour of Birstal being the designation of the division.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 86, line 39, to leave out ("Spen Valley,") and insert ("Birstal.")—(*The Earl of Feversham.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK, in supporting the Amendment, said, that although he was well acquainted with the West Riding of Yorkshire, he had never heard of the Spen Valley until he saw it in that Bill. Birstal, on the contrary, was a well-known place.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Other Amendments made.

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Eighth Schedule *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 129.)

AFRICA (SOUTH-EAST COAST)—
ST. LUCIA BAY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF JERSEY, in rising to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true, as reported in *The Times* of 27th May, that the Boers in Zululand have issued a proclamation, dated 30th April, protesting against the action of Lieutenant Moore in taking possession of St. Lucia Bay, denying any British rights there, and asserting the rights of the new Republic over St. Lucia Bay and the whole country; and, whether Her Majesty's Government is prepared to acquiesce in the assertion of any rights inconsistent with those already acquired by England in Zululand? said, he thought it was hardly possible that Her Majesty's Government could have allowed those proceedings to pass unnoticed, and he hoped that the noble Earl would be able to state that whatever rights we had in Zululand and in St. Lucia Bay would be maintained by the Government. Perhaps the noble Earl would also inform the House whether all questions relating to the German claim to St. Lucia Bay had been settled or not?

THE EARL OF DERBY, in reply, said, he had no difficulty in answering the noble Earl's Question. It was a fact that some Boers had settled in Zululand, had set up a Government of their own, and had put forward a Proclamation in the sense to which the noble Earl had referred. He ought, perhaps, to explain that he had no reason to suppose that either the Government or the people of the Transvaal were in any way connected with that movement. That Proclamation, as he understood, was really issued by a party of Boers who had effected settlement in Zululand. The matter was brought to the notice of Sir Henry Bulwer, the Governor of Natal, who lost no time in repudiating, on the part of the British Government, those pretensions of the Boer settlers. Sir Henry Bulwer's action in so doing had been approved by Her Majesty's Government, and he (the Earl of Derby) was, therefore, in a position to say that Her Majesty's Government had not in any way acquiesced in the pretensions so put forward, nor had they waived any of the rights which they possessed in that country. With regard to the claim of the German Government to St. Lucia Bay, he was now in a position to say, with some confidence, that the matter had been disposed of by diplomatic action, and that no further claims were likely to be advanced by Germany. But perhaps it would be more satisfactory to the noble Earl if he said generally that he should, in a few days, be prepared to lay Papers on the subject upon the Table, and that they would be in the hands of noble Lords shortly afterwards.

House adjourned at a quarter before Nine o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 8th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBERS SWORN—William Pirrie Sinclair, esquire, *for* Antrim County; Sir Herbert Lloyd Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, *for* Denbigh County.

PUBLIC BILL — *Second Reading*—Customs and Inland Revenue * [154], *negatived.*

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—
OFFICE OF AUDITOR OF THE COURT OF SESSION.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to any complaints as to the business of the Office of the Auditor of the Court of Session being in arrear, and the inconvenience thereby occasioned to litigants; whether he has had previous complaints on the subject; and, whether the fact of the arrears is attributable to extra duties which have been imposed by Statute on the Auditor; and, if so, whether it is in the power of Government to increase the staff of the office by an additional Auditor?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have not received any complaints to the effect that the judicial business of the office of the Auditor of the Court of Session is in arrear, whereby inconvenience is caused to litigants; and, upon inquiry, I do not find that there is any necessity for the appointment of a Judicial Auditor. I understand that the Auditor properly gives

a preference to judicial or official work, with the view of preventing it getting into arrear.

EDUCATION—VOLUNTARY TRAINING HOMES.

MR. RANKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there are any statistics in the possession of the Home Department, or any other Department of State, which would afford approximate information as to the number of children in the United Kingdom at present being brought up in voluntary training homes whether under Government inspection or not, other than certified industrial schools or reformatories; and, if so, whether the Government would allow such information, to be given in the form of a Return, giving the numbers of such children and the names and localities of the homes, and the number and sexes of the children in each home?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have inquired of the various Departments, and I am afraid it is impossible to get from them the figures relating to these voluntary schools.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—PROBABLE DEFICIT ARISING FROM WAR PREPARATIONS.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What is the expected deficit, for the current year on the Indian finances, in consequence of the war preparations undertaken in that country; if there will be any savings effected in any branches of the service; and, if so, what is the estimate; whether any addition is contemplated on the present taxation of the country; and, if any portion of the deficit is to be met by loan?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Government of India are revising their financial position, and have called on all the Provincial Governments to report by June 10 what reductions of expenditure can be effected. Until they have had time to consider the Reports of the Provincial Governments, and communicate the results to the Secretary of State, it is impossible to give definite answers to these Questions.

MR. ONSLOW inquired whether, after that answer, the hon. Gentleman intended to proceed with the East India Loan Bill to-night.

MR. J. K. CROSS: Yes, certainly.

LUNATIC ASLYUMS (IRELAND)—CRIMINAL LUNATIC ASYLUM, DUNDRUM.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will make further inquiry as to whether he was correctly informed in the reply he gave on the 1st of May as to the circumstances under which a number of the Royal Irish Constabulary are employed in the Criminal Lunatic Asylum at Dundrum; whether it is true that the hospital patients were removed to make room for the constables; whether the hospital has since been, and still is, occupied exclusively by a force of twelve constables, under the command of a sergeant; if so, what arrangements are made for sick patients in the asylum; whether it is the fact that heretofore, with a much smaller proportion of attendants, and when the grounds were only partially enclosed, an escape was hardly ever attempted; and, whether he can find out what is the reason for the change?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have nothing to add to my previous answer as to the reasons for which police have been employed at this asylum. The hospital patients having been transferred to the body of the house, the police have been allowed the use of the hospital, which is a small detached building. With regard to the escapes which occurred a few months ago, I cannot undertake, within the limits of an answer to a Question, to explain the causes which may have led to them.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ARKLOW HARBOUR WORKS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has received a communication from the representatives of the ship and boat-owners of Arklow as to the failure of the harbour works; whether they have forwarded a Report thereon from Mr. W. G. Strype, C.E., the engineer under whose direction the adjacent harbour at Wicklow has been constructed; and, whether he will lay that Report upon the Table?

MR. HIBBERT: A communication to the effect stated by the hon. Member

has been received. As the Government have it in contemplation to procure a Report on the case from some independent engineer who has not been mixed up in the personal controversies which have, unfortunately, arisen about it, I do not think it desirable to lay any further Papers on the Table at present.

NAVY—THE EVOLUTIONARY SQUADRON—TORPEDO CRAFT.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, How many and what design of Torpedo craft are to accompany the Evolutionary Squadron about to be assembled in the Channel under the command of Admiral Hornby; whether any portion of the Fleet is to be manned by officers and men of the First and Second Class Mercantile Reserves; and, further to inquire if the cruise is to be a game of war, combining manœuvring with land forces, or to be limited to the usual summer routine?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The torpedo flotilla which will accompany the Evolutionary Squadron under the command of Admiral Hornby includes the *Hecla* and *Polyphemus*, and eight first-class and eight second-class torpedo boats. Of the 13 iron-clads in the Squadron, all except the *Lord Warden* and *Penelope* are fitted with two or four torpedo tubes. Three most important unarmoured vessels in the Squadron—the *Conquest*, *Mercury*, and *Leander*—are similarly fitted. A few officers of the Royal Naval Reserves are being selected for service with the Squadron. The men of the Reserves have not been called out. During the cruise many experiments will be carried out with especial reference to the torpedoes.

MR. GOURLEY asked whether the fleets were engaged in what might be designated a game of war?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY replied, that the trials and exercise would be carried out under the direction of one of the ablest officers in the Service, and he had been invited to give his attention to the use of the torpedo.

PUPLIC HEALTH—THE CHOLERA.

DR. CAMERON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the Abstract Report of a Committee of the Academy of Medicine and Surgery of Barcelona, appointed to investigate Dr. Ferran's system of protective inoculation against cholera, published in *The British Medical Journal* of the 30th ultimo, and particularly to the following paragraph:—

> "That, in the opinion of the Committee, the identity of the micro-organism of Ferran with the comma-bacillus of Koch has been established, and that its pathogenic effects have been proved to be prevented by inoculation. Therefore, a means of averting cholera has been discovered;"

whether he has observed that, according to Spanish telegrams published in the newspapers, the Spanish Government on 28th May appointed a Commission to proceed to the cholera-stricken districts of Valencia along with Dr. Ferran, with the view of testing his system; and, whether, in view of the probably fleeting nature of the opportunity now presented for its investigation and the trifling expense required for the despatch of a small Commission to an accessible country like Spain, he will consider the propriety of at once nominating such a Commission, without awaiting the result of protracted negotiations with the Indian Government as to their bearing a portion of the cost?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Our attention has been called to the Report of the Committee referred to, and we have seen the telegrams in *The Standard* as to the appointment of a Commission by the Spanish Government. We have been promised by Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid translations of any papers by Dr. Ferran; but, having regard to the opinion of our medical adviser, we do not deem it necessary at the present time to despatch a Commission on behalf of the Board with the view of investigating Dr. Ferran's system of inoculation.

THE UNITED STATES AND CUBA—TREATY OF COMMERCE.

MR. TENNANT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any further information can be given to the House regarding the negotiations with the United States for a Trade Treaty with the West India Colonies; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information as to the negotiations now proceeding between the United States and Spain for a Trade Treaty between the United States and Cuba?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. West, Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, has communicated to Mr. Bayard, the American Secretary of State, Lord Granville's despatch of the 12th February, stating the reasons for which Her Majesty's Government are unable to accept the draft of the proposed Convention to regulate trade between the United States and the British West India Colonies; and he has reported that this statement of the views of Her Majesty's Government is under the consideration of the Government of the United States. I have reason to believe that the commercial negotiations are proceeding between the United States and Spain, but I am unable to give particulars.

INDIA—BOMBAY LAND REVENUE ACT.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will lay upon the Table a Paper containing a copy of the Bombay Land Revenue Act of 1879, and, in a parallel column, a copy of the Land Revenue Act of 1827?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Both the Acts referred to by the hon. Member for Queen's County are already in the Library of the House. The Act of 1827 is to be found most conveniently at page 211 of Return No. 201 of 1829. The Act of 1879 was supplied to the Library in the usual course on its receipt from India. I think the hon. Member, on referring to the two Acts, will agree that they do not sufficiently correspond to make it worth while printing them in the manner proposed.

INDIA (RAILWAYS)—LOSS ARISING FROM GUARANTEES.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will furnish a Return showing the loss in working Railways paid from Indian taxation to the several Guaranteed Railway Companies to 1884 beyond the amount of net revenue?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The inquiry of the hon. Member for Queen's County refers, I apprehend, not to the loss on working the guaranteed railways, but to the loss sustained by the Government of India up to 1884 through the payment of guarantees. The hon. Member will find a detailed statement of this matter at pages 705-6 of the Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee on East Indian Railway Communications presented last year, from which it appears that the charge on the Revenues of India up to March 31, 1885, reached 35 crores of rupees.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—SECRECY OF TELEGRAMS.

DR. CAMERON (for Mr. J. W. BARCLAY) asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in *The North British Daily Mail* of 29th May, signed by two well known persons in Portree, which states particulars of an attempt to elicit from post office officials in Portree information respecting the senders and contents of telegrams; and, whether he has inquired of the Postmaster at Portree as to the truth of the allegations in the letter; and, if he will communicate the result of the inquiry to the House?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have seen the letter referred to, and I have also had a statement from the Postmaster to the same effect. I have communicated with the Lord Advocate on the subject, and I learn from him that the Sheriff had made a statement to him of a totally different character, informing him that the statement by the Postmaster is incorrect. As far as I am concerned, the matter is at rest there.

DR. CAMERON: Has a similar occurrence taken place at the post office at Uig?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have not heard anything of that.

DR. CAMERON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to inquire?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes, Sir.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to a letter, signed by two residents in Portree, published in several Scotch newspapers, describing an attempt by Sheriff Ivory to obtain information from the Post Office officials by threats, with reference to the contents and authorship of telegrams alleged to have been despatched from the Portree telegraph office; and, if the facts are as stated, is it his intention to order a prosecution?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): My attention was called to this letter, and I communicated with the Sheriff, and received from him a totally

different account of what actually took place.

NAVY—PURCHASE OF MERCHANT STEAMERS.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, To state the names of the merchant steamers lately or now belonging to the mercantile marine whose services were obtained by purchase or hire since the 1st December 1884; how many of them were armed and fitted for war on the 1st June; with what guns, and how many 5-inch breech-loading guns were on board; whether any were armed with 40-pound breech-loading Armstrong guns; and, whether those guns have not been considered obsolete since 1870?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: We do not consider that it would be for the public advantage to make a detailed statement in Parliament as to the armament of the mercantile auxiliaries recently chartered. The armament supplied is considered by the Admiralty to be efficient for the purpose. It includes a large proportion of guns of the latest patterns and improvements.

EXTRA POLICE (IRELAND)—THE CORPORATION OF LIMERICK.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that another sum of £172 6*s.* 3*d.* for extra police for the half-year ended 31st March last has become due from the Limerick Corporation; whether, at the Limerick Town Council meeting held on the 4th instant, a Town Councillor, in moving the rejection of the claim, remarked that he thought—

"The Government were not serious, otherwise Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell were playing a game between them over the matter;"

and whether the Government will any longer abstain enforcing against the Corporation the judgment obtained in the proper Court of Law?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand the facts as to a further sum having become due from the Limerick Corporation and as to the observations thereon of one of the Town Councillors are as stated in the Question. There is no change in the intention of the Government since I last answered a Question on this subject by the hon. Member.

MR. LEWIS: Would the right hon. Gentleman say when the Government will introduce the Bill they have talked so long about?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That does not rest with me.

MERCANTILE MARINE—STATISTICS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can furnish a Return of the number of ships registered as belonging to the British Mercantile Marine, with their respective tonnage, distinguishing sailing vessels from steamships, and specifying the number of ships under steam available for service as cruizers, or otherwise, in time of war?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the Board of Trade were unable to give any Return of the number of steamships available for service as cruisers or otherwise in time of war, as it rested with the Admiralty to decide what vessels were suitable for such purpose. The remainder of the information was already given in detail in the statement of navigation and shipping of the United Kingdom which was annually communicated to Parliament and in *The Mercantile Navy List.*

CENTRAL ASIA—THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION—SIR PETER LUMSDEN.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the attention of Lord Kimberley has been given to statements reported to have been made by Sir Peter Lumsden to a correspondent of *The Times* in Austria; whether Sir Peter Lumsden still holds a Commission for the delimitation of the Afghan frontier; whether he has offered any explanation of the words he is reported to have used—

"That the evacuation of Candahar was a mistake on the part of the Gladstone Cabinet, and that it has been the origin of all the subsequent trouble."

and, whether records of the India Office confirm the communication addressed by Sir Lepel Griffin to *The Times,* in the following words:—

"While the Conservative Government were in power I was directed by the Viceroy to declare at Cabul and repeatedly did so declare that the British Government had no intention of occupying permanently or annexing Candahar?"

MR. J. K. CROSS: I will take the opportunity, while answering the Question of the hon. Member for Salford, of answering also the Question of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire.

MR. CHAPLIN: After the answer given by the Prime Minister the other day, I do not mean to put it.

MR. J. K. CROSS: Then I shall answer the Question of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold.) The attention of the Prime Minister and of the Secretary of State for India has been directed to the statements attributed to Sir Peter Lumsden, and described in this Question. Sir Peter Lumsden's position as Commissioner has not been annulled. Sir Peter Lumsden has always held and asserted, regardless of Party questions, the opinion that the evacuation of Candahar was an error. In regard to the other Question, he does not consider himself in any way responsible for alleged utterances incorrectly reported by newspaper correspondents, and he disavows any intention of making any attack upon the Government under which he has been serving. In reply to the paragraph in my hon. Friend's Question respecting Sir Lepel Griffin's letter, I may say that it is quite true that Sir Lepel Griffin wrote this letter.

EGYPT—SUPPRESSION OF THE "BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN"—THE INCRIMINATORY ARTICLES.

MR. JERNINGHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House those articles from *The Bosphore Egyptien* which led to the suppression of that paper, and which, from the correspondence lately presented to Parliament, it would seem Sir Evelyn Baring was instructed to forward to Lord Granville on April 13th 1885?

SIR FREDRICK MILNER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to the following statement by the Cairo correspondent of *The Times* on the 30th of May, with regard to *The Bosphore Egyptien*:—

"*The Bosphore Egyptien* continues to make attacks of the most insolent and disgusting kind upon Englishmen in the service of the Egyptian Government;"

whether he has any reason to suppose this statement to be untrue; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to submit to such conduct without protest?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In reply to my hon. Friend, I think he will agree with me that, as the correspondence on the subject is now closed, it would not be desirable to re-open the matter in the manner he suggests. With reference to a subsequent Question on this subject by the hon. Baronet the Member for York, I may state that the files of the paper which have been received from the date of its re-appearance up to the 27th ultimo, do not appear to bear out the allegations made in the statement which he quotes.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE INDIAN CONTINGENT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any truth in the complaints of the Indian newspapers of the failure to send to India particulars of the losses among the Native officers and men employed in the Soudan; and, if he can say that such information has yet been furnished in regard to both soldiers and camp followers, and that it will be communicated to the relatives, as is done in this Country, and pensions and gratuities will be awarded to the families of those who have fallen?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have not seen the report referred to; but I may inform my hon. Friend that the Secretary of State for War instructed General Graham two months ago to telegraph at once, and in future, to the War Office and direct to India the number and classes of camp followers killed or wounded. The particulars of the losses among the Native officers and men would be sent as a matter of course to the regimental depôts, whence they would be communicated to the families. Nominal rolls of both soldiers and officers will have been sent by the weekly mails by Commanding Officers of regiments and Departments of all classes. Copies of these rolls have been received at the India Office. The pensions and gratuities authorized by the Indian Regulations for troops and followers will be awarded to the families of those who have fallen.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—THE EGYPTIAN COUPONS—THE DEDUCTION OF FIVE PER CENT.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Khedivial Decree of April the 12th, taxing the coupons, has been annulled?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; it has not.

EGYPT—THE PORT OF SUAKIN.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE (for Mr. MAC IVER) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the commercial value of the Port of Suakin, and to its possible usefulness as a coaling station on the road to India; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to abandon voluntarily the position?

MR. GLADSTONE: Her Majesty's Government have not yet been able to decide what course it will be proper to pursue.

SPAIN—THE TREATY OF COMMERCE.

CAPTAIN AYLMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he is aware that British fish is charged 2*s.* per cwt. more than French, Norwegian, or other fish on import to Spain; if his attention has been called to the reply of Senor Elbuazen, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, to a deputation of the Madrid Mercantile Club, as follows:—

"The Spanish Government are willing to carry out their part of the contract, and that, provided the English Government had not some ulterior motive for allowing the matter to fall through, he still hoped to re-establish negotiations;"

and, whether any instructions have been sent to our Ambassador at Madrid, to disabuse the minds of Spanish Statesmen that we have no ulterior motive to cause us to desire the failure of the Convention?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I believe the duty on British fish imported into Spain to be what the hon. Member states. With reference to the latter portion of his Question, since I made a statement on this subject to the House a further despatch has been received from the Spanish Government, which will require a reply from Her Majesty's Government. From the character of the Spanish communication Her Majesty's Government are not without hope that they may be able to resume the negotiations, and instructions will be given in that sense to Mr. Ford, the successor of Sir Robert Morier, who has been appointed Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE EAST KENT REGIMENT, 4TH (MILITIA) BATTALION.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the strength of the 4th Battalion of the East Kent Regiment, now out for its annual training at Chatham?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The 4th (Militia) Battalion of the East Kent Regiment was dismissed from its annual training on the 30th of May. The Inspection Return has not yet been received. The enrolled strength of the battalion on the 1st of June was 192 non-commissioned officers and men; but it gave 260 transfers to the 3rd Battalion on its recent embodiment.

REGISTRATION (OCCUPATION VOTERS) BILL—MEDICAL RELIEF—MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he is correctly reported as having used the following words on June 3rd at the Forward Liberal Club:—

"We have had a taste of the spirit of the Tories even within the last few weeks, and what they have not dared to do in the House of Commons they have put up their confederates in the House of Lords to do for them, and by making medical relief a disqualification for franchise, they have taken away with one hand what they gave with the other, and they have kept out from the enjoyment of their electoral rights probably one-fourth of those whom we sought to enfranchise;"

and, whether he has at any time since, or in any way, protested against the Bill as presented by the Government, containing the Clause disfranchising those in receipt of parochial medical relief?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: As regards the first part of the Question, I believe the report is substantially correct. As to the second Question, all I can say is that it is not open to me to state any communications which may have passed between myself and any Member of the

Government. I did not myself vote in favour of this disqualification, and I would call the attention of the hon. Baronet to the fact that when the question was discussed in the House of Lords the Government Tellers told against this disqualification, and the Members of the Government then voted against it.

MR. GIBSON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, when the Franchise Bill was brought in omitting the clause which removed this disqualification, he then thought the effect was to exclude a quarter of those who expected to get the franchise?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The matter was not specially brought under my attention. I certainly had not then formed any opinion as to the exact number of persons who might be disqualified by the existing law.

MR. GIBSON: Did, then, the right hon. Gentleman fail to inform himself of the effect of the Bill until after it had left this House?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, in addition to the extract quoted by my hon. Friend (Sir Frederick Milner), whether he did not say at the end of his speech —"This is monstrous injustice," referring, of course, to the action of the House of Lords?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, Sir; I did.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should like the Attorney General, if he is in his place—but I see that he is not. Then I should like to ask the Prime Minister whether the Attorney General did not ——[*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think the hon. Gentleman is in Order in asking a Question which does not arise out of the answers given.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: But, Sir, it does arise out of the answers.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order in putting to a Minister a Question as to the construction of an answer given by another Minister.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not going to put a Question as to the construction of the answers; but I was asking whether the Attorney General did not in the House use these words, "I oppose the Amendment"—that is, the Amendment which removed the medical disqualification. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is entirely out of Order. He is now referring to a past debate.

Afterwards,

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I suppose I shall be in Order in asking the Prime Minister whether the Attorney General, in stating in the House that he opposed the Amendment abolishing the disqualification for medical relief on the ground of principle, represented the collective opinion of the Government?

MR. GLADSTONE: This is a Question put to me without Notice. I am not really aware what my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General stated. He is extremely judicious, and I was not aware that he had made such a statement. Without Notice, I have no opportunity of conferring with him; but I do not think I ever heard him make a statement in this House by which I was not prepared to abide.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will repeat the Question.

MR. RITCHIE said, he wished to ask a Question arising out of the answer of the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman stated that in the House of Lords the Government Tellers told against the exclusion of voters who had received medical relief. He begged to ask the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire whether the Government Tellers in that House had not told in favour of the exclusion of voters who received medical relief from the rates?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: I tell in a great many divisions; and I really cannot say whether I did so on this occasion. I can look in one moment, and so can the hon. Member.

MR. RITCHIE: Do I understand that the noble Lord does not recollect whether he told in favour of the exclusion of voters?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: The hon. Member can look at the Division Lists on the Table.

MR. RITCHIE: Does the noble Lord not remember? I shall repeat the Question to-morrow.

THE SUEZ CANAL COMMISSION.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whe-

ther he can make any statement as to the progress of the negotiations on the subject of the Suez Canal?

MR. GLADSTONE: All that the Government are able to say on this subject has already been said in "another place" by my noble Friend the Secretary of State—I am not finding fault with the hon. Gentleman—and the statement is to this effect—that the Commission which is sitting has, we believe and understand, very nearly arrived at the close of its proceedings. Lord Granville expects that they will probably bring it to a conclusion in the course of the present week. But they have bound themselves not to publish the proceedings, and therefore we are precluded from entering upon any details.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Are we quite sure that the English Commissioners spoke on the basis laid down in Lord Granville's Circular?

MR. GLADSTONE: Lord Granville has also stated—I ought, perhaps, to have mentioned this before—that some clauses have been introduced into the draft; and, discussion having arisen, the English Commissioners have made all the reservations which they considered necessary.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Will the Commission be concluded in time for the Government to fulfil their promise to submit them to the House before assent is given to them?

MR. GLADSTONE: What I understood was that the House had the assurance that before the Convention should become binding upon this country it should have an opportunity of knowing the contents of it, and, if necessary, of passing an opinion on the details. I am not now speaking of putting other Business aside; that obligation I consider quite independent of the question whether the Commission will have finished on one day or another.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I merely wish to know whether there is any probability of the opportunity occurring before the close of the present Session, or whether the matter will have to stand over until the new Parliament?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir. I should think there is no likelihood whatever that the conclusion of the proceedings will not be reached long before then.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERALS GRAHAM AND M'NEILL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the promised inquiry into the conduct of operations in the Soudan by Generals Graham and M'Neill, and especially into the circumstances of the surprise of the 22nd March, has been carried out, and with what result?

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, When and what inquiry he intends instituting with regard to the loss of life caused by the surprise on the occasion of the attack on General M'Neill's zereba, in the neighbourhood of Suakin?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to both these Questions, I may say that, as Lord Wolseley was about to proceed to Suakin, he was instructed to make personal inquiries on the spot, and to give his opinion on the events referred to. In a despatch acknowledging these instructions, Lord Wolseley strongly deprecated any further inquiry; and I may, perhaps, be allowed to read a short extract from the despatch in which he gave his opinion on the subject. He says—

"But at the same time I would point out that I myself strongly deprecate (save in the most extreme cases) inquiring too rigorously into the conduct of commanders after unsatisfactory engagements. It is hopeless to expect to find a general who does not make mistakes. The history of war shows that the greatest generals have done so often. There may be cases in which these mistakes are of such a character as to call for the immediate removal of their author from his command. But, short of this, to examine minutely into any faulty dispositions that have been made, and to publish to the world a condemnation of them, simply takes away from the general implicated all the confidence of his troops without, as far as I can see, any compensating good result whatever."

Up to the present time Lord Wolseley has not sent any further Report. Under those circumstances, His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief is of opinion—in which opinion I concur—that it will be advisable to await Lord Wolseley's return before coming to any decision on the whole question. This delay can have no unfavourable results to the Public Service, inasmuch as the Expeditionary Force has been broken up, and the officers referred to are returning to this country.

WAYS AND MEANS—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—PRECEDENT FOR APPROPRIATING FUNDS OF PROXIMATE TO MEET DEFICIT IN CURRENT YEAR.

MR. E. STANHOPE (for Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If there is any modern precedent of a Chancellor of the Exchequer proposing, in his Budget Statement, to meet a deficiency on the current year by the appropriation through an Act of Parliament of the funds of the proximate financial year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The noble Lord put this Question on the Paper for the 19th ultimo, and it was answered on my behalf by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury. He now renews it, and I can only say that the answer which he then received was strictly accurate. The precedent of 1880 was this, that a large deficiency on the expenditure of the then current year was provided for by the appropriation of the permanent annual charge during the next and four following years to the extent of about £2,750,000.

NAVY—EXPLOSION ON BOARD H.M.S. "INFLEXIBLE."

MR. W. H. SMITH asked, Whether the Secretary to the Admiralty could give the House any information as to the explosion on board the *Inflexible* that morning?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: A telegram received at the Admiralty is as follows:—

"An explosion of coal gas occurred this morning at 8.30 on board the *Inflexible*. Thirteen men were were injured. Of these eight were admitted to Haslar Hospital. Three men, Joseph Miller, James Baker, and George Roberts, were somewhat severely hurt, but no apprehension is entertained as to their safety. The remainder are only slightly injured. The *Inflexible* is not at present in commission."

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE COUNT OUT OF FRIDAY NIGHT.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to ask the Prime Minister, How it was that the Government allowed the House to be counted out on Friday evening at 8 o'clock; whether two or three weeks ago, when the House was counted out on a Friday evening, the right hon. Gentleman did not apologize for the occurrence by pleading that the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor) was wearied by his Parliamentary duties; whether the same excuse applied to Friday evening last; whether, generally, it was not the duty of the Government to keep a House on Friday nights; and, especially, whether it was not the duty of the Government to keep a House last Friday night, after the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the passing of a certain Resolution was essential in justice to a great British industry?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am sorry to be obliged to begin my answer by a correction of a statement made by the noble Lord. I never gave the answer attributed to me by the noble Lord with regard to the former occasion. I did not plead the fatigue of the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire as a reason why a House was not kept. With regard to what happened on Friday night, I will not say the Government had a special duty, but they had a very special desire to keep a House, and they made considerable efforts for that purpose. My noble Friend spoke to me on the subject between 7 and 8 o'clock, and told me of the arrangements he had made to have a sufficient number of Members, as he believed, present until a certain hour, when Members, among whom I was one, made their arrangements to take the places of those who could not be expected to remain throughout the whole night. But what happened was this. When the House was counted there were present 36 Gentlemen, including the Speaker, so that only four were wanting to make a House. It is certainly the duty of the Government to make every effort they can to keep a House on Friday; but, at the same time, the Government is not prepared to accept that obligation indefinitely, nor is it understood that a number of Members amply sufficient to complete the House are one and all to quit the House on a count being called for. On Friday there were 12 Members present, all of whom found duties elsewhere that made it necessary for them to withdraw when the count was called, and what I have said may therefore appear reasonable to the House. My noble Friend near me did his best to keep a House, and of the

33 Members of the Government 26 were present and were included in the count. It is quite true that on a former occasion I referred to the enormous calls made by my noble Friend upon the supporters of the Government in keeping a House. Irrespective of the fact that there were 30 nights before Christmas, there have been 58 nights since the 19th of February on which it has been the duty of my noble Friend to keep a House. In other words, he has been obliged to more than double the demands he has to make in an ordinary Session. In these circumstances, it is too much to say that because there happened to be a dozen Members not under the immediate influence of the Government who declined to assist in making a House the noble Lord is to be blamed in any way, and the case for impeaching the desire of the Government to do its duty is very greatly weakened in such a state of things.

WAYS AND MEANS—INLAND REVENUE —THE SPIRIT DUTY—REFUNDING THE INCREASED DUTY.

MR. BOORD asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer with respect to the statement which he made on Friday, that he did not propose to refund any part of the Spirit Duties which had been paid during the last five weeks to those who had paid them, Whether he had seen a letter which had appeared in the newspapers from a certain large Brewery Company, in which they made the distinct statement that they received an assurance from the authorities at the Custom House that in the event of a reduction of the duty the difference between the higher and the lower duty would be returned, and that they and others would certainly have restricted their duty payments had they had the least idea that the guarantee given was not to be adhered to; and, whether there was any foundation for, or explanation of, that statement?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he had received Notice of a similar Question from the hon. Member for York (Sir Frederick Milner). In moving the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, which he should do in a few minutes, he should state what were the intentions of the Government in this respect.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD desired to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer at what date wines up to 30 degrees of strength would be admitted to this country at the 1*s.* duty?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he answered that Question on the evening when he made his Financial Statement. He then said that, by the Resolution which the Government asked the House to adopt, the date was made to depend upon the decision of the Government. The clause in the Bill would give that power to the Government.

MR. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he was prepared, on the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, to give the House the amount of duty paid on spirits during the last six months, and the amount spent in the corresponding month of 1884, so that the House might judge whether the increased duty had increased the Revenue or not?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that he could only give information, as to the receipt during a given period, after Notice.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Prime Minister, Whether, considering the number of Amendments to the Inland Revenue Bill, and the importance of some of them, he still intended to take the Crofters Bill on second reading to-night, even at a late hour?

MR. GLADSTONE: We have no intention of resuming discussion on that Bill at any such hour.

MR. MACFARLANE: I am sorry to trouble the right hon. Gentleman further; but I understood he would not resume the discussion on this Bill between 1 and 2 o'clock. Is it understood that it will not come on to-night?

MR. GLADSTONE: If the other discussion should collapse it will come on. If that discussion goes on till midnight it certainly will not be taken.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, that, arising out of the answer of the Prime Minister, he begged to draw attention to what occurred on the first reading of the Crofters Bill. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will not be in Order in doing so. He is only entitled to put a Question.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: My contention is this—that upon the conclusion of the first reading of the Crofters Bill I asked the Lord Advocate, who was in charge of the Bill, whether, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, and the scrimp discussion which then occurred, he would put the second reading down as the first Order of the Day, and his answer was that he would do so. In these circumstances, I ask that the Prime Minister will—[*Interruption, and cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name!"]

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

CUSTOMS AND INLAND REVENUE BILL.—[BILL 154.]

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: It is not my intention at the present moment to speak generally on the second reading of the Bill. It will be more convenient that I should do so when the Amendment is moved by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). But as it is my intention, in accordance with the intimation I gave on Friday night, to propose in Committee of Ways and Means to-night an amended Resolution on the subject of the Spirit Duty, I think it is right that I should now, on two points, give some explanations. Those two points relate to the Spirit Duty. The first question refers to what has been addressed to me this evening by the hon. Member below the Gangway (Mr. Boord) and by the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of York (Sir Frederick Milner), as to the repayment of the 1*s.* difference between the 12*s.* for which the Resolution was taken on the 30th of April and the 11*s.* which we propose as the duty on spirits now. What I said on the 30th of April—and I have referred to my notes so as to be perfectly accurate—was, that if the proposals of the Government should be rejected by the House, of course it would be necessary to repay the difference between the 12*s.* and the 10*s.*, which is the duty under the present law, because there would be authority to levy more than the 10*s.* That was the statement I then made; and in my absence, a few days afterwards, the Secretary to the Treasury, in reply to a Question, repeated those words, adding, however, that it would be for the House to decide, in that event, whether the additional sum should be so repaid or not. I have ascertained that the state of facts as to the payment of duty on spirits since the 30th of April is as follows:—The amount of duty which, according to past experience, might have been expected to be received during the month of May and up to the end of last week may be taken roughly at between £1,600,000 and £1,700,000; whereas the amount actually received, allowing for the higher duty, was only about £1,200,000. Therefore, *primâ facie*, it was clear that the amount of the stocks of duty-paid spirits held by the trade had during that period greatly fallen off; and the amount taken out of bond does not represent anything like the consumption. I am also told, and I believe it is true, that in all parts of the country the consumer has been charged at the higher rate during the last month; and therefore I should say, *primâ facie*, as I remarked the other night, that, under such circumstances, no repayment should be made to the person who had paid the duty, inasmuch as he had been entirely recouped by the amount paid by the consumer. But I should be the last person to wish to do anything unfair to an individual or to an interest, and the course I propose to take is this. From to-day—and I have already taken steps in the matter—I propose to commence a thorough inquiry at the different places where duty is paid on spirits as to the circumstances I have already given to the House from general report. Before the Committee on the Bill is finished, I shall be able to know and to report to the House what is the real state of the facts on this subject, and I shall be able to advise the House whether a clause shall be inserted to qualify the declaration I made on Friday. I trust that that arrangement is one which will meet with the approval of the House. The second point on which I am anxious to address the

House, before the right hon. Baronet moves his Amendment, relates to the effect of the additional duties in connection with the consumption in England, Ireland, and Scotland. On the 30th of April, I think not in my Financial Statement itself, but in answer to inquiries addressed to me subsequently, I gave very roughly some figures on that subject, stating at the time that they were rough. But shortly afterwards there appeared in a financial journal which is entitled to the greatest respect, as always analyzing financial questions with extreme care—I mean *The Economist* newspaper—a very elaborate table representing what was supposed to be the division of the duties on spirits and beer between the consumers in the three parts of the United Kingdom. I took some pains, after perusing that calculation, to ascertain to what extent the figures were justified. I will give to the House the result. The original figures in *The Economist* of the 2nd of May attributed to the three parts of the United Kingdom a consumption of spirits in the following proportions. The number of gallons of spirits supposed to be consumed in England was 13,100,000, in Scotland 8,350,000, and Ireland 7,310,000. The revenue from these quantities was then stated, and also the revenue from beer; and the total revenue from spirits and beer was then given as in England £14,140,000, in Scotland £4,510,000, and in Ireland £4,330,000. These figures were reprinted in every part of the Kingdom, and formed the foundation of a heavy attack on this part of the Budget. But in the following week *The Economist* discovered one serious mistake, and raised the revenue in England to £15,750,000, reducing it in Scotland to £3,640,000, and in Ireland to £3,410,000. But a still more serious mistake existed, and has not been corrected to this date. From this calculation foreign and Colonial spirits were altogether left out; and the House probably knows that more than five-sixths of the spirit coming from abroad is consumed in England; so that the proportion between the three divisions of the Kingdom was altogether inaccurate. According to the first calculation of *The Economist*, the number of gallons of spirits consumed in England was 13,100,000, whereas in fact it was 23,200,000. In Scotland the number of gallons was stated to be 8,350,000; but, in fact, it was 7,500,000; and the number of gallons of spirits stated to be consumed in Ireland was 7,300,000 gallons, whereas, in fact, it was only 5,800,000, the difference being due to the causes I have described. With respect to the Revenue, the differences are these. According to the original calculation, the only one reprinted all over the Kingdom, the revenue received from beer and spirits in England was stated to be £14,141,000; in point of fact, it was £19,200,000. In Scotland it was stated to be £4,520,000; whereas it was, in point of fact, £4,100,000. In Ireland it was stated to be £4,340,000; and, in point of fact, it was £3,600,000. So that whereas it was represented at first that the revenue from beer and spirits was in the proportion of about 3½ in England to 1 in Scotland or Ireland, in point of fact the Revenue derived from beer and spirits in England was as 5½ to 1 in Ireland, and as between 4½ and 5 to 1 in Scotland. If the wine revenue be added the proportion paid on liquor in England would be still greater. These are very important corrections of the calculations of *The Economist* put forward as accurate by opponents of the Budget in all parts of the country; and, that being so, it is just as well that the accurate figures should be given. No doubt, no one will be more glad of this than the distinguished editor of *The Economist* himself.

MR. ORR-EWING asked how much the revenue would represent per head?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have given the facts, and anyone can make that calculation for himself. It will also be interesting to the House to know to what extent the revenue received from England, Scotland, and Ireland will be increased by the proposals which we make. That also has been the subject of several calculations, which I do not think it necessary to correct; but I will give the accurate figures. Assuming the revenue to be, as I stated on Friday, increased by £600,000 from spirits and £750,000 from beer, or by a total sum of £1,350,000, the following would be the proportion between England, Scotland, and Ireland. The addition to the duties received in England from the consumption of spirits would be £382,000; in Scotland, £123,000; and in Ireland,

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£95,000. With respect to beer, the addition received in England from the increased duty would be £660,000; in Scotland, £30,000; and in Ireland, £60,000. Thus the total increase of revenue arising from the additional duties on beer and spirits would be in England, £1,042,000; in Scotland, £153,000; and in Ireland, £155,000; or, in other words, more than 77 per cent of the additional duty would be paid by the English consumer, 11 per cent by the Scotch, and 11½ by the Irish. I hope the House will excuse me for having at this moment interposed with these figures, because if I had not done so the debate might proceed on wrong assumptions. I have shown that seven-ninths of the additional duties will be paid by England, about one-ninth by Scotland, and one-ninth by Ireland. If to this be added the additional Income Tax, Scotland will pay less than one-tenth of the additional taxation, Ireland less than one-sixteenth, and England more than five-sixths. I do not wish to stand now any longer between the House and the right hon. Gentleman; but at a later period it will be my duty to speak on the whole subject of the Budget.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, in rising to move—

"That this House regards the increase proposed by this Bill in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine, and declines to impose fresh Taxation on Real Property until effect has been given to its Resolution of 17th April 1883 and of 28th March 1884, by which it has acknowledged further measures of relief to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services,"

said: There are, I think, many points on which this Budget invites, very temptingly, criticism from the other side of the House. I might, for instance, dwell on the extraordinary fact that under a Liberal Administration, which ought to be economical if anything at all, we have an Expenditure of £100,000,000. I might ask how it is consistent with a doctrine which has been laid down by the Prime Minister as the most important rule of sound finance,—namely, that under any circumstances we ought to pay our way—that a sum which may be as much as £3,000,000, and can hardly be less than than £1,100,000, is to be carried on to the taxation of the following year, to be dealt with by the Successor, whoever he may be, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with an implied promise that part of the taxation by which the increased expenditure is to be met this year by Her Majesty's Government is not to be renewed. I might ask why it was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Financial Statement, exaggerated his deficit by taking 5*d.* as the normal limit of the Income Tax, when, if the rate at which that tax stands in the current year is considered, you will find that the average rate of the Income Tax under the present Government has been 6*d.*, while it was only 3*d.* under the late Administration. I have no desire to enter into these subjects now. I have no desire, as the Prime Minister did me the honour to suggest some weeks ago, to express any censure on the Government, or to move a Vote of Want of Confidence. My intention is to call attention to the proposals in this Budget, to ask the consideration of the House for any arguments I may have to bring forward in support of my views, and to invite the Chancellor of the Exchequer to re-model his Budget if the considerations I advance seem to require it. I do not intend to dwell on the changes in the Budget announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Friday. I do not imagine that he considers these changes were of very great importance, because the Government did not think it worth while on Friday to keep a House to get them sanctioned. I cannot understand why they should have been made, because in any case it is clear that the £300,000 which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to give up in respect of the Spirit Duties will be required to meet the deficit of the present year, unless it is, which I cannot for a moment suppose, intended to perpetuate a state of disturbance in the spirit trade. Again, I cannot conceive why the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes that the increased duty on beer should terminate on the 31st of May. If this offer of the right hon. Gentleman to the brewers is to have

any effect at all, I think it will be found that they will be clever enough so to utilize it as to deprive him of no little part of the increased revenue he expects to derive from the tax. There was one part of the Financial Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to which I listened with the greatest pleasure, and in which I wish to express my cordial concurrence. There is nothing in the Amendment which I venture to propose which, to my mind, conflicts in any way with the view expressed by the right hon. Gentleman that this increased expenditure should not fall wholly on property or on those payers of Income Tax who are by no means synonymous with the owners of property. I am glad that such a statement should have been made on behalf of a Cabinet which includes the President of the Board of Trade. I wish only that the right hon. Gentleman had put it more completely into practice, because I do not believe that in any country in the world will there be a greater inequality of taxation among classes than if this Budget passes into law, between the well-paid artizan who consumes neither spirits nor beer and the unfortunate person with a small income who just falls within the clutch of the Income Tax collector. In the circumstances with which we have to deal, any Chancellor of the Exchequer who feels it consistent with justice to increase the indirect taxation of the country has a very difficult task to perform. That is owing to the financial policy with which the name of the Prime Minister will be identified, a policy pursued by successive Chancellors of the Exchequer for 40 years, and taken from the example of Sir Robert Peel—namely, that of removing one by one, and sometimes by leaps and bounds, articles from the Customs tariff of the country. That policy, in certain circumstances, places the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a very serious dilemma. Either he has to propose new indirect taxation, which is always odious, or else he has to make an almost impossible choice from the few articles on which taxation can be increased. That is the reason why the right hon. Gentleman has been driven to a course with respect to indirect taxation equally unjust and financially unsound. Why has it not been possible for him to cast his net over a wider space, and to bring a larger number of the population within this increased taxation? Her Majesty's Government must contend that their increased expenditure was necessary for the country. If it was necessary for the country, it was necessary for the whole population. The policy which rendered an increase of taxation necessary was not advantageous only for those who drink beer or spirits, but also for those whose circumstances or whose taste may lead them to prefer wine or tea. I heard many suggestions before this Budget was introduced that the increase of indirect taxation might be effected by an increased Tea Duty. It is not my business to suggest a tax in substitution for the tax of the right hon. Gentleman; but I cannot imagine that anyone would say that the present tax of 6*d.* per pound on tea was anything but moderate. I think that something may be said as to the proportion in which that tax falls on the cheaper kinds of tea as compared with its incidence upon the more expensive classes. But the general average of 6*d.* in the pound is certainly a moderate tax, and the Prime Minister will be the last person to deny that, because in his celebrated Budget in 1860 he declined to reduce the duty on tea, when it stood at 1*s.* 5*d.* in the pound, stating that, in his opinion, that ought to be the minimum in time of peace. Strong financial arguments might be adduced for increasing the Tea Duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer refers to the steady progress in the consumption of tea; and it is evident from the Returns that by a comparatively small addition to the duty on tea, you would obtain from that article as much Revenue as the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his most sanguine moments can anticipate from these duties on spirits and on beer, because the condition of the revenue from beer and spirits is precisely the opposite of the condition of the revenue from tea. The revenue from beer and spirits is a decreasing revenue; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself, when imposing an addition, which is now an addition of 10 per cent, upon spirits, and which, if there was no decrease of consumption consequent on that additional duty, ought to return more than £1,600,000, only estimated the increase at £600,000; and

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when proposing the increased tax on beer, which ought, if there was no decrease of consumption, to return an increase of £1,300,000, he only estimated the increase at £750,000. There hardly has ever been a Budget when the anticipated increase of revenue from increased taxation was so completely out of proportion to the taxation which the right hon. Gentleman intends to impose. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman should be charged, as some of his Predecessors have been charged, with deliberately under-estimating his probable receipts from those sources. I am afraid that he has far more likely over-estimated than under-estimated, and that the very possible result of these increased duties will be similar to that which was remarked by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, when he pointed out that a 5 per cent increase on all Excise and Custom Duties in the previous year had yielded to the Revenue no more than ½ per cent. How does the right hon. Gentleman justify his proposals? He appears to argue that because this year the estimated receipts from liquor were less, both in proportion to the total receipts from indirect taxation and in amount than they were 10 years ago, that therefore this increased indirect taxation which it was necessary for him to levy should be placed upon liquor. But that seemed to me to be the strongest argument against his own proposal, because that falling off in receipts was due to a decreased consumption. Why is it that the Government have not increased the duty on tea? Because they know that an increased duty on tea would be unpopular in the country, and especially unpopular with their own supporters. Why is this? I do not believe that it arises from any ignorant impatience of taxation on the part of the great masses of the people. I believe that if the country were in real difficulties, if a great crisis occurred, and great sacrifices had to be made, the masses of the people would be willing to bear the taxes which would be necessary to meet the danger. But I can understand that they do not care to bear this increased taxation when all the results that they see from this vast expenditure are baffled and discredited diplomacy in one quarter of the globe, and purposeless slaughter in another. The right hon. Gentleman in his Financial Statement alluded to those who now control the policy of the country. I think that the Radical teetotaller may fairly be said to be the principal controller of what the right hon. Gentleman was pleased to call the military policy of the Government. I can quite imagine that the Radical teetotaller does not care to bear any share of the expense of such military operations as have distinguished that policy; and therefore it is that, instead of increasing the taxation on some article of practically universal consumption, like tea, the Government have selected for increased taxation two important British and Irish trades, already heavily taxed, and by no means so prosperous as they were formerly, and have added insult to injury, because at the very same moment when they impose this increased taxation on these trades, they are proffering a boon to the foreign producer of the very article—namely, the strongest class of wine, which principally competes with these home industries. What are likely to be the effects of this increased taxation? The right hon. Gentleman told us this evening that he had reason to believe that the price of spirits had already been raised to the consumer, at any rate in some places, in consequence of the increased duty. That may have been done; but I very much question if it could be generally done. I fancy that, looking to the difficulty of adapting any rise in retail prices to the amount of the increased duty in the present bad state of trade, it will be impossible generally, even for the dealers in spirits, to raise the price of their commodity, especially now that the increased duty is to be 1*s.* per gallon instead of 2*s.* What I fear is that the consumer will feel this new taxation not so much in an increased price for the same article as in the deterioration or unwholesomeness of the article provided. I fear that the consumer of spirits will be too often maddened by raw spirits, sold to him by persons who will not have been able, owing to the increased taxation, to bear the necessary expense of mellowing their spirits by keeping them in bond. Again, if a man wishes to buy those higher class of whiskies made from the best malt, he will find them adulterated with very inferior sherry, or spirits made from rice. Then what will the brewers do? I am unwilling to cast reflections on that great industry; but I am afraid

that, in the first instance, the brewer will be tempted to water his beer. If this should be so, the result will be that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not derive from his increased duty the increase of taxation which he anticipates. But the brewer may do something else. He may make his beer from sugar and other articles inferior in quality to malt, and sell a more unwholesome liquor, and in that way the interests of the consumer will be affected. I do not think it possible that the brewer will be able to recoup himself for the extra taxation, whatever the spirit dealer may do, by increasing the price of the article that he sells. The direct effect of this will be a decrease in the consumption of the best qualities of malt in the manufacture both of spirits and beer, and how will that affect another great industry? The price of barley will, I am afraid, continue to fall, and that will be the last nail in the coffin of the representatives of the most depressed industry in the country—namely, the corn-growing industry. I should like to know why it is, if the right hon. Gentleman has made up his mind that the only source from which he can derive his increase of Revenue is from intoxicating liquor, that he does not raise the duty on wine, as well as the duty on spirits? Certainly, wine is no more a necessary of life than beer or spirits. It is an article produced abroad, which competes with our great home industries. I do not think that the idea of substituting cheap foreign wines for beer or spirits as the poor man's beverage affords any reason for reducing the Wine Duties, or not raising them correspondingly with the duties on beer and spirits. I do not, of course, mean to say that if by keeping the Wine Duties low we obtained great commercial advantages for the trade and manufactures of this country that would not be an element in the question that ought to weigh very much with any Chancellor of the Exchequer in arriving at a conclusion in the matter. But is that the case? We know very well that both the French and the proposed Spanish Treaties were intended to carry out that idea; but both those Treaties have fallen to the ground. I do not wish to inquire whether the policy of those Treaties was consistent with strict Free Trade theories; for they were both framed by the Prime Minister, who is a strict Free Trader if he is anything at all. But I would argue that if we are to introduce a policy of bargain in these matters, which the French Treaty and the Spanish Treaties certainly did, you ought to carry out that policy of bargain consistently. But what was done? Why, with regard to the French Treaty, the duty upon all wines was largely reduced at the same moment, not only upon French wines, so that Spain and all other wine-producing countries obtained for their wines corresponding, if not precisely similar, advantages to France. Spain saw that plainly, and France saw it too, and I fancy that from that has sprung the feeling on the part of both of those countries that our policy being to lower duties as far as we can and not to levy differential duties in any case, they therefore might, without any fear of mischievous results to themselves, repudiate their part of the bargain, confident that whatever happened our Wine Duties would never be raised. Certainly, our commercial relations with both those countries are in anything but a satisfactory condition. I believe that our exports to France are practically at a standstill. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] I have it upon good authority, at any rate, that many articles which under the old Treaty were freely admitted into France are now largely excluded from that country. But with regard to Spain, I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board will contradict me when I say that the Spanish tariff is practically prohibitory, and that whatever happens Spain can make no worse arrangement with reference to manufactured articles coming from this country than that which exists at the present moment. I contend that the worst thing that Her Majesty's Government could do, if they desired to secure better commercial relations with Spain, is to give her this boon of raising the limit of the 1*s.* duty on wine to 30 degrees at the very moment when Spain has repudiated that part of the Treaty which did give our commerce some advantage. On the other hand, can it be seriously feared that if we were to raise the duty on wine to a corresponding amount to the increased duty upon beer and spirits, at

the same time taking care so to regulate that duty that it might be as little oppressive and as productive as possible, any action against this country would be taken by France or Spain? On this matter I should like to quote to this House a statement made by Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, before the Wine Duties Committee. He impressed upon that Committee that France, Spain, and Portugal had more reason to be anxious about their trade with us than we had about our trade with them, because they have a larger trade with us in proportion to their whole trade than they have with any other country, while we only send them one-tenth of our exports of British and Irish produce, most of which, I may say, consists, especially as far as Spain is concerned, of such articles as coal, which she could not do without. I believe that if Her Majesty's Government really wish to change all this and to open Spain to English manufacturers the wisest thing they could do would be to take the course which is required by justice to the home interest, which they now propose to tax, and instead of giving Spain a boon, by practically reducing the duty upon wine, to make such an alteration in our wine tariff as would be specially injurious to Spain. Again, I think that by raising the Spirit Duties and by practically lowering the duties upon wine the Chancellor of the Exchequer has entered upon a path which will involve very considerable danger to the Revenue, owing to the risk of fraud and of illicit distillation. Upon that matter I should like to quote to the House a statement made by a very high authority, Mr. Seldon, to the Wine Duties Committee. He described to that Committee that the basis of the existing system of Wine Duties was in very proximate relation to the Spirit Duty, which would be defended by Wine Duties maintaining that relation, but which would be ruined, or seriously damaged, if they were out of relation to the Spirit Duty. And in a very able Memorandum attached to the Report of that Committee, I find that soon after the conclusion of the French Treaty, when the French complained that the 1*s.* duty on wine was not extended to 30 degrees, and Mr. Cobden tried to persuade Her Majesty's Government to give to France that concession, the Prime Minister replied that the proposal was one of a most grave character in its bearing upon the Revenue of the country, in connection with the vast sums derived from other strong drinks, and that it amounted to a proposal that a gallon of proof spirits, if contained in three and a-quarter gallons of wine, should be admitted at a duty of 3*s.* 4*d.*, whereas if the wine were distilled abroad and the spirit imported here as an extract of the same bulk and strength, the duty upon it would be 10*s.* 5*d.* The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that he did not think it safe to anticipate with confidence any state of things in which such a relative scale of duties could be maintained. Later on the French asked for a uniform duty up to 40 degrees, when the right hon. Gentleman replied that if they meant a 1*s.* duty—

> "A tax so much lower on the alcohol in wine would in all likelihood paralyze this important arm of our Revenue."

And it was quite in accordance with this view that—

> "A power was reserved to us in the French Treaty, of increasing our duty on wine in case we should increase our duty of Excise chargeable on spirits."

What I say is this—that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has destroyed the relation between the Wine and Spirit Duties, the importance of which was so strongly insisted upon by the Prime Minister. I do not know whether I shall be told that the Report of the Wine Duties Committee did not attach much importance to the danger of illicit distillation; but that Committee distinctly recommended that the charge on wine for every degree above a certain limit to be fixed by the Executive, which limit they did not state, should bear an approximate relation to the Spirit Duties, and throughout their Report it is perfectly clear that they could never have had really in their minds the supposition that the existing Spirit Duty of 10*s.* 5*d.* could be increased. I feel that I ought to apologize to the House for the length of time I have occupied. ["No!"] But I am now only about to come to the second part of my Amendment, which relates to the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the Succession Duties in this Bill. I hope that in discussing this matter we shall not hear anything from the Prime Minis-

ter as to the relative burdens which are borne by property and by labour, because it appears to me that this question of assimilating the Death Duties on personal and real property cannot be affected by any such argument. I understand the desire of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be to place an equal tax upon all successions by death, whether real or personal. In the first place, I should say that if we were to consider this matter solely with reference to the Death Duties, that equal duties in theory would by no means prove to be equal in practice. In making these duties nominally equal you take no account whatever of the respective capacity of real and personal property to bear them. Look at the immense advantage which personal property has over real property in the matter of outgoings and in the different proportions of net to gross Revenue respectively derived from them. I altogether deny that there is any equality between the two classes of property in their power of bearing this increased taxation; and I would add that whereas an inheritor of personal property can almost always, if he likes, dispose of a portion of that property in order to pay the Legacy Duty charged upon it, it is most difficult and often practically impossible for an inheritor of real property to do anything of the kind. But, Sir, my main contention as against this proposal in the present Bill is that you cannot consider the question solely in relation to the Death Duties, and apart from other taxation on real and on personal property. Equalize the taxation on these two classes of property by all means if you like, but equalize it completely; and remember, above all, that the whole of the taxation borne by real property as distinguished from personal property is very far from being included in the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Why, Sir, to do otherwise would not only be a gross injustice to real property; but it would also be in direct contradiction to the admissions of Members of Her Majesty's Government at any time during the last three years, when the burdens on real property have been discussed in this House; and, as my Amendment points out, it would be a direct violation of the principle of two Resolutions adopted in 1883 and 1884 by the House of Commons—the first of which was supported by Her Majesty's Government and the whole of those who sit behind them, and the second of which was supported by all who sit on this side of the House, and which, taken together, may therefore be considered as having received the unanimous assent of this House. What was the principle which was common to both those Resolutions? It was that relief should be given to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of certain charges now exclusively falling upon them. When my hon. Friend the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), who has so often and so ably brought this question before Parliament, originally took it up some years ago, it was necessary to expound the difference in the taxation on real and on personal property, and to prove by statistics that the former class of property ought to be relieved. We have got beyond that point now, for it has been universally admitted that personal property owes a debt to real property in this matter. Year after year we have been hoping against hope that Her Majesty's Government, having made this admission, would find some way to pay that debt. What is their way to pay it? It is a "new way to pay old debts" indeed. Their way to pay the debt of personal property to real property is to increase that debt by nearly £1,000,000 a-year. That such a proposal as this, dealing with a part of the question to the disadvantage of real property, should come from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of all those who sit upon that Bench, I must say, has caused me the greatest possible surprise. Why, Sir, on the 24th of April, 1884, the right hon. Gentleman said in the course of his Financial Statement—

> "The time is approaching when, under a general Local Government Bill, relief will have to be given to the payers of local burdens; and this relief, whatever its amount may be, will accrue mainly to owners of land and houses—that is to say, to real property. It seems to me that that should be the occasion for adjusting and finally settling the Death Duties. I have given considerable attention to the matter, and the problem, to my mind, is not very difficult to solve."—(3 *Hansard*, [287] 514-5.)

Was ever a more definite promise made by a Minister? Was ever promise more completely broken? And yet the right hon. Gentleman, in all his long speech on the Budget, said not a word to ac-

count for the change. We have a right to insist that in accordance with their own statements and the Resolutions of the House this question should be dealt with as a whole, and not be touched piecemeal to the disadvantage of that class of property which they admit is too heavily taxed. I do not wish to enter into the details of the proposed alteration of the Succession Duties. I am not competent to do so, for they are matters of very great technical difficulty; but I would say generally that I think that there are serious objections to the manner in which the Bill imposes the Death Duties on the two classes of property. I will not object to the 5 per cent Income Tax on corporate property, except by saying that it appears to be a severe tax by way of commutation for Death Duties. But the proportionate increase in the Succession Duty under this Bill will press more heavily on near than on distant relations, and I think that provision is a very harsh one. There is, however, a matter of greater importance. It is contained in the last paragraph but one of the Statement on the subject that has been circulated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There we find that before real property can be enjoyed by a person absolutely or as tenant at will he will be taxed on the capital value, and not only on the life interest. Now, this is a very extraordinary proposal, as coming from the present Government, because, when the present Prime Minister, in 1853, first instituted the Succession Duty, he laid great stress on the duty being levied on the life interest rather than on the capital value. The right hon. Gentleman said on the 18th of April, 1853—

"We propose, therefore, totally to abolish, for the purpose of Legacy Duty, or Succession Tax, the effect of settlement, so that the person who succeeds to personal property will pay according to his interest. He will pay upon the capital, if he succeeds to the capital; and if he succeeds to a lesser interest, he will pay upon the value of that lesser interest. The Government, then, thinking it just that a less amount should be taken from rateable property than from property that does not pay these special burdens, have to ask in what way that distinction can best be struck. . . . . We think . . . . that the fairest mode in the case of an estate would be found to be this—that the successor to real and rateable property should be in all cases taxed upon the life interest only, or on a minor interest, if he has only a minor interest. . . . . Some remission ought to be granted to property which is now subject to a great weight of peculiar and exceptional taxation."—(3 *Hansard*, [125] 1397-8.)

That peculiar and exceptional taxation, which was then estimated by the right hon. Gentleman at £14,000,000 or £15,000,000 a-year, now amounts to more than £30,000,000. Why have the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues repealed this advantage which they deliberately gave to real property in the matter of succession as some make-weight for the exceptional burdens which real property has to bear? On another occasion the right hon. Gentleman argued—

"If you charged on the capital value of a mortgaged estate (after deducting encumbrances and deductions from gross to net rental) there is no way in which you could meet that case so as not to give the tax the effect and character of an engine for displacing the present possessor. I think it would be an invidious, an offensive, an unwise, and an unjust measure not to facilitate the parting with property by persons disposed to part with it, but to lay on a tax in such a way as would have the effect of forcing them to part with it; and there is no tax, however moderate it might be, if it were fixed upon the capital value of such an estate as I have described, when you consider how attenuated the income would be, which would not have the effect of compelling the possessor to bring his estate into the market."

Are not these words even more true now than they were then? There, perhaps, never was a time when one great part of real property—namely, agricultural land—was less able to bear taxation. It is notorious that in most parts of the country the value of land, whether for sale or for letting, has considerably decreased. In the last Return for Income Tax that I have been able to obtain the total assessment of farms in England under Schedule B decreased by more than 6 per cent in 1882-3 as compared with 1881-2. But this by no means adequately represents the real decrease; for an average of this kind is very far from showing what certain parts of the country are really suffering. I find, for instance, that Herefordshire shows a decrease of 9·27; Lincoln, 9·30; Nottingham, 9·71; Warwick, 9·96; Rutland, 10·68; Wilts, 10·85; Huntingdon, 11·85; Suffolk, 12·11; and Cambridgeshire, 13·21. And if it were possible to analyze the matter further, I am sure, from my own knowledge, that you would find that even these figures do not really represent the fall in value of certain kinds of land. I believe that the letting value of whole

districts in the corn-growing parts of the counties I have named has decreased at least 25 per cent on the gross rental, and anyone who knows anything of the outgoings of a landed property can judge what that means; while, on the other hand, the landowner is incapable of relieving himself except at a ruinous loss, for there are absolutely no purchasers in the market for property of the kind. This depression, so far from passing away, is, I am afraid, increasing. It is extraordinary that at such a moment, in spite of the Prime Minister's arguments, in spite of the Resolutions of this House to which I have referred, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should impose a fresh burden on property so unable to bear it. It is very generally admitted that there never was a time when there was a greater necessity for the expenditure of more capital in the improvement of agriculture or in the introduction of different methods of agriculture into this country. We hear a great deal about the necessity of improving the accommodation provided for labourers in the agricultural districts. I venture to say that the well-disposed among landowners have done at least as much in this respect as could be expected of them. But I quite admit that there is much more to do. Hon. Members opposite often profess their anxiety to promote these beneficial changes. How do they show it? By adding to the taxation of those who even at present find it sufficiently difficult to carry out improvements of this kind. Sir, there is another proposal often made. We are told of the advantages of largely increasing the number of small landowners. What sort of temptation do you hold out to the industrious man to invest his savings in land when you deliberately increase the taxation of land at such a moment as this? I do hope that I may have said something to induce the Government to reconsider their proposals and to withdraw those parts of the Budget to which I have referred. There can be no financial necessity in the current year for this permanent change in the Succession Duties. The right hon. Gentleman admits that all he expects to gain for the Revenue is £200,000 this year. I believe no Succession Duty would be payable until after 12 months from the date of death on real property, and that this increase of £200,000 would come mainly, if not entirely, from personal property passing by settlement, with, perhaps, a little from real property directed to be sold. It would be quite possible to make these changes in the law without touching the larger questions involved. But whether that be so or not, the Government ought to be consistent. A few weeks ago the general feeling of the House induced the Government, much against their will, to give some aid from the Exchequer to the local ratepayers in bearing those new burdens of Parliamentary registration which they had intended to impose upon the rates. What was the argument stoutly put forward by the President of the Local Government Board? We asked him to make a permanent alteration in the law so that the incidence of these expenses should in future be on the Exchequer instead of the rates. But in answer the right hon. Gentleman told us that such an alteration—which, by the grant which had been made, was admitted to be just—could not be made in the last year of a Parliament. If a Parliament in its last year cannot permanently relieve the rates from a burden which it is admitted they should not bear, how is Parliament in its last year qualified to impose a permanent and unfair charge of this nature on the whole real property of the country? I do not wish to obtain any Party triumph. I hope the views which I have endeavoured to put forward may be supported by Members on both sides of the House, and that I may have done something to persuade even the Chancellor of the Exchequer. My object is to defeat the proposals in this Budget, unjust and injurious as I believe them to be to whole classes of the community, by every means in my power, and if I cannot persuade the Chancellor of the Exchequer I shall appeal from his decision to the just and fair judgment of the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House regards the increase proposed by this Bill in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine, and declines to impose fresh Taxation on Real Property until effect has been given to its Resolution of 17th April 1883 and of 28th March 1884, by

which it has acknowledged further measures of relief to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services," —(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Before I come to the main argument of the right hon. Baronet's most important speech, there are two matters as to which I wish to remove some misapprehension which may exist in the minds of some Members of the House. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech by complaining that the Government did not think it worth their while to keep a House on Friday last. As this circumstance is one within my own knowledge, and even personal to myself, I wish to assure the House in the strongest possible terms that in order to prevent the inconvenience to trade involved by not passing the Resolution great efforts were made, in which I was personally engaged, to keep a House. The right hon. Gentleman then went on to speak of our having embarked in a policy of carrying forward to a future year charges which ought to fall on the present year; and there, again, I think misapprehension exists. The fact is that, putting aside all technicalities, we are paying off as much in the present year as we are putting off to the next. There is no carrying forward involved in the present Budget. I pass to the main argument and most important portion of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, which contains declarations of policy of an interest such as has seldom been placed before the House. The speech attracted an amount of attention which was not only due to the ability with which the right hon. Gentleman always addresses the House, but which was an attention of that special kind which awaits the announcement of a Chancellor of the Exchequer on a Budget night. The right hon. Gentleman, with a good deal of preparation, worked up the question of what taxes he and his Party would be likely to put on us. The right hon. Gentleman excited a breathless condition of interest on both sides of the House. We all know it is easy to object to taxes and to find fault with any conceivable tax. The right hon. Gentleman, by the terms of his Resolution, finds fault with the increase of the Death Duties. By his speech he has found fault with the increase of the Beer and Spirit Duties. He told us he was the protector of small payers of the Income Tax. The Income Tax did not find favour in his eyes. But what did find favour in his eyes? The right hon. Gentleman would not carry forward charges to a future year; he did not like raising the Income Tax or any of the duties which it was proposed to raise; but he proposed to the House, in the name of his Party, on this great occasion, of which long Notice has been given by the second man of the Party, an increase in the duty upon tea. The right hon. Gentleman did it avowedly because tea was an article of universal consumption. We all know tea is an article of universal consumption. I wish that the owners of landed estates in this country would do all they could to enable the poor to get milk as well as tea. One of the greatest hardships in the rural districts, as compared with what was the case 10 or 20 years ago, is the absolute inability of the poor to obtain milk. But, in spite of that total absence of milk, the people do drink tea, and the whole population consume tea. The right hon. Gentleman admits that the Tea Duty would be unpopular with those who sit on this side of the House and with the Radical Party. What reason does the right hon. Gentleman give? He says that we are supported by the Temperance Party and the Radical teetotallers, who, he says, objected to war. That is a characteristic of the Radical teetotallers that I am glad to hear admitted. It is assumed, therefore, that such a policy as the taxation of tea would be specially unpopular to the Liberal Party and the supporters of the Government. If we are to discuss the character of the constituents of the two Parties in the State, if such phrases are to be used with a sneer, as they were by the right hon. Gentleman, I prefer the Radical teetotaller to the pot-house politician. If we are to discuss that question in a graver way and upon its merits—it was not I who introduced these things; it was the right hon. Gentleman who sneered at the Radical teetotaller, who was supposed to be in favour of peace—I would point out to the House why tea is not an available article for an increase of duty. Tea is

already very heavily taxed—indeed far more heavily, in proportion to its value, than is beer. The great bulk of tea imported into this country is taxed 50 per cent upon its wholesale value, and beer only 20 per cent.

MR. HICKS: 90.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What beer?

MR. HICKS: 90 per cent.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I think the hon. Member will have very considerable difficulty in proving that beer pays 90 per cent at the present time. A calculation which is in my possession goes to show that beer pays 20 per cent at the present time, and that, with the increase proposed by this Budget, the total charge for the year's duty will be 23 per cent instead of 20, as against 50 per cent which is paid by tea. Yet all the dreadful consequences predicted by the right hon. Gentleman are to ensue. There is to be a total cessation in the growth of barley, and an enormous adulteration of beer, and all this is to be caused by an increase of duty from 20 to 23 per cent. The right hon. Gentleman spoke by way of suggestion; but he was too skilful to dwell upon the subject of the possibility of levying *ad valorem* duties, because, he said, the duty fell as heavily upon the cheaper as the dearer teas; he seemed to think that the cheaper tea was heavily taxed. It must be remembered that it is only for statistical and financial purposes we discriminate between the cheaper and the dearer kinds of tea. Substantially, it is only the cheaper kinds of tea which have to be taken into account, because the expensive teas consumed by a portion of the rich bear a very small proportion to the total importation of tea. It is futile to suppose that any great increase of duty could be obtained by raising the duty only upon the dearer kinds. It was quite clear that the right hon. Gentleman wished to raise a large amount by increased duties, such an amount as would take the place of the proposed increase of Beer and Spirit Duties. I can assure the House that that cannot be done without a substantial addition to the present duty on the cheaper kinds of tea. After making this indiscreet proposal with regard to tea, the right hon. Gentleman proposed another tax, one upon wines. I admit, generally speaking, that Beer and Spirit Duties fall in a large proportion upon the poor, as compared with Wine Duties, which fall chiefly upon the rich. But when the right hon. Gentleman uses the term inequitable, and says it is inequitable to increase the Beer and Spirit Duties without raising the duty on wine, he treats the Budget as though it consisted only of a proposal to raise the Beer and Spirit Duties. The House, however, will recollect what was said both in the Budget speech and in the Resolutions, as to the amount of taxes left by the Budget which will fall upon the richer classes, and it was hardly worth the while of the right hon. Gentleman to descend to claptrap such as this. The right hon. Gentleman used the word inequitable, and to make use of that word in reference to one part of the Budget, while ignoring the remainder, is what I call claptrap. He did not tell us how much he thought we could obtain by an increase of Wine Duties. Surely it is worth while considering whether you can obtain a sufficient amount to make it desirable that you should incur the risks and the inconvenience of imposing the additional duty. It has been suggested in the public prints that we should increase the duty upon sparkling wine and upon bottled wine. I believe it would be difficult to get more than a few thousand pounds from these two sources, and it is matter for consideration whether it would be prudent to make a change for so small an amount. But a portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman showed that he contemplated increasing all the Wine Duties, although in another part of his speech he appeared to limit himself to the wines strongest in alcohol. The whole wine trade is a decreasing trade; it is a trade which shows a steady decrease; and it is doubtful whether a general increase of Wine Duties would not be followed by a further diminution in trade. Whenever it may be necessary and expedient to raise the Wine Duties, the House has not parted with the power of raising them to meet any great demand upon the finances of the country. The right hon. Gentleman recommended that we should make an increase which should be specially injurious to Spain. I will not discuss International relations; we do not think the Spaniards have behaved particularly well; and I will not

quarrel with the rather harsh terms which the right hon. Gentleman used. Any change in the Wine Duties based on alcoholic strength would be specially injurious to Spain, and it would be specially injurious to a small but growing trade with the British Colonies, and the most important of those Colonies which do not put protective duties on British goods. New South Wales is an example. It would be impossible to put on a duty injurious to Spanish wines without crushing the trade in wine growing up between New South Wales and this country. I have seen proposals made of differential duties against the wines of Spain; but the right hon. Gentleman is too cautious and prudent to adopt that suggestion. The right hon. Baronet argued his case with reference to France as well as Spain. He evidently thinks, as I should gather from his speech, that France has raised her duties against us.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I did not mean to imply that. Only on certain articles.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Not on the whole?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: You are worse off than you were before.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No; we are not. We are distinctly much better off than we were, not only vastly better off than we were under the Cobden Treaty, to obtain which we reduced our Wine Duties, but much better off, on the whole, than we were before the negotiations of 1881 and 1882. The Returns of Trade during the last five years show a considerable increase in the export of British and Irish produce to France since the years 1878, 1879, and 1880. No year since 1880 has fallen so low as that year, which was worse than 1879. There is an apparent decrease last year as compared with 1883; but it is a decrease due to shrinking in value and not in quantity. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to suggest an increase of Wine Duties by way of reprisal for the treatment he supposed we had received from France. Certainly an increase of the duties upon sparkling and bottled wines would be regarded in France as specially directed against wines of that country, as only small amounts come bottled from Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. If we raised our duties, the Free Trade movement in France would be greatly weakened, and an agitation might arise to deprive this country of the most-favoured-nation treatment. Although no Treaty was made, great reductions were obtained in 1880 and 1881. These reductions were adopted in the Belgian Treaty, which was made concurrently; and this country has benefited by the increase of trade with France and Belgium. I am bound to say that you would imperil any reduction of duty which has been granted to this country by the raising of duty apparently directed against French wines. I now pass over to one or two other observations which the right hon. Baronet made with regard to the Wine Duties. He quoted the Wine Duty Committee and the evidence of a great many witnesses who were examined; but he entirely failed to quote the main result of the proceedings of the Committee. The right hon. Baronet succeeded in conveying to the House the idea that the Committee recommended an increase of duty; but they recommended a decrease. When the right hon. Baronet quotes the proceedings of a Committee in this House, it is only fair that we should be made aware of the result of those proceedings. The right hon. Baronet then went into ancient history, and quoted former opinions with regard to the Wine Duties, and as to the effect of the low duty on cheap wines, which he seemed to think a very bad thing, there again pointing to action which had a very great effect on trade between this country and France. These opinions of the right hon. Baronet are ancient opinions, and are out of date with the Customs authorities, who with their present experience of the working of low duties on cheap wines are now satisfied that the low duties do not conflict with the remainder of the fiscal system of the country. The right hon. Baronet then went on to attack another part of the Budget. He says that the Death Duties ought not to be increased until the Local Government Bill had handed over, according to the policy which had been announced in this House, to localities certain taxes in lieu of contributions which are at present made to the State. I want to know, if the change is just and equitable in itself, why it should not be made at the present time, without waiting for subsequent changes which are also just and

equitable. The right hon. Baronet also speaks of the relief of the ratepayer and the property owner as though the two were exactly the same. They are not. When a grievance of the poor ratepayer is put forward we do not associate him with the owner of landed property.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The Chancellor of the Exchequer last year used these words—

"This relief, whatever its amount may be, will accrue mainly to owners of land and houses—that is to say, to real property."—(3 *Hansard*, [287] 514-15.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The grievance always urged in this House is that of the small class of ratepayers in towns and of the small farmers. I doubt whether the highest economical authorities in this House would consider that the Death Duties mainly hit these persons. The right hon. Gentleman complained of our touching the question of local taxation at all in a piecemeal fashion. This argument comes with peculiar want of force from the right hon. Baronet, who nearly destroyed the Government and the Liberal Party a few weeks ago by the extraordinary insistance with which he tried to touch this question in a very piecemeal way. He quoted some remarks of the Prime Minister with regard to the taxation of real property, and then asked whether rates had not increased rather than diminished since those remarks were made. The rates in towns have increased very greatly since; but the rates in the country have not. Our view is that the change which we propose is a just change, and ought not to be necessarily dependent upon certain other changes relating to local taxation. The right hon. Gentleman did not, I think, shake that view; and the belief I held before he made his speech, that this small instalment of justice ought to be given at the present time, I hold still. Let the House bear in mind that landed property already possesses one great advantage in taxation. The land is generally left for lives, and personal property generally right out. Personal property left right out pays on the whole amount, whereas the land does not, but only its life interest. This is a clear advantage to the owners of land, which they will retain if the proposal is carried into effect. Now, the right hon. Baronet went on to say that he did not wish to make a Party battle of this, and that he did not wish really to inflict any damage on the Liberal side of the House; but that all he desired was to change or modify the Budget. But I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that if that is his view he will not be allowed to hold it quietly to himself on this occasion. If he defeats us on this occasion he must take the responsibility of that defeat, and he must have the courage of his opinions and be prepared to go forward with his proposals for taxing tea, which he admits is universally consumed, and a tax on which would, he admitted, be unpopular. We have had the courage of our opinions. This is not altogether a popular Budget; but I venture to say that it will be a very popular Budget indeed beside that shadowed forth to us by the right hon. Gentleman to-night. This question cannot be treated as a mere question of change of Budget. It is a question of life and death, and must be treated as a question of life and death; and if the right hon. Gentleman defeats us on this occasion he must try to form a Government on the policy he has placed before the country to-night. The right hon. Gentleman will, I think, find that those who sit on the Ministerial side of the House are singularly elated by his speech. I do not think that they could have found a better policy to go to the country with than the one which the right hon. Baronet has presented them with. Time will show, and I think the time will come when the Tory Party will regret that they have proposed a weighty duty on tea, and that they have sneered at the Temperance Party of this country.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the right hon. Baronet who had just sat down was good enough at the commencement of his speech to denounce claptrap, but had used a great deal of it himself. The right hon. Baronet had attributed a great many views to his right hon. Friend which he did not hear him announce. He did not hear him propose a duty on tea—[SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Hear, hear! *and Ministerial cries of* "Oh!"]—but he had heard the right hon. Baronet who spoke last support the Beer Duty as a tax on pothouse politicians.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What I said was that if we were forced into

these considerations I was bound to say that for my part I preferred the Radical teetotaller to the pothouse politician.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the right hon. Baronet expressed himself in terms of disapproval of pothouse politicians, and he sneered at them; but there was not a single Metropolitan Member who had attended so many pothouse meetings as the right hon. Baronet.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I beg to give a most unqualified denial to that statement.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, his memory was sufficiently accurate to enable him to say that there was no Metropolitan Member who had been so assiduous in attending what ordinarily went by the name of pothouse meetings as the right hon. Baronet. The great mass of the Radical clubs who supported the right hon. Baronet had beer and spirit licences; and to support pothouse politicians out-of-doors and denounce them in the House of Commons was nothing but claptrap. The right hon. Baronet had stoutly denied that there was any carrying over of the deficiency to next year; but there was a carrying over, and for the right hon. Baronet to deny it was to deny the existence of the Bill which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced to make good his deficiency. This year he took all that he could from the Sinking Fund, and next year he proposed to pay out of the same fund what he could to meet the deficiency which was carried over from this year. Of course, any taxation was unpopular; still it was remarkable that whenever it was proposed to tax any home produce the Radical Party were dumb, but when it was proposed to tax an article of foreign produce they raised every possible objection. Lord Beaconsfield once observed that the Radical Party were friends of every country in the world but their own. That seemed to be true when they came to the question of taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had endeavoured to buy off opposition from the Beer and Spirit Duties by intimating that next year the Beer Duty would be repealed. But, if that were an equitable duty, why should they take it off next year? Was it proposed to take off the Spirit Duty next year? There was no response to that question.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) said, if he did not immediately answer every question contained in the speeches of hon. Members, it must not be assumed that he agreed with what might be inferred from or implied in them.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, continuing, said, now he would ask very seriously, was it in the power of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to promise the repeal of any portion of the taxation which he put on this year? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he would not be a party to the taxation of property unless he also taxed articles of consumption, and that he would not be a party to the increase of the duty upon spirits if he did not increase the duty on beer. Next day he proposed to take off the duty on beer; but he believed that an enormous proportion of the taxation now imposed would be necessary for many years, even in the most favourable circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated a deficiency of £15,000,000, but the Vote of Credit was only for £11,000,000; consequently, there would be a deficiency of £4,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to put on taxation to the amount of only £7,000,000; consequently, the greater portion of the increased taxation would be necessary for the ordinary purposes of the year. The right hon. Gentleman had been acute enough to say that this excessive expenditure was exceptional. It was nothing of the kind. What would be our position next year? They must make an allowance for at least £1,500,000 of Supplementary Estimates; that made a deficiency of £5,500,000 out of £7,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not tax property unless he put taxes on articles of consumption; therefore, if he took off the Beer Duty next year, and left on the increased Income Tax, he would throw over the cardinal principle upon which he proceeded. The expenditure this year was £100,000,000. It was perfectly clear that next year we should have an increase of the existing amount of the ordinary Estimates, which this year were £88,000,000 sterling. The Estimates in respect of the Army, Navy, and Civil Service were £4,000,000 in excess of the Estimates of last year, which were the highest ever laid on the

Table of the House before. When such an increase took place, he appealed to the experience of Members whether it was not likely to remain a portion of our ordinary expenditure? But the expenditure of the Government was £10,000,000 in excess of the Estimates which the late Government proposed, and for which they made provision. Therefore, they found that the ordinary expenditure of this Government, which was pledged to economy, was £10,000,000 in excess of the Estimates of the late Government, which was denounced as extravagant. The average increase was £2,000,000 a-year. In Mid Lothian the Prime Minister denounced the excessive Supplementary Estimates of the Government of that day. But no Government had sinned so much in that respect as the Government of the right hon. Gentleman. There were last year no fewer than five separate series of Army Supplementary Estimates, four separate series of Naval Supplementary Estimates, and three separate series of Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, while the amount averaged between £3,000,000 and £5,000,000 sterling. In fact, there was an aggregate of £12,000,000 sterling for Supplementary Estimates in five years. In addition, the Government introduced the largest Vote of Credit ever asked for. There were four points to which he wished to call attention with regard to the policy of the Government—firstly, that the normal Expenditure of this country had reached many millions more than had ever hitherto been the case; secondly, that the average annual increase had taken place by leaps and bounds; thirdly, that the Supplementary Estimates had attained an extraordinarily high figure; and, fourthly, that in times of peace we had a Vote of Credit that exceeded that of many War Budgets. Putting all these things together, he believed that our expenditure next year would reach an amount which would not permit the Chancellor of the Exchequer to effect any reduction of taxation. The President of the Local Government Board was very much in favour of the large increase of the Succession Duty proposed by the Government. He said, if it was just and equitable, there was no reason why the duty should not be increased. But the Opposition contended that it was unjust and inequitable unless property, which was taxed so highly for Imperial purposes, was relieved of the burdens imposed upon it for local purposes also. At a time when the Party opposite desired to increase the number of landowners, it was astonishing that they should support a proposal which must result in the extinction of small freeholders. By the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a small freeholder, on succeeding to his inheritance, would be compelled to pay treble the duty which he would have had to pay formerly. The result would be that a small freeholder would be forced to sell his heritage on succeeding to it, and thus the number of small landowners in this country would inevitably become less. The President of the Local Government Board had told them that the acceptance of the Budget as it stood was a question of life or death to the Government. But Governments had before now taken back their Budgets; and if the Government should resign, in the event of defeat, on the present occasion, they would resign, not through fear of the difficulty which his right hon. Friend's Motion would place in their way, but through fear of other difficulties. He, therefore, hoped the House would not be led in any degree by the threat of resignation which had been held out. The Succession Duties were only estimated to produce £200,000 this year. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to decide to forego this sum, his Budget would not materially suffer. The proposal of his right hon. Friend was clear. He said, if the Government must put an increased duty on beverages, let it be put on wine, and no answer had been made to that proposal. The Expenditure of the country was increasing at an enormous rate; and if the House should now assent to the proposed increased taxation, on the ground that it was only to be temporary, the almost certain result would be that in the end the additions would form an integral part of the permanent taxation of the country. In his Mid Lothian speeches the Prime Minister attributed the increased taxation of that day to the vigorous foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Now, however, unprecedented Votes of Credit were proposed in support of a policy which was by no means vigorous. The meaner and shabbier the foreign policy of the present Go-

vernment was, the larger were the demands made upon the country. A principle laid down by Lord Beaconsfield 20 years ago, when the relations between Germany and Denmark were strained, was that the more the influence of England was reduced in the counsels of Europe the less security there was for peace. Now, the reason why these enormous Estimates were proposed, and why this unpopular taxation was imposed, was that the Government had reduced the influence of England to a nullity. Although nominally at peace, the House was asked to sanction a War Budget. It was possible that his right hon. Friend would be defeated, and that this unpopular taxation would pass into law; and, as he had said, he was convinced that if it did, instead of being merely temporary, it would become a permanent charge. He should not be sorry, in one sense, if the Amendment were rejected, because the eyes of the country would then be opened to the causes of the enormous expenditure, and they would be led to carefully consider the policy of the last five years, which had resulted in imposing upon the country the mischief and injury of immense taxation at home, and inflicting upon us all the discredit of constant surrender and humiliation abroad.

MR. ALLSOPP: Sir, as one of those largely affected by the Beer Duty, and while still objecting to the imposition of an increased tax upon a trade which has already many heavy burdens to bear, I nevertheless recognize the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the fact that he has endeavoured to meet the trade in a fair spirit by limiting the operation of the tax, and thus making the extra 1*s.* per barrel a war tax, and a war tax only. If, therefore, my vote vote had to be given on this part of the Budget only, I should have felt it my duty to have abstained from voting; but there are other proposals in the Budget to which I strongly object, and shall be obliged, therefore, to record my vote in favour of the Amendment moved by the right hon. Baronet.

MR. O'SULLIVAN, in supporting the Amendment, could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his change of front with regard to the Budget, for the right hon. Gentleman had neither made a decent retreat nor had stuck to his guns. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) thought Her Majesty's Government had made a serious mistake in putting a tax upon an article which was already considerably overtaxed. The new figures given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that evening were certainly most extraordinary, and were sprung on them by surprise, especially with regard to Ireland. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) looked upon the proposal to increase the Spirit Duty as an attempt to destroy a most important industry in that country. To prove the importance of the spirit trade in Ireland it would be sufficient to say that in January, 1883, there was in bond and in store in that country 20,550,000 gallons of Irish-made whisky, representing a value of over £5,000,000. On the same date there were in the English bonded stores only 7,000,000 gallons of whisky made in various countries, representing, including gin, a value of about £1,500,000. Home-made spirits ought not to be placed on the same footing as cigars and tobacco, the raw material of which was grown abroad, and was therefore a foreign product, whereas our spirits were manufactured from home-grown barley. Ireland had only three principal trades—that of linen, that of whisky, and that of porter; and it was now sought to destroy her whisky trade. Formerly Irish trade was destroyed by special legislation, but no one would nowadays think of bringing in a Bill to destroy any particular branch of Irish industry; but the present action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would prove as fatal to the trade he referred to as any legislation could do. He might be told that this increase in the Spirit Duties had been made in the interests of morality; but, if that were the case, why had not an equal tax been put upon alcohol in all its forms? Why was spirit selected? Was it not a well-known fact that that article was at present taxed 200 or 300 per cent over its actual value, and why should another 10 per cent of taxation be added to it? During the last 30 years, however, the Liberal Party had made frequent attempts to destroy the Irish whisky trade. Thirty years since the duty was only 2*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on Irish whisky; it was now 400 per cent more than the first cost of the article. He should like to know whether there was any trade in this country which would stand such a duty as that? The

result of the taxation in Ireland had been to reduce the number of distilleries to one-third the number that existed 50 years ago, and the effect of this policy was that they were destroying the makers of a pure wholesome whisky, and driving hundreds of thousands of people into early graves and lunatic asylums by encouraging the consumption of inferior spirits. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were actuated by any motives of morality, why did he not put a tax of 2*s.* duty upon whisky taken out before it was one year old, and 1*s.* on whisky taken out before two years? If he had done that he would have the whole House with him, and would have served the cause of real and solid temperance more than all the tinkering Bills ever brought into this House by the Temperance Party. The result of the present proposals would be to encourage the manufacture and consumption of inferior German spirit made from potatoes, which was only fit for lighting lamps. This Budget offered a direct bonus to foreign manufacture. It was not merely those engaged in the whisky trade who would be injured, but the farmers, who now found barley a profitable crop. Again, the proposal was such as it would make Ireland and Scotland pay two-fifths of the whole duty, notwithstanding that their population was not one-fourth of the whole of that of the United Kingdom. The number of gallons of spirit according to population consumed in the three countries and the amount paid per head of the tax would show this. He held in his hand a very important calculation, which showed that Englishmen drank, on an average, a little over four gallons per head of alcohol in all shapes, Scotchmen a little over three gallons, and Irishmen only two gallons, or a little more than one-half that consumed by Englishmen. Yet see how they were made to pay for this luxury in the different countries? The Scotchman paid in the shape of duty 18*s.* 10*d.* per head, the Irishman 13*s.* 10*d.* per head; but the Englishman, who consumed twice as much as the Irishman, paid only 11*s.* 8*d.* per head. Was this a fair way of taking what was known as an "even keel" for the three countries? If any Irish or Scotch Members voted for the Government to-night, he could only say that they preferred their Party to their country.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he expected to receive only £900,000 from the spirits and £750,000 from beer; but he maintained that Ireland and Scotland alone would pay more than that sum themselves. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the right hon. Gentleman would have got £1,000,000 sterling from Ireland and Scotland alone under the 2*s.* increased duty on spirits. By the change he now proposed that amount would be reduced to £500,000. When introducing his Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken as if the tax on beer would but very slightly affect Ireland. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) would show the House that Ireland paid more than her share of that tax also. There were 44 breweries in Ireland, and one of these alone would pay over £60,000. The remaining 43 would surely pay another £60,000. Was that a trifle? Under these proposals of the Government Ireland, with 1-16th of the wealth of the United Kingdom, would have to pay 1-9th of the taxation. An admission made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing in his Budget showed his position in regard to the increase of the Spirit Duty to be altogether inconsistent. The right hon. Gentleman said —"As to spirits, we have satisfied ourselves that they may now well bear an increased duty." What, he (Mr. O'Sullivan) would ask, could these words mean, except that the consumption of spirits was increasing? Yet the fact was the Government had for some years past been pursuing a policy which was steadily destroying one of the few industries they had yet remaining in Ireland. Some years ago they had 93 distilleries in Ireland, while they had now only 31, and that notwithstanding the fact that it was admitted on all sides that drinking had increased all over the country—a consequence of the extensive substitution of bad spirits for the wholesome articles formerly made. In the face of a falling consumption it was outrageous for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to attempt to put an increased duty on Irish and Scotch spirits. People sometimes wondered at the persistency with which Irish Members strove to obtain a Home Legislature for Irelaud; but he asked whether the circumstances he was now mentioning, if they stood alone, were not a justification for their moving Heaven and earth to get a

Home Parliament? By the policy the English Government had long been pursuing in Ireland, the spirit trade was being thrown into the hands of German distillers and others, to the great detriment of Irish interests. Had the Government proposed to put an increased duty on raw spirits the whole House would have supported them. Were there not many other things upon which taxation might justly be imposed to make good the deficit? Why, for instance, should not a tax be imposed on ground rents, which yielded large incomes to persons who contributed nothing out of their own pockets for the improvement of the property from which they derived them? A tax on ground rents in all cities and towns would be a most equitable tax, and as much as £3,000,000 a-year might fairly and easily be made by taxing them 10 per cent. Next to taxing ground rents he would levy a tax upon clubs, which were nothing else than public-houses in disguise, and gave rise to an evasion of the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, and were a source of vice and immorality, as many of them were nothing better than dens for gambling and drinking. See the difference in duty on the drink of the wealthy and the drink of the working man. The working man who went into the shop of a spirit merchant and bought a bottle of whisky paid 1*s.* 6*d.* to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the wealthy squire who invested in a bottle of champagne, several times the value of the whisky, contributed only 2*d.* £250,000 might be raised by taxing high-class wines and cigars. It was the man who drove in his carriage who contributed least to the Income and to the expenses of State. It was the old story of the wealthy making laws to tax the poor and to relieve themselves. Three-fourths of the taxes of the country were raised from consumable articles, and certainly nine-tenths of that was paid by the poor and working class, which ought to be sufficient without adding more to their burdens. He had always since he had come into that House exerted himself in favour of the working man, and as long as he had the honour of occupying a seat in that House he would continue to do so. He assured the House that he was in earnest in the proposition which he had made some time ago, although hon. Members laughed at it. He believed that they should double the Income Tax upon every man who was unmarried at the age of 30 years. A man who had a family to support, a house to maintain, and servants to keep was entitled to some relief; and, besides, he believed that a married man was more likely to do good to society than a single man. He did not, therefore, think it at all unreasonable that a single man should pay a double Income Tax, as he could spare it far more than a married man, and, besides, it was a tax which he could get rid of any day he liked. For all these reasons he would strongly support the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet, and he would call upon all the Irish and Scotch Members to support it also. Any Irish or Scotch Member who supported the Government on this question thought far more of the considerations of Party than seeing his country crushed down by undue taxation. The Government taxed Ireland and taxed Scotland heavily, so that taxation might sit lightly on England.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE said, that, as an Irish Member who usually supported the Government, he felt bound on this occasion to vote against them. He considered it a very great hardship that the Irish people should have their national beverage taxed to the extent proposed by the Government. The extra tax on beer would, he understood, be in operation for one year only; but the additional tax on whisky would be retained in perpetuity. That was not fair. In regard to whisky they knew from past experience that taxes put upon it were never removed. He did not, besides, believe that Ireland should be forced to contribute so much to the large expenditure incurred by Her Majesty's Government in their foreign policy, such as in the war in the Soudan. He felt very strongly on this point, for Ireland, as far as he knew, derived no benefit whatever from this large expenditure. As far as Ireland was concerned, it was utterly useless. Another reason why he objected to the proposal of the Government was that the teetotallers would escape altogether paying their just contribution towards the national expenses. If the taxes were just and sound they ought to affect everybody in the country. It was generally supposed that people became teetotallers from very excellent motives. It had been stated, on good

authority, that there were 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of teetotallers in the country, and that a very large proportion of them abstained from drink solely because they dared not trust themselves with a limited quantity of liquor lest they should become drunkards. They had no alternative but to abstain. He failed to see why teetotallers should be altogether exempted from taxation—in fact, the way in which the teetotallers and the Salvation Army were exempted from taxation was a national disgrace. The President of the Local Government Board said he did not like to impose a further duty upon wine, because it would give offence to France to do so. But if the French considered that a tax would be beneficial to them they would not shrink from imposing it lest it might give offence to England. He thought that an increased duty should be laid on wine and champagnes especially for this reason also—that such a course would help to reconcile the poorer classes of this country to the increased taxation imposed upon them. At the same time champagne, it should be remembered, was also taken by the lower classes a good deal. [*"Oh!" and laughter.*] Yes, he believed that the miners in the North of England often drank it. For these reasons he would vote in favour of the Amendment.

MR. CLARE READ said, he hoped he would be allowed to supplement some of the remarks he had made on the Budget night with reference to the Malt Tax, because that subject was one in which he took a great interest, and nearly 20 years ago he was returned to Parliament to try to abolish it. The agriculturists of this country were like the Egyptians, who, instead of having their burdens lightened, had them greatly increased. That seemed to be the general policy of the Liberal Government towards the agricultural interest. The only effort made in his time towards the reduction of the duty on beer was when Mr. Disraeli in 1857 proposed that the Malt Tax should be reduced one-half; but the House of Commons soon disposed of the Malt Tax and of his Government at the same time. Lord John Russell, before the days of Free Trade, said that if he happened to be in Office when Free Trade was adopted the first tax he would repeal would be the Malt Tax; but some years afterwards when he was in Office he entirely forgot that promise. Lord John Russell proposed an addition of 5 per cent on the Customs and Inland Revenue and on the assessed taxes; and it was curious that whereas on almost all the other things the 5 per cent was abolished, it still remained on beer up to the present day. He was, therefore, very much obliged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer when, putting on the 1*s.* duty, he said that it would not continue beyond next May. It was well, at all events, that a time should be fixed beyond which the tax should not continue. When Mr. Cobden proposed the abolition of taxes on soap and a great variety of other articles he also recommended the abolition of the Malt Tax; and it was a strange thing that of all these taxes the only one retained was the Malt Tax. He remembered Mr. Cobden saying that when he went abroad and saw the people of the country drinking their own free wine, he could not but contrast their lot with that of the agricultural labourer who had to pay a tax on the beer he drank. In 1880 the Prime Minister transferred the tax from malt to beer, and said he only wanted to obtain an equal amount of taxation from beer. But now he found, from a Return to Parliament in 1884, that the duty upon beer was no less than 24*s.* 4½*d.*, being something like 2*s.* more than it was before. Then there was an addition to that—namely, the heavy increase of the duty for licences upon the publicans. In many country districts it was more than double what they had previously paid. No one could doubt that there was great depression of the agricultural interest, and that depression was most severely felt in the Eastern counties, where, in these latter days, barley had been the only crop that had paid for cultivation. And yet barley was the crop the Chancellor of the Exchequer singled out to put an increased duty upon. The county he had the honour to represent (Norfolk) grew more acres of barley than any other county except Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the acreage being generally within a trifle of 200,000 acres, and he calculated that this increased duty would be something like a tax of 10*s.* an acre upon every acre of barley grown in that county, and, of course, throughout England. Dividing the tax between the

Colonel O'Beirne

consumer and the producer, the Norfolk farmers would have to pay out of their poverty something like an increase of £50,000 under this new Budget. The average price of barley per quarter was about 28*s*., and the duty levied would be something of the same amount. Therefore they would have a tax of 100 per cent upon their barley. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the increase of the Revenue from the 1*s*. on beer at only £750,000. But unless there was a very limited consumption, the 1*s*. ought to bring nearly double that amount. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman must believe that this increased taxation would diminish the consumption, and very much decrease the price of barley, while, at the same time, it would invite further substitutes for malt, not only from other grain, but from bounty-fed sugar, a thing which not only crippled our Colonies and ruined the refiners in the East End of London, but inflicted on farmers in the Eastern counties very great discouragement in growing beet-root sugar. He hoped the time would come when beer would be put under the Adulteration Act. People ought to know when they drank beer whether it was made of malt and hops or of other materials. It had been said that the brewers would pay the increased taxation, and that it would not fall on the consumer. He thought, however, that the brewers would take care not to pay it. Since 1880 the quality of beer had very much deteriorated, and it was therefore possible that the brewers would not be able to make it weaker; but they might use some substitute for malt and hops, which would be very disadvantageous to the community. In his opinion, the duties on Spanish wines ought not to be reduced. When he was in America, just outside the city of St. Louis, he visited a large distillery where an immense amount of spirit was made from maize. He asked what became of that spirit, and was told that the whole of it was manufactured in bond; that one-tenth of it was sent to Antwerp, and nine-tenths to Spain for the purpose of fortifying their wines. The manager told him he did not doubt that a great deal of the spirit came to England in the shape of Spanish wines, and that it was admitted into our Free Trade country at a very considerably less duty than it would pay than if it were made from malt and barley in our own country. That was a very strong reason why we ought not to reduce the Wine Duty, as it was proposed to do.

DR. CAMERON said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that in the additional taxation he proposed to levy on beer and spirits England would have to pay £382,000 of additional duty on spirits against £660,000 additional duty on beer, while Ireland would have to pay £95,000 additional duty on spirits as compared with £60,000 on beer, and that Scotland would have to pay £123,000 increased duty on spirits against £30,000 as levied on beer. Now, that would show the enormously greater extent of the consumption of alcohol in the form of spirits in Scotland as compared with England. In considering the question of the Beer and Spirit Duties, it was fair to take into consideration the general scheme laid down by the right hon. Gentleman. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that he wished to distribute the burdens equitably between the payers of direct and indirect taxation, and that while the Income Tax was to be levied on the former, the proposed Beer and Spirit Duties should fall on the latter; and he exempted wines from increased taxation on the ground, as he (Dr. Cameron) understood, that the Wine Duty was paid by persons who bore the direct taxation of the country. Now, taxes might be levied for purely fiscal purposes, for the purpose of raising Revenue, or for protective purposes. We taxed alcohol and tobacco for purely protective purposes, and, so far as our reasons for governing the taxation of these articles were concerned, they were perfectly consistent with the principles of Free Trade policy; but protective taxation which acted unequally, and favoured some as compared with others, was neither consistent with justice nor Free Trade. Great anomalies existed in respect to the taxation of alcohol in different forms. We taxed alcohol as it existed in beer at the present moment—or rather as it would after this Budget Resolution was passed—at the rate of 1*s*. 5½*d*. per gallon of proof spirits, while we taxed whisky at the rate of 10*s*. per gallon of proof spirits. Now, beer was, according to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's figures, essentially the English mode of consuming alcohol,

and whisky was essentially the Scotch mode, and less essentially the Irish mode of imbibing this poison. For every 1*d.* which the Englishman paid for a given amount of alcohol in the shape of duty, the Scotchman or the Irishman who drank whisky, swallowing the same amount of alcohol, paid from 6*d.* to 7*d.* That was an unfair and indefensible anomaly, and one which was tolerated only because they had become so habituated to it. The right hon. Gentleman would do well to bear in mind the warning given by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue many years ago as to the danger of the further increase of the Whisky Duty leading to the increase of illicit distillation. If the effect of the proposed increased tax on spirits should be to lessen drunkenness, he (Dr. Cameron) would support it heartily; but he did not believe that that would be the result. One result of such increased duty upon spirits would, he believed, be found to be an increase in illicit distillation. Another result would be the use of new and cheaper spirit, and a further effect would be increased adulteration. If, as Byron laid it down, that "Man being rational, must needs get drunk," alcohol in the shape of good sound whisky was probably as good a spirit as he could get drunk upon. The anomalies were borne patiently because they had become habituated to them. He thought it was not too much to ask that when any change was about to take place care should be taken not to aggravate these anomalies, as the present proposals now did. Care should be taken to do away with the existing anomalies, and to arrange that the tax on alcohol might fall equally on the different sections of the community in this country. That might be easily done if they put a tax of 4*d.* or 6*d.* a gallon on alcoholic drink, whether it happened to be beer, or wine, or whisky. If they did this, they would raise a much better Revenue. It would be an absolutely fair way of dealing with the matter, and it would tend to reduce the anomalies that already existed. It was the only system also that was free from the vice of Protection that ran through the proposals of the Bill. The levying of an extra 4*d.* or 6*d.* a gallon on proof spirits, no matter in what beverage it might be, would, of course, raise an objection in the view of those who wished to see cheap beer; but if they wished to smooth English Members by giving cheap beer, they were likely to ruffle the Scotch and Irish Members by imposing increased unfair duties on spirits. The Irish Members would take care of themselves. He would also like to see a Wine Tax. It was said that the persons who paid for wine were those who paid Income Tax; but he was not aware that this doctrine was universally true, and, besides, it was no reason why they should not pay a tax for the alcohol they consumed as well as their neighbours. He reminded the Chancellor of the Exchequer that Scotland had a motto which ought to be a warning against unnecessarily irritating that part of the Kingdom. In Scotland the people were willing to accept a great deal on the *imprimatur* of the Prime Minister, and from what he had heard he thought that a considerable section of the people would accept many things which possibly they might find difficult to square with some of the principles laid down in the course of the Mid Lothian campaign; but when it came to a question of bad whisky or dear whisky, the right hon. Gentleman might find a large section of the Scotch people roused into potential revolt which almost nothing else would justify. He had presented a Petition in the afternoon from more than 72,000 of his constituents, and that was a Petition the like of which he had never been asked by his constituency to present during the 12 years he had sat in the House of Commons. Burns had said that freedom and whisky went together; and there was no precept in all the code of ballad law that was more religiously followed than the injunction with which Burns coupled the statement, recommending the people to "take off their dram." Slightly altering the poet's recommendation, he would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if freedom and whisky went together he should take off his tax. He did not need to go to tea to find the money he required; he had only to go to wine. He urged that when a change was proposed it ought to be in the direction of removing anomalies, instead of aggravating those anomalies, as he considered the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do. At the same time, he did not support the Amendment, because he regarded the Spirit Duties simply as a

Dr. Cameron

sad incident in the Budget Bill, which, so far as the Bill went, laid down very considerable improvements in our system of taxation as a whole. He had referred to this one particular incident of the Bill, and when in Committee they came to the particular clause he should vote for the views he had now expressed; but he did not see the least inconsistency in voting for the second reading of the Bill now.

MR. COOPE said, it was his intention to support the Amendment. He could not help thinking that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be woefully disappointed in the result which he expected from the increased duties on spirits and beer. He entertained a strong conviction that the increased duties on spirits would lead to no increase in the Revenue. He believed that not only smuggling and illicit distillation would increase, but that adulteration would be carried to such an extent that the Revenue would not be benefited a shilling by this taxation. The same remark applied to the increase of the Beer Duty. He admitted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a concession in the brewers' interest. In making this concession, and in fixing the duty to terminate on the 31st of May, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had fairly met the representations of the trade. On that point, therefore, he did not feel inclined to oppose the measure; but, looking at the Bill as a whole, he was satisfied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would fail to receive those results which he anticipated. He trusted that the House would accept the Amendment.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet set up as an unfortunate precedent. No one listening to that discussion would suppose that the Bill dealt with matters such as the Tea Duty and the Income Tax, matters of far larger concern than the questions raised by the Amendment, which would more properly have been submitted at a later stage of the Bill. He was passing through the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament the other day when he was stopped by a brewer from Lancashire, who complained of the increased taxation of beer. He asked this representative of the Lancashire brewers if he would kindly suggest some alternative which he could convey to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman at once suggested that Probate Duty or an equivalent tax should be imposed on all succession to real property—in fact, the very proposal against which the right hon. Baronet was now protesting—so that if he desired to please this Lancashire brewer he must be careful not to vote with the right hon. Baronet. Two lines in the Amendment were devoted to the proposed increase of the Spirit and Beer Duties, and four lines were made up of determined opposition to the equalization of the Death Duties on all kinds of property. He had heard from some of those who complained of the increase in the alcoholic duties that they made representations to certain Members of the Party opposite, begging them not to mix up the two questions; but that the front Opposition Bench was, as he should have expected, quite unwilling to let go their objection to an equal tax at death on real property. In the Resolution before the House there was an obvious unreality. In the mixture of the right hon. Baronet, the spirits and beer were evidently thrown in to give a dash of popularity to the all-important conclusion as to landed property. There were some people who went to battle with the women and children in front of their army. That was like the policy of the right hon. Baronet, who placed the working man forward to protect the landed gentry. The right hon. Baronet assumed that the increased charge on spirits and beer would be equitable if there were a corresponding addition to the duties on wine. He was certain that this assumption which was in the Resolution would be more unpalatable to those who traded in alcoholic liquors than anything which had been said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The main question as to the Spirit Duties was contained in the following sentence from the Board of Inland Revenue in 1860, in which the Commissioners stated that:—

> "The rate of duty charged upon spirits had now, in all probability, reached a point beyond which it will not be found advisable to carry it for the purposes of revenue."

The question, in his opinion, at least, was a Revenue question. Would the increased duty on spirits be paid? He was bound to confess he was not at all convinced upon that point by the

speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The duty was now 20*d.* upon every bottle of proof spirits. That was an extremely high charge. He was not sure that the authorities were very successful in detecting illicit manufacture of spirits, or that the apparent decline in consumption over which they had rejoiced was not partly due to smuggling or illicit distillation. This was an aspect of the Spirit Duty which made it desirable that the addition should not be regarded as being necessarily of a permanent character. As to the Beer Duty, they had heard during the last fortnight every variety of opinion upon the incidence of this tax. The hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) said it would fall on the farmer and the consumer. Thinking the matter over for himself, he had come to the conclusion that it would to a large extent be paid by the producers, and that therefore it did not meet the recommendation by which it had been supported. The duty on beer was rather more than ½*d.* per quart. That was a high duty. The tax on a bottle of champagne, costing 3*s.* 6*d.*, was said to be 2*d.*, or one-twentieth of the cost. Such contrasts were not agreeable. It was, no doubt, quite true that the wine-drinker was usually an Income Tax payer, and that of the beer drinkers the vast majority never paid Income Tax. But it must be remembered that working men paid heavily upon their tea and tobacco, and he had no doubt that as a rule working men paid a much larger proportion of their income in taxation than the wealthy classes. The country brewers complained in a recent memorial, dated May 8, that the proposed increase of 1*s.* per barrel was not specifically connected with the War Tax, and distinctly implying that it was only on account of the absence of such an assurance that they expressed themselves agreed. Their prayer was that the increased duty should not be made a permanent charge. This had been provided for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He now passed to that which was the real question of the evening—the new charges upon property. His objection to the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far as they touched the Death Duties, was one external to the business of his Department. They would tend, he feared, just as the late lamented Lord Cairns's Settled Land Act tended, to aggravate that master evil of the English land system, the practice of placing land in strict settlement. The payment in the case of settled land would be, as now, upon the value of the life interest; whereas in the case of land held in fee simple, or by a tenant in tail—that was, by one with power to obtain the freehold—the charge would be upon the capital value. The consequence would be to encourage the practice of settlement. What had been the ostensible and what the real reason why the savings of a professional man or of a tradesman and the property of a landowner should be differently charged with Death Duties to the advantage of the latter? Ostensibly the difference had been permitted, because of the liability of rateable property to local charges. Succession Duty did not add a farthing to local charges; it did nothing but diminish the inheritance of the successor. But, really, the difference had been made because of the practice of settlement. When the Prime Minister dealt with this subject in 1853, he said—

> "As a matter of fact, under the social arrangements of this country, our great estates are settled estates."

And because our great estates were settled estates we had exempted from the duty on capital value those which were not settled estates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed that Succession Duty should be paid upon capital value where the land was to be enjoyed by a person absolutely or as tenant in tail. He was within the bounds of moderation in saying that this provision would not affect one-fourth of the soil of the United Kingdom. And under such a system it was only natural that the small proportion of land taxable upon capital value should be still further diminished. While the House acknowledged the equity of the proposal it would observe the necessity for restricting, and, he hoped, of abolishing, the practice of strict settlement. If the landlords would help, for their own advantage, in abolishing all that which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had called—

> "The artificial and obsolete restrictions of law which still hinder the natural distribution of land in a manner which would be most advantageous to the State,"

he would undertake to say that the value of their possessions would be increased by very much more than the proposed taxation. He should not now refer to the gross injustice, as he conceived it to be, of the exemptions from the charge in lieu of Probate and Legacy or Succession Duties given by the Budget to the property of Corporations. The proposal to give to 2,000,000 acres of land held in mortmain a statutable title to exemption was a deep stain upon the Budget. The operation of the Budget would be to favour the passing of land into the injurious condition of mortmain and of settlement. That was the unquestionable tendency of the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. This must be met by speedy legislation. Then this charge now to be sanctioned would fall equitably upon all land, and the soil of this country would regain a value more nearly proportionate to that of free land in other countries in regard to its advantages as to markets and fertility. The practical consequence would be that the land would be valued in each generation, and that a fair proportion of the increment of value would be received by the State. There was one economic fallacy which was brought forward by the right hon. Baronet—namely, that this taxation was inadvisable because it was a tax upon capital. He admitted that, as a general rule, the Succession Duty was a tax on capital. But he denied—and in this denial he had the support of the highest economic authority—that in the circumstances of this country that was a valid objection. Taxes on capital were not objectionable where a large portion of the revenue was converted into capital by payments to the fundholder; nor could the objection be regarded as sound in a country rapidly increasing in wealth, where the taxation so obtained formed but a fraction of the annual increase of capital. But he repeated his protest against the form in which the right hon. Baronet advanced his opposition. This was not a Beer and Spirit Bill. Its first proposal dealt with tea; its last with Income Tax. In voting for the second reading he declined to be committed as to any one of the proposals to which the Amendment referred. To vote against the second reading because one objected to one or two features of a Budget would be an evil departure from the best rules of Parliamentary conduct. The time would probably come when he (Sir Michael Hicks Beach) would be one of the first to regret the bad example he had set to-night. The dangerous precedent, so dangerous to a Conservative Ministry, was probably due to the right hon. Baronet being fearful that his place would be taken by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) if he awaited a more Parliamentary and legitimate opportunity.

MR. ORR-EWING said, the President of the Local Government Board had failed to furnish one single argument on behalf of the Budget. His whole speech was an attack upon the suggestions made by the right hon. Baronet who had moved the Amendment. He evidently thought he had got a very popular question when he dwelt upon that of tea with so much gusto, and that it would form an additional cry on the hustings. But he did not do justice to what the right hon. Baronet said. He never suggested that they should tax the tea consumed by the working classes; but what he suggested was that, by the judicious raising of the tax on the higher qualities of the tea, he might have got a considerable revenue upon an article which was generally consumed without putting an additional burden on spirits and beer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had surprised him, and he dared say surprised the House also, by the figures which he put before the House. Why did the right hon. Gentleman not put these figures sooner before the House and the country? No one could check them that night; but he believed the corrected figures published in *The Economist* to be substantially correct, and he was inclined to think that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been able to bring out any great difference of results from the figures he would have placed them before the country long before this. He (Mr. Orr-Ewing) had put down an Amendment to the Revenue Bill immediately after it was submitted to the House; but, unfortunately, having been out of London his Amendment had lapsed, and as it was necessary that he should have renewed it it was not in his power now to move it. He would, however, read the terms of it to the House. It was, in effect, as followed;—

"That the proposed increase of 2*s.* per gallon on spirits was unjust and inequitable to Scotland and Ireland, and that no increased duty should be charged on spirits unless wine, beer, ale, and porter were charged equal duties. And further that, considering that 1,711 stills had been detected during the last two years, it was inexpedient to make any increase in the duty now charged on spirits."

It would, perhaps, be not uninteresting to the House if he gave a short sketch of how these duties had been dealt with since the beginning of the century. Early in the century the Government of the day had increased the duty on spirits to 6*s.* 2*d.* per Imperial gallon; but in 1814, owing to the enormous extent to which smuggling and illicit distillation were carried on in Scotland and Ireland, the duty was reduced in those countries to 2*s.* 4*d.* That reduction had an immediate effect, for in the following year the amount of money collected as duty by the Revenue was greatly increased. In 1825 the duty was raised by 6*d.* per gallon, making it 2*s.* 10*d.* During the years to which he had referred, and up to 1830, there was not only a duty of 9*s.* 10*d.* per barrel on ale and 4*s.* 10½*d.* on beer, but there was also a duty on malt of 2*s.* 7*d.* a bushel, with 5 per cent added, and also a large duty on hops, which were now entirely abolished. In 1830 there was also a duty charged on cider. But in 1830 it was proposed to abolish the duty on beer, on the ground that it was unfair to charge the general public a duty on beer when many people had liberty to brew beer at home for their own consumption. The proposal, however, was stoutly resisted by Parliament and by the brewers and publicans, on the ground that it would be unfair to have the duty taken off beer and left on malt. In 1830 an additional duty of 6*d.* per gallon was imposed on spirits in Scotland and Ireland, and at the same time 10*d.* per gallon was added to the duty in England; while in 1834 1*s.* was taken off the duty in Scotland and Ireland. This difference in the duties in England and in Scotland and Ireland was made for the purpose of doing justice to the two latter countries, because whisky was deemed to be the national drink in Scotland and Ireland. Then, in 1842, Sir Robert Peel raised the duty in Ireland by 1*s.*, in order to equalize it with the duty then imposed in Scotland. The duty upon Scotch and Irish spirits had been raised from time to time. In 1852 the present Prime Minister raised it to 4*s.* 4*d.* per gallon in Scotland, and to 3*s.* 4*d.* in Ireland. In 1854 the Prime Minister again raised the duty on spirits to 6*s.* in Scotland, and to 4*s.* in Ireland. In 1855 the right hon. Gentleman again raised the duty to 7*s.* 10*d.* in Scotland, and to 6*s.* in Ireland, thus equalizing the duty in England and Scotland in 1858. Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, equalized the duty on spirits in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and increased the duty to 8*s.* per gallon; and in 1860 the present Prime Minister further increased the duty by 2*s.*, thus raising it to its present standard of 10*s.* per gallon. At this moment Ireland and Scotland were paying an undue share of the taxation of the country, and it was now proposed to aggravate that injustice to the extent of 10 per cent. The reduction in the consumption of spirits which the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplated would result from the increased duty upon them amounted to more than 4,500,000 gallons, which would reduce the demand for barley in Scotland by some 232,000 quarters. The result of the change proposed to be effected in the duty would be to throw an unduly heavy charge upon agricultural land in Scotland. No one would dare to propose to make Scotland and Ireland pay double the Income Tax paid by England; but the present duties on alcoholic drinks had the effect of making Scotland pay for the alcohol she drank an amount larger than double the amount of Income Tax paid in 1883. He was sure that English Members had only to take those facts into their consideration to determine them not only to resist the proposed increase of duty on spirits, but to take care, from year to year, that justice was done to England and Scotland in that matter. Moreover, an increase of the duty would, in his opinion, be a premium on illicit distillation. This would, of course, have a most demoralizing effect, and he hoped the Government would see their way to withdraw the additional 1*s.* per gallon which it was still intended to impose. He knew the increased duty was supported by teetotallers and others upon moral grounds. In his belief, there were no higher principles of morality than truth and justice, and there was no lower form of morality than cant and

hypocrisy in defence of injustice; and he held that anyone who was acquainted with these and other facts which he had put before the House, and yet supported the present duties upon alcoholic drinks upon the grounds of morality, shut out all sense of justice from his mind. It was a question of fiscal duties, and justice could not be done to England, Scotland, and Ireland until the duties charged upon spirits, wines, and beers should be according to the alcohol they contained. That would not only be just to the people of Scotland and Ireland, but it would place all foreign countries from which we imported wines, spirits, or beer upon terms of justice and equality. He believed that in consequence of his Resolution having dropped from the Notice Paper he was unable to move it; but he would vote for the Resolution of the right hon. Baronet.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he thought that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called upon to make a large addition to the taxation of the country it was right that the whole of that additional sum should not be raised by direct taxation. Perhaps it was more important at this juncture than it had ever been before that that principle should be established. Looking at the wide electorate to whom the destinies of the country were now committed, it was all-important that the voters should understand that if they were in favour of an overbearing policy towards foreign nations the first thing they had to do was to find the means to pay for it. Therefore, he was in favour of increasing indirect taxation at the time that direct taxation was increased. What he regretted, however, about the Budget, especially in its original form, was that the increase of direct taxation was not made openly and palpably fair to all classes. He had never in that House been disposed — except within very moderate limits—to press the interests or to illustrate the grievances of the trade with which he was connected; and he did not desire to set one class of men in this country against another. In this matter of taxation he did not own to any preference for the Radical teetotaller, whom the right hon. Baronet who introduced this Motion called the particular friend of the Government, or for the pothouse politician, who, according to the President of the Local Government Board, was the supporter of the Party opposite. In his opinion, it was the duty of that House in the matter of taxation to mete out even-handed justice to both. With regard to the Wine Duties, he was ready to admit that this Budget did not unduly favour the rich at the expense of the poor. He wished, however, that this fact had been made more palpable, and he was afraid that it would take many speeches and many leaflets to be circulated among the electorate before they would be persuaded that the drink of the rich had not been favoured at the expense of the drink of the poor. When a trade had been accustomed to a particular tax all its arrangements were made to meet that tax. When a new tax was imposed those arrangements could not be suddenly altered to meet it. It was impossible for a brewer to relieve himself of this extra 1*s.* per gallon on beer by an increase of price. How, then, could the brewer meet this increase in the tax? He must either bear the increased tax himself, or he must relieve himself of the burden by deteriorating the quality of his article. Of course, if the tax was to be only of a temporary character, it ought to be taken off when the emergency passed. When the Prime Minister substituted the Beer Tax for the Malt Tax, he used as an argument that when an emergency arose an easy means was provided of raising additional taxation. But the sting of the present grievance had been this—that a call to meet an emergency was being made an opportunity to place a tax that might be permanent. Speaking for himself, however, and for others with whom he had been in immediate communication, he would say that as he had never set up the contention that in time of war or other emergency in the interests of the country indirect taxation should not be resorted to, so now that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pledged himself to limit the taxation on beer to 13 months, he accepted that concession, and would withdraw the opposition which he had intended to offer to the right hon. Gentleman's proposals.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not propose to make many observations upon the Bill; but as he had placed an Amendment upon the Paper directed against every principle of the Bill, he should be sorry not to avail himself of

the opportunity of saying a word upon the measure. The Amendment was to the effect that no alteration in the existing fiscal arrangements could be satisfactory which tended to benefit the foreign producer at the expense of the home producer. He did not suppose that there ever was a time when anything which had that tendency would be more undesirable than at the present moment. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was laying his financial proposals before the House he made use of these words—

"On the other hand, pauperism appears to me to be beginning to increase; and there is an increasing desire to emigrate by no means confined to Ireland. I am sorry to say that I do not agree with Prince Bismarck in concluding that this is evidence of the prosperity of the country. Since last year there has been a still more serious fall in Railway Receipts; and these are, to my mind, an unfailing barometer of the condition of the country. Having, then, last year framed my Estimate on evidence of a not altogether unfavourable state of matters, as affecting both the consumer and the payer of Income Tax, and that Estimate having been entirely justified, this year I shall not take quite so hopeful a view. I shall estimate on the basis of a moderately decreased consumption, a slight fall in the average of wages, and a stationary income for the middle and higher classes."—(3 *Hansard*, [297] 1141.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer might well anticipate such a disadvantageous state of things. Any hon. Member who took the trouble to examine, with the care they deserved, the Board of Trade Returns for trade and navigation for each succeeding month since the beginning of the year would find that there had never been, at least for a great number of years, such a serious state of manufactures and of exports as these figures revealed. He would only refer to one of them, which was the last issued — namely, the Return for the month of April, 1885. From that Return it would be found that although the imports had increased in all but two of the nine classes in which they were set forth, the exports showed a decrease in every single one of the classes. Moreover, the imports showed an increase in the very things which the industries of this country might naturally wish that an increase should not be shown—that was to say, in manufactured articles. Nothing could be more striking, and nothing could be more convincing, than those figures, given forth as they were by the Government month after month, of the decrease in the manufacturing industries of the country, and the rapid strides with which foreign countries were overtaking the home industries of this country. He would not enter at length into particulars; but in order to show how, in detail, this matter worked, he would ask the House for a few moments to consider the condition of one industry with which France was competing with England. In *The Economist*—a newspaper which the right hon. Gentleman had thought fit to criticize that afternoon —he found in the monthly trade supplement for February these words with regard to the silk trade—

"In Coventry during the best period of the ribbon trade about 40,000 persons were dependent upon it, whereas now not more than one-fourth of that number derive their living from that source. In London, including Spitalfields, 6,000 persons used to be engaged in that industry, where there are now only about 4,000; and in other districts a similar, although not so great, falling off has taken place. In regard to imports, in 1860 we imported £9,200,000 of raw silk, while in 1883 the imports amounted only to £3,200,000; while, on the other hand, the imports of silk manufactured goods increased in the same period from £3,344,000 to £10,500,000."

That was the commercial relation between this country and France in regard to an important branch of industry. The other country he wished to refer to was Germany, and the branch of trade which set forth the commercial relations between the United Kingdom and Germany was best exemplified in the case of the iron and steel wire trade. A trade circular from an important London and Liverpool firm contained this statement—

"We foreshadowed, in our last yearly Report, that there must be a reduction made in the wages of the wire drawers. If we are to retain an important share of this trade"

—the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself admitted that he looked forward to a reduction of wages generally throughout the country—

"a reduction of 25 per cent might enable our manufacturers to meet the foreign competition to some extent. Even now the prices in Germany are below ours, and even in the Liverpool delivery the German manufacturers can compete with us successfully, seeing that their prices are not higher, but in some cases considerably below ours. The falling off in shipments is very noticeable, and it will be seen that Germany has taken one-half of our Colonial trade."

quarrel with the rather harsh terms which the right hon. Gentleman used. Any change in the Wine Duties based on alcoholic strength would be specially injurious to Spain, and it would be specially injurious to a small but growing trade with the British Colonies, and the most important of those Colonies which do not put protective duties on British goods. New South Wales is an example. It would be impossible to put on a duty injurious to Spanish wines without crushing the trade in wine growing up between New South Wales and this country. I have seen proposals made of differential duties against the wines of Spain; but the right hon. Gentleman is too cautious and prudent to adopt that suggestion. The right hon. Baronet argued his case with reference to France as well as Spain. He evidently thinks, as I should gather from his speech, that France has raised her duties against us.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I did not mean to imply that. Only on certain articles.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Not on the whole?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: You are worse off than you were before.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: No; we are not. We are distinctly much better off than we were, not only vastly better off than we were under the Cobden Treaty, to obtain which we reduced our Wine Duties, but much better off, on the whole, than we were before the negotiations of 1881 and 1882. The Returns of Trade during the last five years show a considerable increase in the export of British and Irish produce to France since the years 1878, 1879, and 1880. No year since 1880 has fallen so low as that year, which was worse than 1879. There is an apparent decrease last year as compared with 1883; but it is a decrease due to shrinking in value and not in quantity. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to suggest an increase of Wine Duties by way of reprisal for the treatment he supposed we had received from France. Certainly an increase of the duties upon sparkling and bottled wines would be regarded in France as specially directed against wines of that country, as only small amounts come bottled from Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. If we raised our duties, the Free Trade movement in France would be greatly weakened, and an agitation might arise to deprive this country of the most-favoured-nation treatment. Although no Treaty was made, great reductions were obtained in 1880 and 1881. These reductions were adopted in the Belgian Treaty, which was made concurrently; and this country has benefited by the increase of trade with France and Belgium. I am bound to say that you would imperil any reduction of duty which has been granted to this country by the raising of duty apparently directed against French wines. I now pass over to one or two other observations which the right hon. Baronet made with regard to the Wine Duties. He quoted the Wine Duty Committee and the evidence of a great many witnesses who were examined; but he entirely failed to quote the main result of the proceedings of the Committee. The right hon. Baronet succeeded in conveying to the House the idea that the Committee recommended an increase of duty; but they recommended a decrease. When the right hon. Baronet quotes the proceedings of a Committee in this House, it is only fair that we should be made aware of the result of those proceedings. The right hon. Baronet then went into ancient history, and quoted former opinions with regard to the Wine Duties, and as to the effect of the low duty on cheap wines, which he seemed to think a very bad thing, there again pointing to action which had a very great effect on trade between this country and France. These opinions of the right hon. Baronet are ancient opinions, and are out of date with the Customs authorities, who with their present experience of the working of low duties on cheap wines are now satisfied that the low duties do not conflict with the remainder of the fiscal system of the country. The right hon. Baronet then went on to attack another part of the Budget. He says that the Death Duties ought not to be increased until the Local Government Bill had handed over, according to the policy which had been announced in this House, to localities certain taxes in lieu of contributions which are at present made to the State. I want to know, if the change is just and equitable in itself, why it should not be made at the present time, without waiting for subsequent changes which are also just and

equitable. The right hon. Baronet also speaks of the relief of the ratepayer and the property owner as though the two were exactly the same. They are not. When a grievance of the poor ratepayer is put forward we do not associate him with the owner of landed property.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The Chancellor of the Exchequer last year used these words—

"This relief, whatever its amount may be, will accrue mainly to owners of land and houses—that is to say, to real property."—(3 *Hansard*, [287] 514-15.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The grievance always urged in this House is that of the small class of ratepayers in towns and of the small farmers. I doubt whether the highest economical authorities in this House would consider that the Death Duties mainly hit these persons. The right hon. Gentleman complained of our touching the question of local taxation at all in a piecemeal fashion. This argument comes with peculiar want of force from the right hon. Baronet, who nearly destroyed the Government and the Liberal Party a few weeks ago by the extraordinary insistance with which he tried to touch this question in a very piecemeal way. He quoted some remarks of the Prime Minister with regard to the taxation of real property, and then asked whether rates had not increased rather than diminished since those remarks were made. The rates in towns have increased very greatly since; but the rates in the country have not. Our view is that the change which we propose is a just change, and ought not to be necessarily dependent upon certain other changes relating to local taxation. The right hon. Gentleman did not, I think, shake that view; and the belief I held before he made his speech, that this small instalment of justice ought to be given at the present time, I hold still. Let the House bear in mind that landed property already possesses one great advantage in taxation. The land is generally left for lives, and personal property generally right out. Personal property left right out pays on the whole amount, whereas the land does not, but only its life interest. This is a clear advantage to the owners of land, which they will retain if the proposal is carried into effect. Now, the right hon. Baronet went on to say that he did not wish to make a Party battle of this, and that he did not wish really to inflict any damage on the Liberal side of the House; but that all he desired was to change or modify the Budget. But I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that if that is his view he will not be allowed to hold it quietly to himself on this occasion. If he defeats us on this occasion he must take the responsibility of that defeat, and he must have the courage of his opinions and be prepared to go forward with his proposals for taxing tea, which he admits is universally consumed, and a tax on which would, he admitted, be unpopular. We have had the courage of our opinions. This is not altogether a popular Budget; but I venture to say that it will be a very popular Budget indeed beside that shadowed forth to us by the right hon. Gentleman to-night. This question cannot be treated as a mere question of change of Budget. It is a question of life and death, and must be treated as a question of life and death; and if the right hon. Gentleman defeats us on this occasion he must try to form a Government on the policy he has placed before the country to-night. The right hon. Gentleman will, I think, find that those who sit on the Ministerial side of the House are singularly elated by his speech. I do not think that they could have found a better policy to go to the country with than the one which the right hon. Baronet has presented them with. Time will show, and I think the time will come when the Tory Party will regret that they have proposed a weighty duty on tea, and that they have sneered at the Temperance Party of this country.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the right hon. Baronet who had just sat down was good enough at the commencement of his speech to denounce claptrap, but had used a great deal of it himself. The right hon. Baronet had attributed a great many views to his right hon. Friend which he did not hear him announce. He did not hear him propose a duty on tea—[SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Hear, hear! *and Ministerial cries of* "Oh!"]—but he had heard the right hon. Baronet who spoke last support the Beer Duty as a tax on pothouse politicians.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What I said was that if we were forced into

these considerations I was bound to say that for my part I preferred the Radical teetotaller to the pothouse politician.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, the right hon. Baronet expressed himself in terms of disapproval of pothouse politicians, and he sneered at them; but there was not a single Metropolitan Member who had attended so many pothouse meetings as the right hon. Baronet.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I beg to give a most unqualified denial to that statement.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, his memory was sufficiently accurate to enable him to say that there was no Metropolitan Member who had been so assiduous in attending what ordinarily went by the name of pothouse meetings as the right hon. Baronet. The great mass of the Radical clubs who supported the right hon. Baronet had beer and spirit licences; and to support pothouse politicians out-of-doors and denounce them in the House of Commons was nothing but claptrap. The right hon. Baronet had stoutly denied that there was any carrying over of the deficiency to next year; but there was a carrying over, and for the right hon. Baronet to deny it was to deny the existence of the Bill which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had introduced to make good his deficiency. This year he took all that he could from the Sinking Fund, and next year he proposed to pay out of the same fund what he could to meet the deficiency which was carried over from this year. Of course, any taxation was unpopular; still it was remarkable that whenever it was proposed to tax any home produce the Radical Party were dumb, but when it was proposed to tax an article of foreign produce they raised every possible objection. Lord Beaconsfield once observed that the Radical Party were friends of every country in the world but their own. That seemed to be true when they came to the question of taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had endeavoured to buy off opposition from the Beer and Spirit Duties by intimating that next year the Beer Duty would be repealed. But, if that were an equitable duty, why should they take it off next year? Was it proposed to take off the Spirit Duty next year? There was no response to that question.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, if he did not immediately answer every question contained in the speeches of hon. Members, it must not be assumed that he agreed with what might be inferred from or implied in them.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, continuing, said, now he would ask very seriously, was it in the power of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to promise the repeal of any portion of the taxation which he put on this year? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he would not be a party to the taxation of property unless he also taxed articles of consumption, and that he would not be a party to the increase of the duty upon spirits if he did not increase the duty on beer. Next day he proposed to take off the duty on beer; but he believed that an enormous proportion of the taxation now imposed would be necessary for many years, even in the most favourable circumstances. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated a deficiency of £15,000,000, but the Vote of Credit was only for £11,000,000; consequently, there would be a deficiency of £4,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman proposed to put on taxation to the amount of only £7,000,000; consequently, the greater portion of the increased taxation would be necessary for the ordinary purposes of the year. The right hon. Gentleman had been acute enough to say that this excessive expenditure was exceptional. It was nothing of the kind. What would be our position next year? They must make an allowance for at least £1,500,000 of Supplementary Estimates; that made a deficiency of £5,500,000 out of £7,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer would not tax property unless he put taxes on articles of consumption; therefore, if he took off the Beer Duty next year, and left on the increased Income Tax, he would throw over the cardinal principle upon which he proceeded. The expenditure this year was £100,000,000. It was perfectly clear that next year we should have an increase of the existing amount of the ordinary Estimates, which this year were £88,000,000 sterling. The Estimates in respect of the Army, Navy, and Civil Service were £4,000,000 in excess of the Estimates of last year, which were the highest ever laid on the

Table of the House before. When such an increase took place, he appealed to the experience of Members whether it was not likely to remain a portion of our ordinary expenditure? But the expenditure of the Government was £10,000,000 in excess of the Estimates which the late Government proposed, and for which they made provision. Therefore, they found that the ordinary expenditure of this Government, which was pledged to economy, was £10,000,000 in excess of the Estimates of the late Government, which was denounced as extravagant. The average increase was £2,000,000 a-year. In Mid Lothian the Prime Minister denounced the excessive Supplementary Estimates of the Government of that day. But no Government had sinned so much in that respect as the Government of the right hon. Gentleman. There were last year no fewer than five separate series of Army Supplementary Estimates, four separate series of Naval Supplementary Estimates, and three separate series of Civil Service Supplementary Estimates, while the amount averaged between £3,000,000 and £5,000,000 sterling. In fact, there was an aggregate of £12,000,000 sterling for Supplementary Estimates in five years. In addition, the Government introduced the largest Vote of Credit ever asked for. There were four points to which he wished to call attention with regard to the policy of the Government—firstly, that the normal Expenditure of this country had reached many millions more than had ever hitherto been the case; secondly, that the average annual increase had taken place by leaps and bounds; thirdly, that the Supplementary Estimates had attained an extraordinarily high figure; and, fourthly, that in times of peace we had a Vote of Credit that exceeded that of many War Budgets. Putting all these things together, he believed that our expenditure next year would reach an amount which would not permit the Chancellor of the Exchequer to effect any reduction of taxation. The President of the Local Government Board was very much in favour of the large increase of the Succession Duty proposed by the Government. He said, if it was just and equitable, there was no reason why the duty should not be increased. But the Opposition contended that it was unjust and inequitable unless property, which was taxed so highly for Imperial purposes, was relieved of the burdens imposed upon it for local purposes also. At a time when the Party opposite desired to increase the number of landowners, it was astonishing that they should support a proposal which must result in the extinction of small freeholders. By the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a small freeholder, on succeeding to his inheritance, would be compelled to pay treble the duty which he would have had to pay formerly. The result would be that a small freeholder would be forced to sell his heritage on succeeding to it, and thus the number of small landowners in this country would inevitably become less. The President of the Local Government Board had told them that the acceptance of the Budget as it stood was a question of life or death to the Government. But Governments had before now taken back their Budgets; and if the Government should resign, in the event of defeat, on the present occasion, they would resign, not through fear of the difficulty which his right hon. Friend's Motion would place in their way, but through fear of other difficulties. He, therefore, hoped the House would not be led in any degree by the threat of resignation which had been held out. The Succession Duties were only estimated to produce £200,000 this year. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to decide to forego this sum, his Budget would not materially suffer. The proposal of his right hon. Friend was clear. He said, if the Government must put an increased duty on beverages, let it be put on wine, and no answer had been made to that proposal. The Expenditure of the country was increasing at an enormous rate; and if the House should now assent to the proposed increased taxation, on the ground that it was only to be temporary, the almost certain result would be that in the end the additions would form an integral part of the permanent taxation of the country. In his Mid Lothian speeches the Prime Minister attributed the increased taxation of that day to the vigorous foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Now, however, unprecedented Votes of Credit were proposed in support of a policy which was by no means vigorous. The meaner and shabbier the foreign policy of the present Go-

vernment was, the larger were the demands made upon the country. A principle laid down by Lord Beaconsfield 20 years ago, when the relations between Germany and Denmark were strained, was that the more the influence of England was reduced in the counsels of Europe the less security there was for peace. Now, the reason why these enormous Estimates were proposed, and why this unpopular taxation was imposed, was that the Government had reduced the influence of England to a nullity. Although nominally at peace, the House was asked to sanction a War Budget. It was possible that his right hon. Friend would be defeated, and that this unpopular taxation would pass into law; and, as he had said, he was convinced that if it did, instead of being merely temporary, it would become a permanent charge. He should not be sorry, in one sense, if the Amendment were rejected, because the eyes of the country would then be opened to the causes of the enormous expenditure, and they would be led to carefully consider the policy of the last five years, which had resulted in imposing upon the country the mischief and injury of immense taxation at home, and inflicting upon us all the discredit of constant surrender and humiliation abroad.

MR. ALLSOPP: Sir, as one of those largely affected by the Beer Duty, and while still objecting to the imposition of an increased tax upon a trade which has already many heavy burdens to bear, I nevertheless recognize the position of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the fact that he has endeavoured to meet the trade in a fair spirit by limiting the operation of the tax, and thus making the extra 1*s.* per barrel a war tax, and a war tax only. If, therefore, my vote vote had to be given on this part of the Budget only, I should have felt it my duty to have abstained from voting; but there are other proposals in the Budget to which I strongly object, and shall be obliged, therefore, to record my vote in favour of the Amendment moved by the right hon. Baronet.

MR. O'SULLIVAN, in supporting the Amendment, could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his change of front with regard to the Budget, for the right hon. Gentleman had neither made a decent retreat nor had stuck to his guns. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) thought Her Majesty's Government had made a serious mistake in putting a tax upon an article which was already considerably overtaxed. The new figures given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that evening were certainly most extraordinary, and were sprung on them by surprise, especially with regard to Ireland. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) looked upon the proposal to increase the Spirit Duty as an attempt to destroy a most important industry in that country. To prove the importance of the spirit trade in Ireland it would be sufficient to say that in January, 1883, there was in bond and in store in that country 20,550,000 gallons of Irish-made whisky, representing a value of over £5,000,000. On the same date there were in the English bonded stores only 7,000,000 gallons of whisky made in various countries, representing, including gin, a value of about £1,500,000. Home-made spirits ought not to be placed on the same footing as cigars and tobacco, the raw material of which was grown abroad, and was therefore a foreign product, whereas our spirits were manufactured from home-grown barley. Ireland had only three principal trades—that of linen, that of whisky, and that of porter; and it was now sought to destroy her whisky trade. Formerly Irish trade was destroyed by special legislation, but no one would nowadays think of bringing in a Bill to destroy any particular branch of Irish industry; but the present action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would prove as fatal to the trade he referred to as any legislation could do. He might be told that this increase in the Spirit Duties had been made in the interests of morality; but, if that were the case, why had not an equal tax been put upon alcohol in all its forms? Why was spirit selected? Was it not a well-known fact that that article was at present taxed 200 or 300 per cent over its actual value, and why should another 10 per cent of taxation be added to it? During the last 30 years, however, the Liberal Party had made frequent attempts to destroy the Irish whisky trade. Thirty years since the duty was only 2*s.* 4*d.* per gallon on Irish whisky; it was now 400 per cent more than the first cost of the article. He should like to know whether there was any trade in this country which would stand such a duty as that? The

result of the taxation in Ireland had been to reduce the number of distilleries to one-third the number that existed 50 years ago, and the effect of this policy was that they were destroying the makers of a pure wholesome whisky, and driving hundreds of thousands of people into early graves and lunatic asylums by encouraging the consumption of inferior spirits. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were actuated by any motives of morality, why did he not put a tax of 2*s.* duty upon whisky taken out before it was one year old, and 1*s.* on whisky taken out before two years? If he had done that he would have the whole House with him, and would have served the cause of real and solid temperance more than all the tinkering Bills ever brought into this House by the Temperance Party. The result of the present proposals would be to encourage the manufacture and consumption of inferior German spirit made from potatoes, which was only fit for lighting lamps. This Budget offered a direct bonus to foreign manufacture. It was not merely those engaged in the whisky trade who would be injured, but the farmers, who now found barley a profitable crop. Again, the proposal was such as it would make Ireland and Scotland pay two-fifths of the whole duty, notwithstanding that their population was not one-fourth of the whole of that of the United Kingdom. The number of gallons of spirit according to population consumed in the three countries and the amount paid per head of the tax would show this. He held in his hand a very important calculation, which showed that Englishmen drank, on an average, a little over four gallons per head of alcohol in all shapes, Scotchmen a little over three gallons, and Irishmen only two gallons, or a little more than one-half that consumed by Englishmen. Yet see how they were made to pay for this luxury in the different countries? The Scotchman paid in the shape of duty 18*s.* 10*d.* per head, the Irishman 13*s.* 10*d.* per head; but the Englishman, who consumed twice as much as the Irishman, paid only 11*s.* 8*d.* per head. Was this a fair way of taking what was known as an "even keel" for the three countries? If any Irish or Scotch Members voted for the Government to-night, he could only say that they preferred their Party to their country.

Mr. O'Sullivan

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he expected to receive only £900,000 from the spirits and £750,000 from beer; but he maintained that Ireland and Scotland alone would pay more than that sum themselves. He asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the right hon. Gentleman would have got £1,000,000 sterling from Ireland and Scotland alone under the 2*s.* increased duty on spirits. By the change he now proposed that amount would be reduced to £500,000. When introducing his Budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken as if the tax on beer would but very slightly affect Ireland. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) would show the House that Ireland paid more than her share of that tax also. There were 44 breweries in Ireland, and one of these alone would pay over £60,000. The remaining 43 would surely pay another £60,000. Was that a trifle? Under these proposals of the Government Ireland, with 1-16th of the wealth of the United Kingdom, would have to pay 1-9th of the taxation. An admission made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in bringing in his Budget showed his position in regard to the increase of the Spirit Duty to be altogether inconsistent. The right hon. Gentleman said —"As to spirits, we have satisfied ourselves that they may now well bear an increased duty." What, he (Mr. O'Sullivan) would ask, could these words mean, except that the consumption of spirits was increasing? Yet the fact was the Government had for some years past been pursuing a policy which was steadily destroying one of the few industries they had yet remaining in Ireland. Some years ago they had 93 distilleries in Ireland, while they had now only 31, and that notwithstanding the fact that it was admitted on all sides that drinking had increased all over the country—a consequence of the extensive substitution of bad spirits for the wholesome articles formerly made. In the face of a falling consumption it was outrageous for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to attempt to put an increased duty on Irish and Scotch spirits. People sometimes wondered at the persistency with which Irish Members strove to obtain a Home Legislature for Ireland; but he asked whether the circumstances he was now mentioning, if they stood alone, were not a justification for their moving Heaven and earth to get a

Home Parliament? By the policy the English Government had long been pursuing in Ireland, the spirit trade was being thrown into the hands of German distillers and others, to the great detriment of Irish interests. Had the Government proposed to put an increased duty on raw spirits the whole House would have supported them. Were there not many other things upon which taxation might justly be imposed to make good the deficit? Why, for instance, should not a tax be imposed on ground rents, which yielded large incomes to persons who contributed nothing out of their own pockets for the improvement of the property from which they derived them? A tax on ground rents in all cities and towns would be a most equitable tax, and as much as £3,000,000 a-year might fairly and easily be made by taxing them 10 per cent. Next to taxing ground rents he would levy a tax upon clubs, which were nothing else than public-houses in disguise, and gave rise to an evasion of the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors, and were a source of vice and immorality, as many of them were nothing better than dens for gambling and drinking. See the difference in duty on the drink of the wealthy and the drink of the working man. The working man who went into the shop of a spirit merchant and bought a bottle of whisky paid 1*s.* 6*d.* to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the wealthy squire who invested in a bottle of champagne, several times the value of the whisky, contributed only 2*d.* £250,000 might be raised by taxing high-class wines and cigars. It was the man who drove in his carriage who contributed least to the Income and to the expenses of State. It was the old story of the wealthy making laws to tax the poor and to relieve themselves. Three-fourths of the taxes of the country were raised from consumable articles, and certainly nine-tenths of that was paid by the poor and working class, which ought to be sufficient without adding more to their burdens. He had always since he had come into that House exerted himself in favour of the working man, and as long as he had the honour of occupying a seat in that House he would continue to do so. He assured the House that he was in earnest in the proposition which he had made some time ago, although hon. Members laughed at it. He believed that they should double the Income Tax upon every man who was unmarried at the age of 30 years. A man who had a family to support, a house to maintain, and servants to keep was entitled to some relief; and, besides, he believed that a married man was more likely to do good to society than a single man. He did not, therefore, think it at all unreasonable that a single man should pay a double Income Tax, as he could spare it far more than a married man, and, besides, it was a tax which he could get rid of any day he liked. For all these reasons he would strongly support the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet, and he would call upon all the Irish and Scotch Members to support it also. Any Irish or Scotch Member who supported the Government on this question thought far more of the considerations of Party than seeing his country crushed down by undue taxation. The Government taxed Ireland and taxed Scotland heavily, so that taxation might sit lightly on England.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE said, that, as an Irish Member who usually supported the Government, he felt bound on this occasion to vote against them. He considered it a very great hardship that the Irish people should have their national beverage taxed to the extent proposed by the Government. The extra tax on beer would, he understood, be in operation for one year only; but the additional tax on whisky would be retained in perpetuity. That was not fair. In regard to whisky they knew from past experience that taxes put upon it were never removed. He did not, besides, believe that Ireland should be forced to contribute so much to the large expenditure incurred by Her Majesty's Government in their foreign policy, such as in the war in the Soudan. He felt very strongly on this point, for Ireland, as far as he knew, derived no benefit whatever from this large expenditure. As far as Ireland was concerned, it was utterly useless. Another reason why he objected to the proposal of the Government was that the teetotallers would escape altogether paying their just contribution towards the national expenses. If the taxes were just and sound they ought to affect everybody in the country. It was generally supposed that people became teetotallers from very excellent motives. It had been stated, on good

authority, that there were 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 of teetotallers in the country, and that a very large proportion of them abstained from drink solely because they dared not trust themselves with a limited quantity of liquor lest they should become drunkards. They had no alternative but to abstain. He failed to see why teetotallers should be altogether exempted from taxation—in fact, the way in which the teetotallers and the Salvation Army were exempted from taxation was a national disgrace. The President of the Local Government Board said he did not like to impose a further duty upon wine, because it would give offence to France to do so. But if the French considered that a tax would be beneficial to them they would not shrink from imposing it lest it might give offence to England. He thought that an increased duty should be laid on wine and champagnes especially for this reason also—that such a course would help to reconcile the poorer classes of this country to the increased taxation imposed upon them. At the same time champagne, it should be remembered, was also taken by the lower classes a good deal. ["Oh!" *and laughter.*] Yes, he believed that the miners in the North of England often drank it. For these reasons he would vote in favour of the Amendment.

MR. CLARE READ said, he hoped he would be allowed to supplement some of the remarks he had made on the Budget night with reference to the Malt Tax, because that subject was one in which he took a great interest, and nearly 20 years ago he was returned to Parliament to try to abolish it. The agriculturists of this country were like the Egyptians, who, instead of having their burdens lightened, had them greatly increased. That seemed to be the general policy of the Liberal Government towards the agricultural interest. The only effort made in his time towards the reduction of the duty on beer was when Mr. Disraeli in 1857 proposed that the Malt Tax should be reduced one-half; but the House of Commons soon disposed of the Malt Tax and of his Government at the same time. Lord John Russell, before the days of Free Trade, said that if he happened to be in Office when Free Trade was adopted the first tax he would repeal would be the Malt Tax; but some years afterwards when he was in Office he entirely forgot that promise. Lord John Russell proposed an addition of 5 per cent on the Customs and Inland Revenue and on the assessed taxes; and it was curious that whereas on almost all the other things the 5 per cent was abolished, it still remained on beer up to the present day. He was, therefore, very much obliged to the Chancellor of the Exchequer when, putting on the 1*s.* duty, he said that it would not continue beyond next May. It was well, at all events, that a time should be fixed beyond which the tax should not continue. When Mr. Cobden proposed the abolition of taxes on soap and a great variety of other articles he also recommended the abolition of the Malt Tax; and it was a strange thing that of all these taxes the only one retained was the Malt Tax. He remembered Mr. Cobden saying that when he went abroad and saw the people of the country drinking their own free wine, he could not but contrast their lot with that of the agricultural labourer who had to pay a tax on the beer he drank. In 1880 the Prime Minister transferred the tax from malt to beer, and said he only wanted to obtain an equal amount of taxation from beer. But now he found, from a Return to Parliament in 1884, that the duty upon beer was no less than 24*s.* 4¼*d.*, being something like 2*s.* more than it was before. Then there was an addition to that—namely, the heavy increase of the duty for licences upon the publicans. In many country districts it was more than double what they had previously paid. No one could doubt that there was great depression of the agricultural interest, and that depression was most severely felt in the Eastern counties, where, in these latter days, barley had been the only crop that had paid for cultivation. And yet barley was the crop the Chancellor of the Exchequer singled out to put an increased duty upon. The county he had the honour to represent (Norfolk) grew more acres of barley than any other county except Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the acreage being generally within a trifle of 200,000 acres, and he calculated that this increased duty would be something like a tax of 10*s.* an acre upon every acre of barley grown in that county, and, of course, throughout England. Dividing the tax between the

Colonel O'Beirne

consumer and the producer, the Norfolk farmers would have to pay out of their poverty something like an increase of £50,000 under this new Budget. The average price of barley per quarter was about 28*s*., and the duty levied would be something of the same amount. Therefore they would have a tax of 100 per cent upon their barley. The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the increase of the Revenue from the 1*s*. on beer at only £750,000. But unless there was a very limited consumption, the 1*s*. ought to bring nearly double that amount. Therefore, the right hon. Gentleman must believe that this increased taxation would diminish the consumption, and very much decrease the price of barley, while, at the same time, it would invite further substitutes for malt, not only from other grain, but from bounty-fed sugar, a thing which not only crippled our Colonies and ruined the refiners in the East End of London, but inflicted on farmers in the Eastern counties very great discouragement in growing beet-root sugar. He hoped the time would come when beer would be put under the Adulteration Act. People ought to know when they drank beer whether it was made of malt and hops or of other materials. It had been said that the brewers would pay the increased taxation, and that it would not fall on the consumer. He thought, however, that the brewers would take care not to pay it. Since 1880 the quality of beer had very much deteriorated, and it was therefore possible that the brewers would not be able to make it weaker; but they might use some substitute for malt and hops, which would be very disadvantageous to the community. In his opinion, the duties on Spanish wines ought not to be reduced. When he was in America, just outside the city of St. Louis, he visited a large distillery where an immense amount of spirit was made from maize. He asked what became of that spirit, and was told that the whole of it was manufactured in bond; that one-tenth of it was sent to Antwerp, and nine-tenths to Spain for the purpose of fortifying their wines. The manager told him he did not doubt that a great deal of the spirit came to England in the shape of Spanish wines, and that it was admitted into our Free Trade country at a very considerably less duty than it would pay than if it were made from malt and barley in our own country. That was a very strong reason why we ought not to reduce the Wine Duty, as it was proposed to do.

DR. CAMERON said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that in the additional taxation he proposed to levy on beer and spirits England would have to pay £382,000 of additional duty on spirits against £660,000 additional duty on beer, while Ireland would have to pay £95,000 additional duty on spirits as compared with £60,000 on beer, and that Scotland would have to pay £123,000 increased duty on spirits against £30,000 as levied on beer. Now, that would show the enormously greater extent of the consumption of alcohol in the form of spirits in Scotland as compared with England. In considering the question of the Beer and Spirit Duties, it was fair to take into consideration the general scheme laid down by the right hon. Gentleman. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that he wished to distribute the burdens equitably between the payers of direct and indirect taxation, and that while the Income Tax was to be levied on the former, the proposed Beer and Spirit Duties should fall on the latter; and he exempted wines from increased taxation on the ground, as he (Dr. Cameron) understood, that the Wine Duty was paid by persons who bore the direct taxation of the country. Now, taxes might be levied for purely fiscal purposes, for the purpose of raising Revenue, or for protective purposes. We taxed alcohol and tobacco for purely protective purposes, and, so far as our reasons for governing the taxation of these articles were concerned, they were perfectly consistent with the principles of Free Trade policy; but protective taxation which acted unequally, and favoured some as compared with others, was neither consistent with justice nor Free Trade. Great anomalies existed in respect to the taxation of alcohol in different forms. We taxed alcohol as it existed in beer at the present moment—or rather as it would after this Budget Resolution was passed—at the rate of 1*s*. 5½*d*. per gallon of proof spirits, while we taxed whisky at the rate of 10*s*. per gallon of proof spirits. Now, beer was, according to the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's figures, essentially the English mode of consuming alcohol,

and whisky was essentially the Scotch mode, and less essentially the Irish mode of imbibing this poison. For every 1*d.* which the Englishman paid for a given amount of alcohol in the shape of duty, the Scotchman or the Irishman who drank whisky, swallowing the same amount of alcohol, paid from 6*d.* to 7*d.* That was an unfair and indefensible anomaly, and one which was tolerated only because they had become so habituated to it. The right hon. Gentleman would do well to bear in mind the warning given by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue many years ago as to the danger of the further increase of the Whisky Duty leading to the increase of illicit distillation. If the effect of the proposed increased tax on spirits should be to lessen drunkenness, he (Dr. Cameron) would support it heartily; but he did not believe that that would be the result. One result of such increased duty upon spirits would, he believed, be found to be an increase in illicit distillation. Another result would be the use of new and cheaper spirit, and a further effect would be increased adulteration. If, as Byron laid it down, that "Man being rational, must needs get drunk," alcohol in the shape of good sound whisky was probably as good a spirit as he could get drunk upon. The anomalies were borne patiently because they had become habituated to them. He thought it was not too much to ask that when any change was about to take place care should be taken not to aggravate these anomalies, as the present proposals now did. Care should be taken to do away with the existing anomalies, and to arrange that the tax on alcohol might fall equally on the different sections of the community in this country. That might be easily done if they put a tax of 4*d.* or 6*d.* a gallon on alcoholic drink, whether it happened to be beer, or wine, or whisky. If they did this, they would raise a much better Revenue. It would be an absolutely fair way of dealing with the matter, and it would tend to reduce the anomalies that already existed. It was the only system also that was free from the vice of Protection that ran through the proposals of the Bill. The levying of an extra 4*d.* or 6*d.* a gallon on proof spirits, no matter in what beverage it might be, would, of course, raise an objection in the view of those who wished to see cheap beer; but if they wished to smooth English Members by giving cheap beer, they were likely to ruffle the Scotch and Irish Members by imposing increased unfair duties on spirits. The Irish Members would take care of themselves. He would also like to see a Wine Tax. It was said that the persons who paid for wine were those who paid Income Tax; but he was not aware that this doctrine was universally true, and, besides, it was no reason why they should not pay a tax for the alcohol they consumed as well as their neighbours. He reminded the Chancellor of the Exchequer that Scotland had a motto which ought to be a warning against unnecessarily irritating that part of the Kingdom. In Scotland the people were willing to accept a great deal on the *imprimatur* of the Prime Minister, and from what he had heard he thought that a considerable section of the people would accept many things which possibly they might find difficult to square with some of the principles laid down in the course of the Mid Lothian campaign; but when it came to a question of bad whisky or dear whisky, the right hon. Gentleman might find a large section of the Scotch people roused into potential revolt which almost nothing else would justify. He had presented a Petition in the afternoon from more than 72,000 of his constituents, and that was a Petition the like of which he had never been asked by his constituency to present during the 12 years he had sat in the House of Commons. Burns had said that freedom and whisky went together; and there was no precept in all the code of ballad law that was more religiously followed than the injunction with which Burns coupled the statement, recommending the people to "take off their dram." Slightly altering the poet's recommendation, he would suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that if freedom and whisky went together he should take off his tax. He did not need to go to tea to find the money he required; he had only to go to wine. He urged that when a change was proposed it ought to be in the direction of removing anomalies, instead of aggravating those anomalies, as he considered the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would do. At the same time, he did not support the Amendment, because he regarded the Spirit Duties simply as a

sad incident in the Budget Bill, which, so far as the Bill went, laid down very considerable improvements in our system of taxation as a whole. He had referred to this one particular incident of the Bill, and when in Committee they came to the particular clause he should vote for the views he had now expressed; but he did not see the least inconsistency in voting for the second reading of the Bill now.

MR. COOPE said, it was his intention to support the Amendment. He could not help thinking that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be woefully disappointed in the result which he expected from the increased duties on spirits and beer. He entertained a strong conviction that the increased duties on spirits would lead to no increase in the Revenue. He believed that not only smuggling and illicit distillation would increase, but that adulteration would be carried to such an extent that the Revenue would not be benefited a shilling by this taxation. The same remark applied to the increase of the Beer Duty. He admitted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a concession in the brewers' interest. In making this concession, and in fixing the duty to terminate on the 31st of May, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had fairly met the representations of the trade. On that point, therefore, he did not feel inclined to oppose the measure; but, looking at the Bill as a whole, he was satisfied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would fail to receive those results which he anticipated. He trusted that the House would accept the Amendment.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the Amendment of the right hon. Baronet set up as an unfortunate precedent. No one listening to that discussion would suppose that the Bill dealt with matters such as the Tea Duty and the Income Tax, matters of far larger concern than the questions raised by the Amendment, which would more properly have been submitted at a later stage of the Bill. He was passing through the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament the other day when he was stopped by a brewer from Lancashire, who complained of the increased taxation of beer. He asked this representative of the Lancashire brewers if he would kindly suggest some alternative which he could convey to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This gentleman at once suggested that Probate Duty or an equivalent tax should be imposed on all succession to real property—in fact, the very proposal against which the right hon. Baronet was now protesting—so that if he desired to please this Lancashire brewer he must be careful not to vote with the right hon. Baronet. Two lines in the Amendment were devoted to the proposed increase of the Spirit and Beer Duties, and four lines were made up of determined opposition to the equalization of the Death Duties on all kinds of property. He had heard from some of those who complained of the increase in the alcoholic duties that they made representations to certain Members of the Party opposite, begging them not to mix up the two questions; but that the front Opposition Bench was, as he should have expected, quite unwilling to let go their objection to an equal tax at death on real property. In the Resolution before the House there was an obvious unreality. In the mixture of the right hon. Baronet, the spirits and beer were evidently thrown in to give a dash of popularity to the all-important conclusion as to landed property. There were some people who went to battle with the women and children in front of their army. That was like the policy of the right hon. Baronet, who placed the working man forward to protect the landed gentry. The right hon. Baronet assumed that the increased charge on spirits and beer would be equitable if there were a corresponding addition to the duties on wine. He was certain that this assumption which was in the Resolution would be more unpalatable to those who traded in alcoholic liquors than anything which had been said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The main question as to the Spirit Duties was contained in the following sentence from the Board of Inland Revenue in 1860, in which the Commissioners stated that:—

> "The rate of duty charged upon spirits had now, in all probability, reached a point beyond which it will not be found advisable to carry it for the purposes of revenue."

The question, in his opinion, at least, was a Revenue question. Would the increased duty on spirits be paid? He was bound to confess he was not at all convinced upon that point by the

speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The duty was now 20*d.* upon every bottle of proof spirits. That was an extremely high charge. He was not sure that the authorities were very successful in detecting illicit manufacture of spirits, or that the apparent decline in consumption over which they had rejoiced was not partly due to smuggling or illicit distillation. This was an aspect of the Spirit Duty which made it desirable that the addition should not be regarded as being necessarily of a permanent character. As to the Beer Duty, they had heard during the last fortnight every variety of opinion upon the incidence of this tax. The hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) said it would fall on the farmer and the consumer. Thinking the matter over for himself, he had come to the conclusion that it would to a large extent be paid by the producers, and that therefore it did not meet the recommendation by which it had been supported. The duty on beer was rather more than ½*d.* per quart. That was a high duty. The tax on a bottle of champagne, costing 3*s.* 6*d.*, was said to be 2*d.*, or one-twentieth of the cost. Such contrasts were not agreeable. It was, no doubt, quite true that the wine-drinker was usually an Income Tax payer, and that of the beer drinkers the vast majority never paid Income Tax. But it must be remembered that working men paid heavily upon their tea and tobacco, and he had no doubt that as a rule working men paid a much larger proportion of their income in taxation than the wealthy classes. The country brewers complained in a recent memorial, dated May 8, that the proposed increase of 1*s.* per barrel was not specifically connected with the War Tax, and distinctly implying that it was only on account of the absence of such an assurance that they expressed themselves agreed. Their prayer was that the increased duty should not be made a permanent charge. This had been provided for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He now passed to that which was the real question of the evening—the new charges upon property. His objection to the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far as they touched the Death Duties, was one external to the business of his Department. They would tend, he feared, just as the late lamented Lord Cairns's Settled Land Act tended, to aggravate that master evil of the English land system, the practice of placing land in strict settlement. The payment in the case of settled land would be, as now, upon the value of the life interest; whereas in the case of land held in fee simple, or by a tenant in tail—that was, by one with power to obtain the freehold—the charge would be upon the capital value. The consequence would be to encourage the practice of settlement. What had been the ostensible and what the real reason why the savings of a professional man or of a tradesman and the property of a landowner should be differently charged with Death Duties to the advantage of the latter? Ostensibly the difference had been permitted, because of the liability of rateable property to local charges. Succession Duty did not add a farthing to local charges; it did nothing but diminish the inheritance of the successor. But, really, the difference had been made because of the practice of settlement. When the Prime Minister dealt with this subject in 1853, he said—

> "As a matter of fact, under the social arrangements of this country, our great estates are settled estates."

And because our great estates were settled estates we had exempted from the duty on capital value those which were not settled estates. The Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed that Succession Duty should be paid upon capital value where the land was to be enjoyed by a person absolutely or as tenant in tail. He was within the bounds of moderation in saying that this provision would not affect one-fourth of the soil of the United Kingdom. And under such a system it was only natural that the small proportion of land taxable upon capital value should be still further diminished. While the House acknowledged the equity of the proposal it would observe the necessity for restricting, and, he hoped, of abolishing, the practice of strict settlement. If the landlords would help, for their own advantage, in abolishing all that which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had called—

> "The artificial and obsolete restrictions of law which still hinder the natural distribution of land in a manner which would be most advantageous to the State,"

he would undertake to say that the value of their possessions would be increased by very much more than the proposed taxation. He should not now refer to the gross injustice, as he conceived it to be, of the exemptions from the charge in lieu of Probate and Legacy or Succession Duties given by the Budget to the property of Corporations. The proposal to give to 2,000,000 acres of land held in mortmain a statutable title to exemption was a deep stain upon the Budget. The operation of the Budget would be to favour the passing of land into the injurious condition of mortmain and of settlement. That was the unquestionable tendency of the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. This must be met by speedy legislation. Then this charge now to be sanctioned would fall equitably upon all land, and the soil of this country would regain a value more nearly proportionate to that of free land in other countries in regard to its advantages as to markets and fertility. The practical consequence would be that the land would be valued in each generation, and that a fair proportion of the increment of value would be received by the State. There was one economic fallacy which was brought forward by the right hon. Baronet—namely, that this taxation was inadvisable because it was a tax upon capital. He admitted that, as a general rule, the Succession Duty was a tax on capital. But he denied—and in this denial he had the support of the highest economic authority—that in the circumstances of this country that was a valid objection. Taxes on capital were not objectionable where a large portion of the revenue was converted into capital by payments to the fundholder; nor could the objection be regarded as sound in a country rapidly increasing in wealth, where the taxation so obtained formed but a fraction of the annual increase of capital. But he repeated his protest against the form in which the right hon. Baronet advanced his opposition. This was not a Beer and Spirit Bill. Its first proposal dealt with tea; its last with Income Tax. In voting for the second reading he declined to be committed as to any one of the proposals to which the Amendment referred. To vote against the second reading because one objected to one or two features of a Budget would be an evil departure from the best rules of Parliamentary conduct. The time would probably come when he (Sir Michael Hicks Beach) would be one of the first to regret the bad example he had set to-night. The dangerous precedent, so dangerous to a Conservative Ministry, was probably due to the right hon. Baronet being fearful that his place would be taken by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) if he awaited a more Parliamentary and legitimate opportunity.

MR. ORR-EWING said, the President of the Local Government Board had failed to furnish one single argument on behalf of the Budget. His whole speech was an attack upon the suggestions made by the right hon. Baronet who had moved the Amendment. He evidently thought he had got a very popular question when he dwelt upon that of tea with so much gusto, and that it would form an additional cry on the hustings. But he did not do justice to what the right hon. Baronet said. He never suggested that they should tax the tea consumed by the working classes; but what he suggested was that, by the judicious raising of the tax on the higher qualities of the tea, he might have got a considerable revenue upon an article which was generally consumed without putting an additional burden on spirits and beer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had surprised him, and he dared say surprised the House also, by the figures which he put before the House. Why did the right hon. Gentleman not put these figures sooner before the House and the country? No one could check them that night; but he believed the corrected figures published in *The Economist* to be substantially correct, and he was inclined to think that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been able to bring out any great difference of results from the figures he would have placed them before the country long before this. He (Mr. Orr-Ewing) had put down an Amendment to the Revenue Bill immediately after it was submitted to the House; but, unfortunately, having been out of London his Amendment had lapsed, and as it was necessary that he should have renewed it it was not in his power now to move it. He would, however, read the terms of it to the House. It was, in effect, as followed:—

"That the proposed increase of 2*s.* per gallon on spirits was unjust and inequitable to Scotland and Ireland, and that no increased duty should be charged on spirits unless wine, beer, ale, and porter were charged equal duties. And further that, considering that 1,711 stills had been detected during the last two years, it was inexpedient to make any increase in the duty now charged on spirits."

It would, perhaps, be not uninteresting to the House if he gave a short sketch of how these duties had been dealt with since the beginning of the century. Early in the century the Government of the day had increased the duty on spirits to 6*s.* 2*d.* per Imperial gallon; but in 1814, owing to the enormous extent to which smuggling and illicit distillation were carried on in Scotland and Ireland, the duty was reduced in those countries to 2*s.* 4*d.* That reduction had an immediate effect, for in the following year the amount of money collected as duty by the Revenue was greatly increased. In 1825 the duty was raised by 6*d.* per gallon, making it 2*s.* 10*d.* During the years to which he had referred, and up to 1830, there was not only a duty of 9*s.* 10*d.* per barrel on ale and 4*s.* 10½*d.* on beer, but there was also a duty on malt of 2*s.* 7*d.* a bushel, with 5 per cent added, and also a large duty on hops, which were now entirely abolished. In 1830 there was also a duty charged on cider. But in 1830 it was proposed to abolish the duty on beer, on the ground that it was unfair to charge the general public a duty on beer when many people had liberty to brew beer at home for their own consumption. The proposal, however, was stoutly resisted by Parliament and by the brewers and publicans, on the ground that it would be unfair to have the duty taken off beer and left on malt. In 1830 an additional duty of 6*d.* per gallon was imposed on spirits in Scotland and Ireland, and at the same time 10*d.* per gallon was added to the duty in England; while in 1834 1*s.* was taken off the duty in Scotland and Ireland. This difference in the duties in England and in Scotland and Ireland was made for the purpose of doing justice to the two latter countries, because whisky was deemed to be the national drink in Scotland and Ireland. Then, in 1842, Sir Robert Peel raised the duty in Ireland by 1*s.*, in order to equalize it with the duty then imposed in Scotland. The duty upon Scotch and Irish spirits had been raised from time to time. In 1852 the present Prime Minister raised it to 4*s.* 4*d.* per gallon in Scotland, and to 3*s.* 4*d.* in Ireland. In 1854 the Prime Minister again raised the duty on spirits to 6*s.* in Scotland, and to 4*s.* in Ireland. In 1855 the right hon. Gentleman again raised the duty to 7*s.* 10*d.* in Scotland, and to 6*s.* in Ireland, thus equalizing the duty in England and Scotland in 1858. Mr. Disraeli, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, equalized the duty on spirits in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and increased the duty to 8*s.* per gallon; and in 1860 the present Prime Minister further increased the duty by 2*s.*, thus raising it to its present standard of 10*s.* per gallon. At this moment Ireland and Scotland were paying an undue share of the taxation of the country, and it was now proposed to aggravate that injustice to the extent of 10 per cent. The reduction in the consumption of spirits which the Chancellor of the Exchequer contemplated would result from the increased duty upon them amounted to more than 4,500,000 gallons, which would reduce the demand for barley in Scotland by some 232,000 quarters. The result of the change proposed to be effected in the duty would be to throw an unduly heavy charge upon agricultural land in Scotland. No one would dare to propose to make Scotland and Ireland pay double the Income Tax paid by England; but the present duties on alcoholic drinks had the effect of making Scotland pay for the alcohol she drank an amount larger than double the amount of Income Tax paid in 1883. He was sure that English Members had only to take those facts into their consideration to determine them not only to resist the proposed increase of duty on spirits, but to take care, from year to year, that justice was done to England and Scotland in that matter. Moreover, an increase of the duty would, in his opinion, be a premium on illicit distillation. This would, of course, have a most demoralizing effect, and he hoped the Government would see their way to withdraw the additional 1*s.* per gallon which it was still intended to impose. He knew the increased duty was supported by teetotallers and others upon moral grounds. In his belief, there were no higher principles of morality than truth and justice, and there was no lower form of morality than cant and

hypocrisy in defence of injustice; and he held that anyone who was acquainted with these and other facts which he had put before the House, and yet supported the present duties upon alcoholic drinks upon the grounds of morality, shut out all sense of justice from his mind. It was a question of fiscal duties, and justice could not be done to England, Scotland, and Ireland until the duties charged upon spirits, wines, and beers should be according to the alcohol they contained. That would not only be just to the people of Scotland and Ireland, but it would place all foreign countries from which we imported wines, spirits, or beer upon terms of justice and equality. He believed that in consequence of his Resolution having dropped from the Notice Paper he was unable to move it; but he would vote for the Resolution of the right hon. Baronet.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he thought that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer was called upon to make a large addition to the taxation of the country it was right that the whole of that additional sum should not be raised by direct taxation. Perhaps it was more important at this juncture than it had ever been before that that principle should be established. Looking at the wide electorate to whom the destinies of the country were now committed, it was all-important that the voters should understand that if they were in favour of an overbearing policy towards foreign nations the first thing they had to do was to find the means to pay for it. Therefore, he was in favour of increasing indirect taxation at the time that direct taxation was increased. What he regretted, however, about the Budget, especially in its original form, was that the increase of direct taxation was not made openly and palpably fair to all classes. He had never in that House been disposed — except within very moderate limits—to press the interests or to illustrate the grievances of the trade with which he was connected; and he did not desire to set one class of men in this country against another. In this matter of taxation he did not own to any preference for the Radical teetotaller, whom the right hon. Baronet who introduced this Motion called the particular friend of the Government, or for the pothouse politician, who, according to the President of the Local Government Board, was the supporter of the Party opposite. In his opinion, it was the duty of that House in the matter of taxation to mete out even-handed justice to both. With regard to the Wine Duties, he was ready to admit that this Budget did not unduly favour the rich at the expense of the poor. He wished, however, that this fact had been made more palpable, and he was afraid that it would take many speeches and many leaflets to be circulated among the electorate before they would be persuaded that the drink of the rich had not been favoured at the expense of the drink of the poor. When a trade had been accustomed to a particular tax all its arrangements were made to meet that tax. When a new tax was imposed those arrangements could not be suddenly altered to meet it. It was impossible for a brewer to relieve himself of this extra 1*s.* per gallon on beer by an increase of price. How, then, could the brewer meet this increase in the tax? He must either bear the increased tax himself, or he must relieve himself of the burden by deteriorating the quality of his article. Of course, if the tax was to be only of a temporary character, it ought to be taken off when the emergency passed. When the Prime Minister substituted the Beer Tax for the Malt Tax, he used as an argument that when an emergency arose an easy means was provided of raising additional taxation. But the sting of the present grievance had been this—that a call to meet an emergency was being made an opportunity to place a tax that might be permanent. Speaking for himself, however, and for others with whom he had been in immediate communication, he would say that as he had never set up the contention that in time of war or other emergency in the interests of the country indirect taxation should not be resorted to, so now that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had pledged himself to limit the taxation on beer to 13 months, he accepted that concession, and would withdraw the opposition which he had intended to offer to the right hon. Gentleman's proposals.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not propose to make many observations upon the Bill; but as he had placed an Amendment upon the Paper directed against every principle of the Bill, he should be sorry not to avail himself of

the opportunity of saying a word upon the measure. The Amendment was to the effect that no alteration in the existing fiscal arrangements could be satisfactory which tended to benefit the foreign producer at the expense of the home producer. He did not suppose that there ever was a time when anything which had that tendency would be more undesirable than at the present moment. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was laying his financial proposals before the House he made use of these words—

"On the other hand, pauperism appears to me to be beginning to increase; and there is an increasing desire to emigrate by no means confined to Ireland. I am sorry to say that I do not agree with Prince Bismarck in concluding that this is evidence of the prosperity of the country. Since last year there has been a still more serious fall in Railway Receipts; and these are, to my mind, an unfailing barometer of the condition of the country. Having, then, last year framed my Estimate on evidence of a not altogether unfavourable state of matters, as affecting both the consumer and the payer of Income Tax, and that Estimate having been entirely justified, this year I shall not take quite so hopeful a view. I shall estimate on the basis of a moderately decreased consumption, a slight fall in the average of wages, and a stationary income for the middle and higher classes."—(3 *Hansard*, [297] 1141.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer might well anticipate such a disadvantageous state of things. Any hon. Member who took the trouble to examine, with the care they deserved, the Board of Trade Returns for trade and navigation for each succeeding month since the beginning of the year would find that there had never been, at least for a great number of years, such a serious state of manufactures and of exports as these figures revealed. He would only refer to one of them, which was the last issued — namely, the Return for the month of April, 1885. From that Return it would be found that although the imports had increased in all but two of the nine classes in which they were set forth, the exports showed a decrease in every single one of the classes. Moreover, the imports showed an increase in the very things which the industries of this country might naturally wish that an increase should not be shown—that was to say, in manufactured articles. Nothing could be more striking, and nothing could be more convincing, than those figures, given forth as they were by the Government month after month, of the decrease in the manufacturing industries of the country, and the rapid strides with which foreign countries were overtaking the home industries of this country. He would not enter at length into particulars; but in order to show how, in detail, this matter worked, he would ask the House for a few moments to consider the condition of one industry with which France was competing with England. In *The Economist*—a newspaper which the right hon. Gentleman had thought fit to criticize that afternoon —he found in the monthly trade supplement for February these words with regard to the silk trade—

"In Coventry during the best period of the ribbon trade about 40,000 persons were dependent upon it, whereas now not more than one-fourth of that number derive their living from that source. In London, including Spitalfields, 6,000 persons used to be engaged in that industry, where there are now only about 4,000; and in other districts a similar, although not so great, falling off has taken place. In regard to imports, in 1860 we imported £9,200,000 of raw silk, while in 1883 the imports amounted only to £3,200,000; while, on the other hand, the imports of silk manufactured goods increased in the same period from £3,344,000 to £10,500,000."

That was the commercial relation between this country and France in regard to an important branch of industry. The other country he wished to refer to was Germany, and the branch of trade which set forth the commercial relations between the United Kingdom and Germany was best exemplified in the case of the iron and steel wire trade. A trade circular from an important London and Liverpool firm contained this statement—

"We foreshadowed, in our last yearly Report, that there must be a reduction made in the wages of the wire drawers. If we are to retain an important share of this trade"

—the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself admitted that he looked forward to a reduction of wages generally throughout the country—

"a reduction of 25 per cent might enable our manufacturers to meet the foreign competition to some extent. Even now the prices in Germany are below ours, and even in the Liverpool delivery the German manufacturers can compete with us successfully, seeing that their prices are not higher, but in some cases considerably below ours. The falling off in shipments is very noticeable, and it will be seen that Germany has taken one-half of our Colonial trade."

He asked the House to give attention to a short series of figures, which showed how the trade had been affected during the last five years. In 1881 we imported into the Australian Colonies 38,000 tons of wire; in 1882 the amount rose to 50,000 tons; in 1883 it fell to 26,000 tons; and in 1884 to 22,000 tons. What were the Germans doing during the same period? How were they competing with the English manufacturer in those markets which, previously, this country had almost entirely to itself. In the case of iron wire, Germany exported in 1881, 188,000 tons; 222,000 tons in 1882; 233,000 tons in 1883; and 254,000 tons last year. In steel wire the increase was still more remarkable. In the four years the figures were—in 1881, 4,000 tons; 1882, 10,000 tons; 1883, 58,000 tons; and in 1884, 124,000 tons. Germany, therefore, had beaten us entirely out of the field so far as a large portion of the trade was concerned. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided, in spite of the increase of pauperism, in spite of the stationary incomes of the middle and richer classes, and in spite of the falling off which he himself anticipated in wages throughout the country, to place before the House proposals which involved the favouring of the foreign producer at the expense of the home producer. The branches of the trade which the right hon. Gentleman selected for his attack were the beer and the spirit industries. He (Mr. O'Connor) thought the beer industry had a very fair ground of complaint against the present Government in this respect, because in the year 1880, in the month of June, the Prime Minister, in explaining his proposal to change the tax upon malt into a Beer Duty, said—

"As I estimated the change, it will be in favour of the public, and with an outlay of £1,100,000 we shall obtain, after defraying some temporary charges, between £300,000 and £400,000 a-year solid Revenue, perfectly unexceptionable in its character, and which is due from laying the duty on a manufactured article instead of upon raw material. The brewing trade represented to us that we should make a much larger sum of money than we supposed, and it is with the view of testing that operation that I wish to reserve any judgment on details; because I admit we are not entitled to make any such addition to the Revenue as they presume we should be making by levying on the same quantity of material a very considerably higher tax, while we profess to be levying a tax which it is worth their while to pay in consideration of their relief from the Malt Duty and its accompaniments—the only exception to that being that the turn in cases of this kind is very properly given in favour of the Revenue."—(3 *Hansard*, [253] 732-3.)

What had been the effect of the change? The effect had been this—that whereas the original charge upon beer was the Malt Tax of £1 1*s.* 8½*d.* a-quarter, and the Hop Duty, afterwards commuted by the payment of 1*s.* a-quarter upon malt, making the total charge £1 2*s.* 8½*d.*, it had since been increased to what was equivalent to £1 4*s.* 6½*d.* The Government, therefore, obtained more than they bargained for to the extent of 2*s.* a-quarter on malt. If, therefore, any change were to be made in respect of the Beer Duty, such change ought to be in accordance with the half-promise made by the present Prime Minister when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1880, and such change should be a reduction rather than an increase. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer now proposed to increase the Beer Duty to £1 8*s.* 5½*d.* That proposal appeared to him (Mr. O'Connor) to involve something which amounted, he would not say to a breach of faith, but, at any rate, something which furnished a very fair and reasonable ground of complaint on the part of the beer industry. If that were so in the case of beer, he thought the complaint of the spirit producers was even better founded. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House that he would put such words into his Bill as would make it appear that the Beer Duty was not intended to last beyond next year; but the right hon. Gentleman had not held out the same comforting assurance to the spirit producers, and he thought they might rest satisfied that when once this tax was imposed it was not at all likely that it would be easily removed. Therefore, if they wanted to prevent a permanent increase, now was the time for taking a determined stand against it. It appeared to him that, even as things were at present, the producers of the country had very good ground of complaint against the unfair competition of the foreign producers. He would say nothing of the degree of alcoholic strength at which wine was to be ad-

mitted from Spain; but if things remained as they were, and 42 degrees of alcoholic strength were to be taxed to the amount of 2*s.* 6*d.*, while the same amount of alcoholic strength in the productions of our home industry was to be taxed at 5*s.*, it was perfectly clear that up to the strength of 42 degrees the British or home producer was handicapped to the extent of 2*s.* 6*d.* for the benefit of the foreigner. It was all very well to talk about Free Trade—and he was quite as prepared to support Free Trade as any hon. Member in that House, and he should be glad to see our Customs and Excise Duties abolished altogether—but to talk of Free Trade, and then to handicap our own producers in favour of the foreigner, appeared to him to be Free Trade in a wrong direction—Free Trade, as a matter of fact, in ruin. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had indulged in a criticism of certain articles in *The Economist* newspaper.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that he had not discussed any arguments or articles in *The Economist*, but had corrected a table of calculations as to the Beer and Spirit Duties set out in that paper.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that he would not say, then, that the right hon. Gentleman had criticized the articles, but that he had corrected the figures. He would be glad, however, if somebody would elucidate the figures of the right hon. Gentleman himself, because they were certainly somewhat remarkable, and he, for one, confessed that he was not able to understand how the right hon. Gentleman arrived at them. According to the right hon. Gentleman, the increase of 2*s.* in the Spirit Duty would yield only £900,000; while the increase of 1*s.* would yield £600,000. Now, an increase of 2*s.* on the present consumption of 36,000,000 gallons ought to give £3,600,000; and an increase of 1*s.* ought to give £1,800,000, whereas it was to give only one third of that sum. There was only one explanation of the Estimate of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was this—that he anticipated a diminished consumption and a diminished production. Very well; it followed that he was deliberately aiming a blow at the home industry at the same time that he was proposing to benefit the foreign producer. According to the right hon. Gentleman's figures, and assuming that there was a diminution of production which was to account for them, the House could only arrive at the conclusion that the right hon. Gentleman anticipated a diminution of no less than 12 or 13 per cent in the production of this particular branch of industry. He (Mr. O'Connor) did not wonder that that was so, because the Commission which sat upon the Revenue as far back as 1860 reported that an increase of 1*s.* 11*d.* per gallon had resulted in a decrease to the Revenue of £500,000. The Commissioners further reported that the rate of duty charged had, in all probability, reached a point which it would not be found desirable to go beyond for the purposes of Revenue. He thought it was a pity that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before deciding upon the present increase, had not carefully considered the grounds for that opinion, and the force of the Report presented 25 years ago by the Commission. Well, then, the result of the fiscal arrangements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the poor man was taxed in his drink, as had been stated by several hon. Members, much more heavily than the rich man already. Take spirits at 30 or 26 degrees of alcoholic strength. A duty of 1*s.* only was charged upon sherry of the same amount of strength as whisky and water, whereas the latter was charged 3*s.* Then, again, if they looked at the tax from an *ad valorem* point of view, it would be found that the home production was taxed 200 per cent, while sherry of 30 degrees alcoholic strength was only taxed 6⅔ per cent, and champagne only 3⅓ per cent. Could anything be more monstrous? The poor man's drink was beer and spirits, the rich man's was claret and champagne. Claret and champagne were taxed 3 per cent, or 6 per cent *ad valorem*, while the poor man's drink—spirits—was taxed at 200 per cent. And what did the Chancellor of the Exchequer propose? He proposed to increase the tax on the already excessively-taxed poor man's drink, and to reduce the taxation on the rich man's beverage. The worst of it, however, was that the rich man's beverage was produced abroad by the foreign producer, whereas

the poor man's beverage was a home production. He had already said that he was prepared to substantiate his statement by the quotation of figures that the home producer was handicapped to the extent of some 2*s.* 7*d.* per gallon. He quite agreed that the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer would tend, if carried out fully, to the importation of inferior foreign spirits, which, fortified in this country, would unquestionably be used to undersell the honest home production; and the articles which would come into greater consumption than they had yet reached would be inferior articles made of deleterious materials, and which, while not tending properly to bring about any increase of Revenue, would certainly not tend to diminish drunkenness. But the fall in the consumption the Chancellor of the Exchequer looked forward to was not limited to the manufactured article. A fall in the consumption of whisky meant a fall in the consumption of the raw material of which whisky was made, and the agricultural interests of the Three Kingdoms were consequently directly affected by this atrack of the Government on an important branch of manufacturing industry. The agricultural interests of Ireland were particularly affected, and not only would the farmers of Ireland suffer, but also those who looked to the farmers for their rent. The area of barley in Ireland was a very important item in the agricultural economy of the country. That area had been for years steadily diminishing. In 1880 the area under barley in Ireland was 213,000 acres; in 1881 it was 210,000 acres; in 1882 it was 187,000 acres; in 1883 it was 183,000 acres; and in 1884 it fell to 166,000 acres. It was, therefore, a languishing industry; it was a crop which was getting less and less every year; and he had heard only that day that this very proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had already had the effect of diminishing the marketable value of barley, in certain parts of Ireland, to the extent of 1*s.* That was a very serious thing for a struggling community like the people of Ireland, and he found that a number of the best informed of the farmers in his county and the borders had agreed that the blow to the manufacturing industry was nothing like so serious as it was likely to prove to many of the small farmers of the district. He might say this—that in Queen's County, or, at any rate, in parts of Queen's County, and in many other parts of Ireland, the small farmer looked to his barley crop for the means of paying his rent; and if the barley crop was to be depreciated in value, and if the market it now found was to be restricted, all the judicial rents in Ireland would have to be revised, because it would be perfectly impossible for the farmers of Ireland to continue to pay the rents they were now saddled with by the Land Courts if the value of their output—associated with foreign competition and all the other adverse circumstances they had to contend with—was diminished. He thought he had said enough to show —["Hear, hear!" *from the Ministerial Benches*]—he dared say he had said too much for those who were prepared to support the Government, in season or out of season, whether they were right or whether they were wrong—but he thought he had said enough to show that he had good grounds for placing on the Paper an Amendment to protest against the proposals of the Government, which unquestionably tended to benefit the foreign producer at the expense of the home manufacturer.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I do not at all complain of the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down. On the contrary, I listened to him with interest. But there was one point in the speech of the hon. Member on which I will make an observation. He said that the duty on spirits at 10*s.* would produce so much, and he then went on to say that the duty at 12*s.* ought to produce proportionally so much more, and that the increase estimated in the Budget on the Revenue from spirits ought to have been £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 more than I had stated. Now, the hon. Member must know that in any calculation of this kind, unless disappointment is courted, considerable allowance must always be made for the falling off of consumption when an increase of duty is proposed; and it has been more than once made a matter of complaint against some of my Predecessors that the allowance in this respect which they have made has not been sufficient. All I can say is, that in framing the present Budget I took great care, with the

officers of the Revenue, to consider what would be the falling off in consumption due to higher rates of duty; and the figures which we arrived at, in respect both of the Spirit Duty and the Beer Duty, were not arrived at carelessly, but after the fullest consideration of what the probable outcome of the duty would be. I only make that remark now upon what has fallen from the hon. Gentleman, because I do not think I heard it from any other speaker, or, at any rate, in such plain terms. In fact, from other quarters exactly an opposite objection was made. I could name several hon. Gentlemen who have told us that I should get no increase of Revenue whatever from the increase of duty; and therefore I will pair off those hon. Gentlemen who take gloomy views against the too sanguine views of the hon. Member who has just addressed the House. Now, let me come to the Motion and the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). When I read the Motion, the first part of which is—

> "That the House regards the increased duty on beer and spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the duties on wine,"

I concluded that what the right hon. Gentleman would tell the House was that he did not object to the increase of the duty on spirits and beer in itself; that he thought such a method of obtaining more Revenue at the present time was fair and reasonable; but that it was inequitable because there was not a corresponding addition to the duty on wine. I fully expected, as anyone who had read the Notice would be entitled to expect, that the right hon. Gentleman would have addressed himself to the proposition he had laid down in his Motion, and that it would be to the absence of the additional duty on wine, and to that question alone, that he would have specially referred in objecting to the increase of the duty on spirits and beer. But the House must have been surprised to hear that, though the right hon. Gentleman did allude, after he had spoken for some time, to the absence of any increase of the duty on wine, he addressed himself, in the early part of his speech, exclusively to the increase of the duties on spirits and beer as wrong in themselves; and he urged all the stock objections to the increase of duty on either of those articles—such as that we should get no additional Revenue from the additional duty on spirits; that the brewers would water the beer or use sugar in its manufacture; and that the makers of spirits would give us an unwholesome liquor, and in other ways injure the consumer for the sake of making up for the increased duty. But until the right hon. Gentleman had gone some way in his speech he did not enter at all upon the proposition contained in the beginning of his Motion—namely, the unfairness of not dealing with wine at the same time as with spirits and beer. But I am happy to say that he did not stop here; because he put before the House a proposal which assumed the shape of an alternative Budget. He admitted that we were right in proposing to raise a considerable part of the Revenue by duties upon articles of consumption; but he said—"Why increase at all the duties on beer and spirits; why do you not go to tea?" And he set up tea as a proper article on which the duty should be increased. The right hon. Gentleman said that the present duty of 6*d.* in the 1lb. on tea was a very moderate rate of duty. But my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) conclusively answered that argument, showing that the duty on tea, instead of being moderate, was between twice and three times as heavy, in proportion to the value of the article, as the duty on beer. I may at once join issue with the right hon. Gentleman on this question of the Tea Duty. I said, in my Financial Statement, on the 30th of April, and I distinctly repeat now, that duties upon articles of liquor, such as spirits and beer, are preferable to duties upon such articles as tea or sugar, or upon any of those articles of necessary consumption, upon which the duty has been reduced of late years or repealed altogether. I adhere to that statement, and to every word which fell from my right hon. Friend sitting beside me (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and I hope that the House will clearly understand that the contest between us and the other side is one of Tea Duty *versus* Liquor Duty. But the right hon. Gentleman, having disposed of the first part of the Amendment, went on to complain that at the present time we propose to impose

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taxation upon property passing from one person to another by death, instead of waiting until the question of local government and local burdens shall have been finally dealt with. The right hon. Gentleman vigorously upbraided me for my inconsistency in having in April, 1884, in the Financial Statement, made use of expressions in regard to changes in the Death Duties which implied that I was opposed to raising additional duties on real property at death, unless, at the same time, the House adopted a plan of local government; and I think he said that I almost gave a pledge not to propose such duties. Now, Sir, it is perfectly true that in 1884 I was of opinion that, as there seemed to be no prospect of carrying through Parliament a plan for the relief of local burdens and the arrangement of local government, it was not necessary, there being no want of Revenue at the time, to bring in then a Bill for increasing the Death Duties on real property. But the measure which I had then to consider was a very different one from that which is now before the House. If the relief of local burdens were to be simultaneous with the imposition of commensurate Death Duties on real estate, a far more radical and complete plan than the one which I now propose would have to be carried. Let me point out to the House what the nature and scope of that measure would be. Real property would then have to be subject to Probate Duty, levied in the same manner as it is levied in the case of personal property; that is to say, instead of waiting, as we propose, for four or five years before the burden on real property has reached its full height, we should have at once to place upon real property a charge in respect to Probate Duty analogous to that which is now placed upon personal property, and, instead of the mere trifle which under our plan will be derived from real estate during the present year, we should have had to impose on real property, in the first year, a charge of something like £1,000,000. It is manifestly far better, in the interests of the owner of land, to propose a substitute for Probate Duty, in the shape of a Succession Duty spread over four years, than to adopt the more drastic arrangement of placing at once real property in respect of Probate Duty on the same basis as personal property. When I said last year, in the circumstances that then existed, that I did not then propose to introduce an immediate assimilation of the duties on real and personal property, I did not debar myself from adopting, at a future time, this very gradual and moderate plan, for choosing which, instead of the more drastic alternative, those who are interested in the transmission of real property ought to thank me. I will now pass to the other speakers. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) was very indignant at the line which we have taken in respect of the Wine Duties, because, in refusing to place an additional tax upon wine, we have had regard not only to the commercial interests of our exporters to foreign wine-growing countries, but also to the interests of our wine-growing Colonies. My right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board alluded, among these, specially to New South Wales? What did the noble Lord say? "What is to us this regard for the Colony of New South Wales? The Radical Party are the friends of every country except their own." I hope the Colonies will remember that that is the way in which they are spoken of by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Our Colonies are part of our own country, and it is our duty, so far as it is in our power, to cultivate, as I have always endeavoured to do, their interests. They are not foreign countries to us. ["Oh!"] Yes; the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex contemptuously spoke of the Radical Party as caring for the interests of New South Wales. [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH dissented.] I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. The noble Lord quoted my right hon. Friend's reference to the Colony of New South Wales, and said that the Radical Party were the friends of every country except their own. I think it will be a great disappointment to the Colonies to find that they are not to number hon. Gentlemen opposite among their friends, after all the professions which have been of late so lavishly made. The noble Lord also referred, in supporting the present Amendment, to questions of financial policy which are hardly within its scope. He repeated, what he has more than once said, both in and out of this House, about the increase in the Expenditure of the present Government, and about ex-

cessive Supplementary Estimates. To a certain extent I sympathize on this subject with the noble Lord, for there is nothing that a Chancellor of the Exchequer is so anxious to keep down as Supplementary Estimates. There is nothing he more desires than to prevent the growth of this most inconvenient form of Estimates. But I am bound to say that the noble Lord was not happy in the illustrations which he gave of Supplementary Estimates, and he gave them at some length. He spoke of the Supplementary Estimates of 1882 and 1884 as excessive. But the "excessive" Supplementary Estimates of 1882 and 1884 were not Supplementary Estimates at all, in the common acceptation of the term, but were analogous to Votes of Credit for special wars. Although they were called Supplementary Estimates, as a matter of form, they were really sudden and unexpected demands made upon the country for expenditure connected with war; and I have never before heard such Votes classed with Supplementary Estimates properly so called. The noble Lord then went through our general financial arrangements, and he said that since 1880, excluding the demands made in connection with war, we have raised the ordinary Expenditure of the country by some £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 a-year—I did not catch the exact figure. Now, this question was discussed at length last year, and in 1883; and it was shown unmistakably that part of the additional expenditure had reference to the Debt arrangements, not of ourselves, but of our Predecessors, that part of it had reference to education, the charge for which had steadily increased of late years, and that the largest part of the expenditure had reference to military and naval charges urgently pressed upon us by right hon. and hon. Members opposite. Much of the expenditure was rendered necessary by the extraordinarily low Estimates of 1879 and 1880, which provided most insufficiently for the construction of our armour-clad Fleet and guns. ["Oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen may say "Oh!" but that is no answer. We have shown that we have been obliged to increase our ordinary military and naval charges for ships and guns during the last three or four years in consequence of the insufficient Estimates of the last two years of the late Government; and no one will, I conceive, dispute the fact of the constant pressure put upon us by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), and hon. Members opposite, to increase that class of expenditure in order to strengthen our Fleet. I have always wished to steer clear of politics in this matter; but it is hard upon us that a noble Lord sitting on that Bench should throw in our teeth this additional expenditure, of which he and his Party were the cause, first, through their unwise economy in 1879 and 1880, and since then through their constant pressure for extravagant Estimates. The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) has questioned the accuracy of certain figures which I have given the House in correction of an utterly erroneous statement which has been widely circulated. I can only say that those figures are perfectly accurate. I hope that the hon. Gentleman, who takes so much interest in finance, will criticize them carefully; and I shall be happy to hear from him the result of his investigations. I think, however, the hon. Gentleman was rather hard upon me when he said that the object of the Budget was to crush Scotch and Irish trade for the benefit of foreign trade. We have no object of the kind; our one object is to obtain a sufficient amount of Revenue from the consumer for his share of the large charge which falls upon us this year. So far from wishing to crush or injure Scotch, Irish, or English trade, I can only say that no one regrets interference with trade more than any Chancellor of the Exchequer must do. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) has told us we should do well to take warning by the declaration of the Inland Revenue Authorities in 1860 as to the limit beyond which the Spirit Duties could not be raised. It is 25 years since that opinion was given by those gentlemen; and the very large experience they have had since places them in a position to say that the warnings of 1860 do not now apply, and that we may raise the duty in the way we propose with perfect safety to the Revenue, and without risk of encouraging smuggling or illicit distillation. I am much obliged to my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread)

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for the assistance he has given us in this debate, and for the very fair and temperate way in which he has stated the objections of the brewers to anything like a permanent increase in the duty on beer. I may also add that what he said about myself—that I did not express myself with sufficient clearness on the 30th of April—may not be without some foundation, although I was not conscious of the fact. I was asked, quite at the end of the Sitting, whether I intended to treat the new duty as a war tax. What I intended to say was that we should in the present Bill treat it as any other proposal involving increased taxation, and that I wished to put the increased Beer Duty on the same footing as that on which the right hon. Gentleman opposite placed the increased Tobacco Duty. Some years since the right hon. Gentleman increased the Tobacco Duty; and he said, at the time, that he hoped the increased duty would not be required long. A year or two afterwards he expressed the same opinion in reply to a written question. He said that he hoped that the additional 4*d.* would be required for a short time only; but he could not put any actual limit to the time during which it would be levied. When I was asked the question as to the Beer Duty, I had in view the careful statement of the right hon. Gentleman opposite as to the Tobacco Duty, and I tried to express myself in as nearly as possible the same terms. I wish it to be clearly understood that I perfectly recognize the accuracy and propriety of the reservation made by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister when the Beer Duty was substituted for the Malt Tax—that was to say, that the Beer Duty might become, what the Malt Duty could not well be, a second special instrument to be used when a large increase of Revenue was required to meet an emergency. Making so large an addition as we do to the Income Tax, I think we may fairly have recourse also to the Beer Duty merely as a mode of raising the Revenue required for an emergency. I have done my best to answer the questions put to me; but before I sit down I should like to say a few words with regard to the character of the Budget, in so far as it has been impugned, in order that the House can have no doubt whatever as to the object and the intentions of the changes which we propose. When it became necessary to raise a large sum for an emergency, not of actual war, but of preparation for war, such as we have had during the present year, we considered that it was right to have resort, for a part of that Revenue, to articles of consumption. Whether we were right or not to go to spirits and beer, or whether we might have gone to tea or sugar, or some other article of general consumption, is not the main question. My first object was the paramount duty of enforcing that principle, and especially of enforcing it at the present time. Now, I am very glad to recognize, whatever may be the cause, that neither on the 30th of April, nor in any remarks since then, has anyone in this House come forward to dispute the propriety of that principle. In that I think that a great deal has been gained. I think that this year we have laid down that principle with precision; and, therefore, I hope that, whatever may be the controversy as to the particular articles to be selected for taxation, the principle is admitted that, where a considerable amount of additional taxation is required, the whole of the charge should not fall upon property, but that some portion of it should fall upon articles of consumption. Why, then, did we have recourse to spirits and beer? I might name several reasons, but I will give only two. In the first place, when we consider the large expenditure which is annually entailed upon the country by drink, I think it is logically undeniable that it should be a special subject of taxation. I am not one of those who have ever used violent language on the subject of liquor; but who can fail to recognize that intoxicating liquor does cause a large part of the expenditure of the country? It is therefore fair to go to it for additional taxation. But there is another reason why, on this occasion, beer and spirits should be the source of increased taxation instead of any other articles. Not many years ago the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), when Chancellor of the Exchequer, found it necessary to raise more Revenue from articles of consumption, and he had recourse to tobacco, the duty on which he raised. The increase in the Revenue which he expected may not have been entirely fulfilled; but, whether that is the case or not, he had recourse

to tobacco to the extent of what is now nearly £1,000,000 a-year, and did not increase the tax upon liquor. It seems to me that the turn of liquor has now come. What we have proposed is a moderate increase; the amount we have asked the public to contribute through this channel, compared with the amount of taxation upon property, is not excessive; and, therefore, I hope that the House will look favourably at the principle of our proposal. Mr. Speaker, I have endeavoured to answer the questions which have been put to me, and to state in a brief manner the reasons why we adopted this particular method of adding to the amount of indirect taxation. I have answered also the personal objection raised against my being the proposer of the increased Death Duties; and I now sit down in the hope that the House will receive these statements favourably, and will affirm the proposals we have made.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am sure that the House will have listened with interest to the closing remarks of the right hon. Gentleman, in which he has explained to the House what he considers to be the principle and character of the Budget. He has said that the characteristic of the Budget was that, when it should become necessary to raise a large sum for purposes such as those which have rendered it necessary to raise a large sum now, the Government of the day should have recourse for the ways and means to meet the Expenditure, not only to taxes upon property, but partly to taxes upon articles of consumption. He has given us, in brief, some of the reasons—I can hardly think that he has given the whole of the reasons — for choosing, as the article of consumption upon which such taxation is now to be imposed, the article of liquor. Now, I am glad the right hon. Gentleman has put the matter upon that footing, because I hope that when we come to a decision upon the Vote presently, we may find ourselves able to decide upon mature and, if I may so say, scientific fiscal grounds, and not upon other considerations which are foreign to the matter. I confess that I listened with very great satisfaction to a part, at all events, of the observations of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). It seemed to me that the hon. Member, who addressed the House some time ago, spoke very sensibly and well as to the propriety of treating this question as a fiscal one. I think that that is the ground—namely, that it is a fiscal question—upon which we should deal with it. I am bound to say that, taking fiscal considerations as being the first to which weight should be given by us, the explanations given by the right hon. Gentleman in answer to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) are a little surprising to me. He has given as one of the reasons, and as a main reason, for selecting liquor, beer, and spirits as the particular articles of consumption on which taxation should be raised, that the Revenue derived from those articles has fallen, while the Revenue from other articles has advanced. Now, I have always thought, in my innocence, that it was a canon—a fiscal canon—that you ought not to lay taxes, as a fiscal measure, on a falling Revenue, and that that, as a general rule, is not an operation that is likely to be successful; and, undoubtedly, I listened with great surprise to the right hon. Gentleman when, instead of apologizing, as I thought he ought to have done, for committing such a solecism in finance as laying further taxation on articles which have fallen in their productiveness within the last eight years to an extent of no less than £3,000,000, he actually took credit for it, and gave it as a reason for selecting these particular articles.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I hope the right hon. Gentleman will excuse me if I did not make my meaning sufficiently clear. What I meant to say was, that the effect of putting additional duties on articles of consumption would be to diminish the amount of their consumption.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I perfectly understand that. That was the answer which the right hon. Gentleman gave to the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor), who had made a somewhat exaggerated estimate of what the result of the new duties would be. The right hon. Gentleman answered, with perfect truth, that the effect of new taxation was not to produce an equivalent amount of increased Revenue, but that, on the contrary, taxing a falling Revenue would not be a productive operation. That, I have no

doubt, would be the case; but I was going to observe that it was very curious that, although the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave as a reason why he should lay a further duty on beer and spirits that the Revenue had fallen within the last few years, he said nothing about wine, as to which the same thing, I believe, is true. According to his doctrine, it would be only a reasonable and a fair thing that he should add to the duties on wine as well as to the duties on beer and spirits. And that was the particular point of the argument of my right hon. Friend, who used the word "inequitable" on this ground—that if you have now a tolerably fair and equal apportionment of duties on the different kinds of liquor, beer, and spirits, if you are going to raise the duties on some of those articles without raising them on the others, you disturb what now, according to that hypothesis, is a fair and reasonable balance, and disturb it by making an inequitable arrangement. That is a proceeding which, I think, requires considerable explanation; and I am not satisfied with the explanation which the Chancellor of the Exchequer offers when he represents this proceeding as one of a purely fiscal character. My right hon. Friend argued that if you were dealing with this matter purely on fiscal principles, you would not select those particular articles on which the Revenue is falling, as they are not the articles best fitted to effect the object that you say you have in view in laying taxation on articles of consumption. And when my right hon. Friend mentioned the Tea Duty, he mentioned it as an illustration of his argument—namely, that if you have before you for consideration how you will best lay on a duty which will apply to all classes of consumers, you would not lay it on the articles of wine, beer, and spirits, and certainly not on beer and spirits without wine, but on some article of more general consumption. My right hon. Friend instanced tea, not as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Local Government Board eagerly supposed, for the sake of pitting tea against beer. I, myself, had a sharp argument with the right hon. Gentleman opposite when I argued for a reduction of the duty on tea, and he withstood me some 20 years ago with some favoured theories as to the mode in which we should deal with such taxation. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the President of the Local Government Board fastened on that illustration the false issue which they themselves chose to raise out of my right hon. Friend's speech, and they say —"You are pitting tea against beer." That is an entire misrepresentation of my right hon. Friend's argument. No, Sir; my right hon. Friend put that as a part of an argument, the second part of which has also been considerably twisted, or, at all events, misrepresented. My right hon. Friend said, and I repeat the argument—"Your object, your intention, and your motive in selecting the articles of beer and spirits as the subjects of increased taxation is not a purely fiscal object. Your reason is that you may produce another impression—an impression on the public mind that you are in some way or other forwarding the cause of temperance and adopting a measure that is to punish or put some kind of penalty upon those whom you regard as the authors of what you call a warlike or a Jingo policy." If that is so, it is one of the greatest fallacies that can well be put forward. It is one which we have heard coming from time to time from the Bench opposite, and from the Prime Minister. It is a very plausible and a very captivating theory that there are certain persons or classes in this country who have it in their power and in their wicked will to be continually plunging the country into warlike expenditure and all sorts of mischief. It is said that the only way to keep the people down is to make them feel the burdens borne by the country, and to make them pay, in fact, for their wicked proceedings. Now, I say that that is an illegitimate mode of dealing with the question as a fiscal question; and, moreover, it is a foolish mode, because who are they that have the power to bring about all these wicked things? It is the Ministry of the day, who must be supported by somebody. Now, by whom is it that they are supported? The hypothesis is that they must be supported by these wicked people. My right hon. Friend says in the present instance—"You have this war expenditure brought upon you by the Government; they are the persons responsible; and if anybody is to be punished, it is the persons who put them in power." Who are these people?

Are they the Jingoes, or are they what my right hon. Friend playfully called the "Radical teetotallers?" It is really perfectly ridiculous to suppose that any argument can be founded on such a doctrine. I would also like to point out how absurd it is with reference to the immediately coming future. You are going to have a new Parliament, which is to be elected very largely by the lower classes of the people. Those are the persons who are exempt from direct taxation; and the right hon. Gentleman says that it is desirable that there should be some check placed on those people, in order that they may be made to feel the burden which they place upon the country if they pursue any wild or extravagant foreign policy. Very good; but who is to press them? It is they themselves who will have the power, according to your doctrine, in their own hands; and do you expect that they are going, in the first place, to call for an extravagant policy, and then to say, in order to punish themselves—"We are going to propose that duties should be imposed on articles of consumption rather than on property?" It is very like telling a soldier to give himself 1,000 lashes. He would take very good care that the punishment was administered very lightly. I trust I may be allowed to say, without offence, that it does seem to me that this was a year in which we had a right to expect a very careful and a very well-conceived Budget. There were many reasons why this should be so. It is a year long marked out as an important one on account of the falling in of certain great annuities, which would completely alter a certain portion of the finances of the country. It was a time when the great question of Local and Imperial Taxation appeared to be ready for discussion and settlement; it was a time, too, when we observed that the Expenditure, on the one hand, was increasing, and, on the other hand, that the number of taxes upon which it depended was diminishing; and it was a time when it seemed that it would be only reasonable that the House or the Government should, by some means or other, make an investigation very carefully, by proper inquiry, into the real position and relative bearings of different portions of our fiscal system. I am bound to say that the condition of the country, the condition of trade, and the condition of agriculture, all tended to increase the importance of making such arrangements, by looking carefully into the condition of the country, by having, as it were, a diagnosis of the condition of the country, in order that we might say what is the real bearing on one part of our system, and what on another, and what are the proper relations between the different parts of the system upon which the burdens of taxation are thrown. I undertake to say, when we come fairly to examine, if we ever do, the question of the relative burdens on land and houses, and upon personal property, the balance will be against land and houses even to a greater extent than is now supposed. In all the calculations which are made, we hear about the local taxation which is thrown upon land and houses; but we do not hear of the exceptional burdens they have to bear. We hear nothing of the Land Tax, the House Tax, and other burdens. These ought to be taken into consideration; and if they are, I believe it will appear that land and houses fully bear already their equal share of the burdens of taxation, without looking into the question of local burdens at all. That is a reason why we should look into this question, and all the more because we are at the end of the old Parliament. We are now approaching an entirely new system, under which we are to have a new Parliament, which will have to take up these matters without guidance and without assistance; but I am bound to say that we not only ought to have had a full, careful, and important financial rearrangement this year, or at least within the last two or three years, but we had every reason to expect from the character of the Government, from the language used by them before coming into Office and afterwards, and by the energy with which the Prime Minister, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, holding the double Office because there was important work to be done, and throwing himself into the making of a new Budget before he was a month in Office—I say we had every reason to suppose that this was going to be a time of very important, serious, and good financial work. Well, Sir, I think the right hon. Gentleman had not much to rejoice over in the first Budget which he so hastily undertook. There is a curious similarity or parallel

between the first Budget of the Prime Minister in 1880 and the present Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Both began upon the question of the Wine Duties. Both began with the question of a Commercial Treaty. Both have failed to secure that Treaty. The Government are not fortunate in their Commercial Treaties; unhappily, they are, in fact, most unfortunate in their Commercial Treaties, and it would be not uninteresting if an inquiry were held as to the reason why their attempts to conclude Commercial Treaties are so unsatisfactory. With regard to wine, they attempted to conclude a Treaty with Spain, and have been unable to complete it. They seem now to desire to keep wine as an equivalent for something else they cannot get, and to tax other articles of strong drink—spirits and beer. They are now proposing to raise the additional Revenue they require by placing additional taxation upon those articles, and leaving wine untouched. We have been disappointed by the whole financial career of the Government, and I do not think that it is at all out of place at the present moment to cast a glance back over that career, having regard to the fact that this must be the last Budget of this Parliament, and having regard to the failures of the Government which have occurred for some time. The Government have never proceeded on broad principles; they have all along been fidgetting, and their fidgetting has generally resulted in failure. I will not go into detail; their plans with regard to the Wine Duties, the Silver Plate Duty, the Carriage Tax, and their attempt at the conversion of the Debt are all instances of their fidgetiness, and of their failure upon failure. The result of all these different policies has been to cause great uneasiness and uncertainty as to what the Government are doing, and are going to do, and what the result will be. At the present moment we have an illustration of the extremely unsatisfactory character of the finance of the year in the means which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken to reconcile the taxpayers to the fate he has prepared for them. In the first place, he was unfortunate in the very bringing forward of the Budget. It was brought forward very late, and it is being discussed at an unprecedentedly late date —the 8th of June. In the second place, there have been, in the interval of six weeks since the Financial Statement was made, a large amount of spirits taken out of bond, and consumers have been charged on account of the extra duties that were to have been imposed. I do not know how much spirits have been taken out of bond; but we now find that at the last moment some awkward arrangement is being made to rectify the mistake that has occurred; and that fact alone is condemnatory of the system that has been pursued. It is practically introducing a new principle into the Budget Bill with regard to the Beer Duty. Is it intended that the Beer Duty shall become an annual tax like the Income Tax, to be settled each year according to the necessities of the Government? If so, I say that nothing can be more distressing, nothing more injurious to the agricultural interest and to the interests of the country. It is all very well to say that the people must be taught temperance; but if the Beer Duty is intended, as has been suggested, to be an Educational Tax in that sense, I say you are going on entirely wrong lines, and you will not make it in that way the means of educating the people to temperance. But if you do intend it for that purpose, why do you go back from what you proposed? Even if the reason is that you have need of less money, or that you want to extract a little less money, I still ask, why do you lay aside your morality, and make the Beer Tax an annual tax? I believe that the real meaning of this is an attempt on the part of the Government to get rid of a difficulty for a moment, at all events, and to carry it on to the next Parliament, just as some persons have suggested that the Prevention of Crime Act may be carried over. That is a course which, I must say, will not redound very much to the credit of Her Majesty's Government. We have been asked—"What are the principles which you recommend with regard to the taxation of the country?" Sir, I do not know that there is anything very novel or magnificent in the principles which I should venture to recommend, but they are principles which I have always put forward and always adhered to. My principles with regard to taxa-

tion are that you ought to raise the money which you have to raise in a form that is most for the advantage and least for the disadvantage of the country; and that you ought, as far as possible, to keep your taxation steady. I am quite convinced that, especially in circumstances as the country is placed in at the present time, there is nothing so important as steadiness in taxation if you can attain to it. I shall be asked the question—"How can you attain to it? I am not prepared to say that you can do so absolutely; of course, that is impossible; but I am perfectly convinced that if you, in the first place, begin by getting a fair arrangement of taxation, if you begin by establishing a fair balance between the taxation of property and the taxation of consumption and other sources of Revenue, if you can place the amount at a sufficient sum beyond the amount of your ordinary Revenue to allow of your applying every year a considerable amount, as we now do, to the reduction of Debt, you have then a principle to go upon when any sudden emergency arises, without being obliged to have recourse to any painful and sudden or dislocating mode of taxation. Of course, there must be cases from time to time—and the Government have, to a certain extent, acknowledged that there will be cases—in which large exceptional sums are required, and when, if you have your system of taxation fairly adjusted beforehand, it is impossible to raise the money without throwing that system of taxation out of gear. In the late Government we raised a large sum of money for the purposes for which it was required, and we met that sum by an annuity of £800,000 for a certain number of years. The Members of the present Government, and especially the Prime Minister, were extremely contemptuous at the proposal, and said it was not the way in which we should pay off Debt, and that we should proceed in the only safe way by establishing Terminable Annuities. That was the line of argument adopted. [Mr. GLADSTONE: What did I say?] I do not pretend to quote the precise words of the right hon. Gentleman, but that was the tenour of his argument. I have ventured to make these remarks, and I am aware that, in doing so, I have travelled somewhat beyond the limits of the Motion of my right hon. Friend; but we are discussing the question of the second reading of the Bill, and although my observations have been mainly directed to the Amendment of my right hon. Friend, I think it right that I should have gone somewhat beyond it in considering the finance of the year. I hope the House will accept my right hon. Friend's proposal, and I believe there will be no difficulty in re-adjusting the Budget to meet the claim which he makes, especially if attention is paid to one point in his Motion—I mean the question of the Wine Duties. But, whether in that way, or in any other way, the House will look at the matter fairly; and I am convinced there will be no difficulty in the way of the Government carrying out an arrangement with regard to it.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I think it must have struck hon. Gentlemen opposite, as it has undoubtedly struck some hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, that there is a very moderate degree of connection between the speech which we have just heard from the Leader of the Opposition and the Motion which he invites the House to accept. Of what does the speech of the right hon. Baronet consist? He seems to apologize for having made the main part of it with reference to the Motion of his right hon. Friend; but I should say that the Motion of his right hon. Friend only appeared by fits and starts in his speech. His speech consists of a severe criticism of the finance of the present Government; of a review—a highly laudatory review—of the finance which he himself conducted; and an exposition of general principles which some might call truisms and others platitudes, with only a moderate reference to the Motion of the right hon. Baronet near him. The principal part of that speech has been a determined attempt on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to destroy or reduce to nothing the most important and, I must say, the most ingenuous and honourable portion of the speech of the right hon. Baronet who moved the Amendment. Now, the right hon. Gentleman says that he finds nothing in the finance of the Government except a miserable series of failures; and he thinks that the present year is most eminently favourable for a generally searching review and exposition of all

matters connected with the financial state, powers, and prospects of the country, so as to prepare the way and get a good body of instructions for the new Parliament. That is the doctrine which is laid down by the right hon. Gentleman to-night. But, Sir, there is one portion of that work which we could not induce the House to undertake. We have used our best efforts to induce the House to act upon the Resolution of last year, and to establish Committees for the purpose of examining into the state of the Expenditure with a view to retrenchment, and those efforts have been baffled and intercepted by the opposition offered to them by the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends, and by the determination expressed on their part that although those Committees had been decided upon, yet they should not be appointed without the devotion of a considerable time to the discussion of the subject. Hon. Gentlemen who hear me know perfectly well that in the present state of Business that is equivalent to saying that these Committees should not be appointed at all. And yet, in that state of things, the right hon. Gentleman tells us that this is the year in which you ought to have undertaken an investigation of the finance of the country with the view of preparing useful material for a future Parliament to deal with. Then the right hon. Gentleman says that there has been nothing but a series of failures on the part of the Government. Sir, I must venture to make a comparison as regards the finance upon which he looks back with so much complacency. He came into Office in 1874 with a surplus of £6,000,000; he presented six Budgets to the House, and out of that number four were in deficiency. I think I am strictly correct in that statement. His habitual finance when he got rid of the surplus with which he was originally provided was a finance of annual deficits. What has been the finance of my right hon. Friend and the present Government? For four years, although we have had great emergencies to meet—emergencies the responsibility for which I will not now enter upon—and for these four years, with their series of failures spoken of by the right hon. Gentleman, the author of habitual deficit, down to the present year, we have presented a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure. Then the right hon. Gentleman, with these ideas of what constitutes failure and what constitutes sound finance, proceeds to criticize our finance, and I must say that I cannot feel the smallest objection to its being made the subject of his criticism. I have been obliged to follow the right hon. Gentleman so far in matters which hardly belong to the discussion of to-night. Let us glorify ourselves as much as we can on these occasions, but do not let us occupy the time of the House with the effect of withdrawing our attention from the really important matters which are to-night before us for debate. Now, Sir, the right hon. Baronet who moved this Amendment did it in a perfectly manly and candid as well as straightforward speech, in the course of which he found fault with me for having, on a former occasion, described this Motion as a Vote of Censure. I admit my error; it is not a Vote of Censure; it is simply for the Government a question of life or death. My error was, however, rather of form than of substance, and we feel that the Motion is one aimed at the life of the Government; and, Sir, under these circumstances, the right hon. Baronet quite fairly and frankly accepted the consequence which attaches to such a Motion, and did not attack our finance without propounding his own. That I propose to deal with later on; but, in the meantime, let us consider a little how we stand. I shall decline to discuss, at this moment, the causes of the extraordinary Expenditure of the present year. Whether that Expenditure is such as the country ought to incur, and we are responsible for its having been incurred, and all matters connected with that chapter of politics, I shall omit from the present debate, though the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) very naturally went upon it, finding that, in point of fact, the subject of debate afforded him, from his point of view, no consolation or resource in the difficulty in which it placed him. Sir, this is a most important matter; and, for my part, while I agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite that it is a very bad thing to have an unsteady and fluctuating taxation, yet I am very glad that my right hon. Friend proposes to make the Beer Duty terminable next year, very much on this ground—that it

cannot fail of having an effect in assisting materially and almost inducing the new Parliament to consider seriously what I hope it may be inclined to consider on many other grounds—namely, the general scale of the Expenditure of the country, and the tendency which prevails in that respect. The arrangement will have the effect of assisting the views of those in the new Parliament who may wish to have an effective review of our own Expenditure. But that is not the subject to-night. A certain amount of charge has been sanctioned by the House of Commons. That amount of charge presents the sum of £13,000,000, which has to be provided for. It has been the duty of the Government to make propositions upon that subject. Has the general structure of their Budget been extravagant in any particular, or regardless of any of the main considerations which it ought to have embraced? The first question which, of course, arises in a case where there is so vast a sum to be provided is whether that sum ought to be provided by taxation, by borrowing money, or by arresting the prepayment of Debt, or in what proportions those different methods of proceeding ought to be applied to meet the exigencies of the case. Well, Sir, have we submitted to the House an extraordinary or unreasonable plan in that respect? When my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer first proposed his Budget, with the Expenditure as it then stood, he proposed to take one full moiety by taxation; he proposed to make no provision for the other, but to allow it to be taken out of the sums which are applied to the reduction of Debt. It is quite true that he did not propose to take the entire sum away from the reduction of Debt this year, and, technically, he said he would leave a portion of it to stand against the Debt—to be taken out of the Debt of the following year. That is really a mere question of account and of practical convenience. My right hon. Friend did not disguise the fact at all by saying he was going to spread it over so many years; he simply said this —"Having this great deficit to provide, I propose to take £7,500,000 by taxation; I propose to leave about £7,000,000 more not to be provided by taxation, and therefore to be withdrawn in some way or other from the repayment of Debt, or else added to Debt." I do not think that was an unreasonable proposition. It certainly was not an extravagant amount that he asked in the shape of taxation; at least, if the House does think it an extravagant amount, it is very desirable that the doctrines of those who so think should be plainly and unequivocally stated and brought to the front that they may be examined, and that it may be considered how far those doctrines are compatible with a safe and prudent system of finance. I presume there was nothing very improper in the first and capital proceeding—as to the general outline of choice between taxation and non-taxation — between taxation and the arrest of the repayment of Debt for meeting the wants of the year. Well, Sir, if that was so, the next question was the apportionment of taxation between direct and indirect taxation. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote) has been good enough to praise faintly my right hon. Friend for having recognized and adopted as his own principle of action that the entire burden should not be laid upon property, but that a portion should be raised upon articles of consumption—a division in that way being made in the incidence of the burden upon the several classes. Well, Sir, my right hon. Friend has so far been fortunate in attracting the approval of right hon. Gentlemen opposite; but, I must own, I cannot compliment them upon the prudence of the course they are now pursuing. In my opinion, the Motion which they have made, however it may be accompanied with compliments of my right hon. Friend for recognizing the principle of indirect taxation, is a very heavy blow at the proceedings of Chancellors of the Exchequer who shall attempt to act upon that principle. My right hon. Friend has made a *bonâ fide* attempt to assert, against many popular opinions, this great view—that taxation ought to be divided between direct and indirect taxation when an occasion such as that of the present year has arisen. But, instead of being met by a mild criticism—instead of being met by a Motion for refusing some one of the taxes that he offers, and substituting some other—he is met by the most obstructive of all proceedings—a proceeding most of all calculated to damage his method of proceeding, and the basis which he has

chosen for himself and of which they approve—he is met by an adverse Motion on the second reading of his Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. Sir, I am very much mistaken, if the day comes—it probably will come—when an Administration is formed from the ranks of those who sit opposite, if they do not come to repent of the step they are taking to-night, as well as of many more that they have taken while they have been in Opposition. That is the principle of my right hon. Friend, and that is the principle upon which we stand. It has been said that I have laid down the doctrine that we should always pay our way, and that consequently it is most inconsistent on my part not to ask for the whole of this sum from taxation. I have laid down the doctrine of "Pay your way," in opposition to the finance of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Stafford Northcote), in opposition to the system of habitual deficit under circumstances comparatively easy. That is the basis of the right hon. Gentleman's finance, and it is against that finance that I put up the principle "Pay your way." I have often said, and I say it now, that in a country like this which is self-governing, and where the prevailing ideas of the nation as to the scale of the Expenditure will and must determine what that scale shall be, it is not so very important whether £1,000,000 or £2,000,000, more or less, are spent by the nation in its own free will and judgment, even if in error—that is much less important than that the principle "Pay your way" should be adhered to. But when we come to a year of extraordinary demands — to a year when £15,000,000 or £13,000,000 are wanted for some special Imperial service — it would be a pedantic strain of a sound financial principle to hold that the whole of that sum ought to be paid by taxation. So much for the general structure of the Budget as far as the Government are concerned. Now, what is the position in which we stand to-night? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), with great honour to himself, makes counter proposals. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) does not like the counter Budget; he will have nothing to do with the counter proposition; he says that the tax upon tea is a mere illustration, and that one illustration is as good as another. Well, Sir, we shall come to that by-and-bye. I will now ask myself what is the cause of this tremendous opposition to the Budget of my right hon. Friend, which will not allow hon. Gentlemen opposite to raise their points in Committee, but compels them to do what I have very rarely known—namely, to make an adverse Motion on the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill? Well, Sir, I own my belief is the secret of it all is not in the omission to tax wine, it is not in the compassion for the drinker of beer, it is not in the anomaly—if there is an anomaly—of the taxation of spirits; it is in the Death Duties. It is because in the Death Duties my right hon. Friend has invaded the sanctuary of landed property. So sensitive are they with regard to anything that looks like public burden that it has to be defended by most extraordinary measures. Therefore, Sir, the Death Duties, though modestly retiring to the second place, do in reality, if I am able to comprehend the case, constitute the ground and basis of the whole of these proceedings to-night; and if my right hon. Friend had taxed wine, and if he had forborne to tax spirits and beer, there would have been no modification of the opposition of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and those who feel with him, because of this fatal blot in the profane attempt to modify the Death Duties to the disadvantage of landed property. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who moved the Amendment, quoted expressions used by me in the year 1853, showing a disposition to deal tenderly with landed property on account of special burdens. He was quite justified in making the quotation; but I am astonished at the antiquarian taste of hon. Gentlemen in going back to remote speeches without considering what has occurred during the interval. Will the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to quote what I have said during the interval—during the last 30 years. [*Ironical cheers.*] I could understand the disinclination to hear quotations from my speeches if that disinclination were impartial; but it appears to me that there is nothing in this House so popular as quota-

tions from my speeches which are selected by speakers on the opposite side of the House for their own convenience—there is nothing which draws such ringing cheers as a quotation from my speeches made for a purpose. I am entled to say that if my speeches are to be quoted, they must be quoted not fragmentarily, but with reference to the continuity. In short, I may say this—that in 1853 the grand crusade against the Consolidated Fund availing itself of the heavy and grievous taxation of towns for local purposes, under cover of the pretext to obtain large relief for the land, had not begun. When that crusade began, I gave immediate notice to hon. Gentlemen opposite that their course must inevitably lead to a re-adjustment of taxation on realty and other taxation, and that the re-adjustment might not ultimately be agreeable to hon. Gentlemen opposite. That is my answer to the quotation made by the right hon. Gentleman. I am very sorry to find hon. Gentlemen follow such an intemperate policy, but they have done so with their eyes open. But now we come to this, that my right hon. Friend has proposed a plan under which a nominal equality is to be established in a form, as I shall show, of extraordinary mildness between the taxation on land through the Death Duties as compared with taxation on personal property. My right hon. Friend has explained that what he proposes is a much milder arrangement, because of its gradual operation, than it would have been if he had waited, say, until next year, when the whole subject of the re-adjustment of local taxation may be undertaken; the right hon. Gentleman has urged that the proposal he now makes is a much milder proposal, extending, as it does, over a long series of years, than would have been a proposal to give a sweeping and summary application to the principle. But it is not true that equality will be really established by the plan of my right hon. Friend. Nor is it true that the whole of this £200,000, which is to come in this year and which is to increase in future years, is to be drawn from realty; a considerable portion of it is to be drawn from personalty. It is a tax upon property, and undoubtedly it does go to the removal of one anomaly as regards the incidence of the Death Duties upon real property. But there are a great many points in which it is quite plain that equality will not be established by the adoption of this proposition. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) indicated one of them when he said that realty is generally left for lives and personalty is generally left in fee; consequently, the advantage of having realty taxed upon the life will prevent it from being taxed, upon passage by death, at the same rate as personalty. But that is by far from being the only important point in our law which is studiously and, I must say, almost artfully constructed in favour of realty. There is the mysterious subject of the consanguinity scale. That scale was devised in favour of realty and to secure the passing of the great mass of real property on death at the 1 per cent duty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) fell into a complete error on this subject. He said truly that the proceeds of the Succession Duties were estimated at £2,000,000 a-year; but an error has been made in the calculation, although the calculation was made in a Department as efficient and as honourable and as distinguished as any Department ever intrusted with the financial concerns of the country. The error was gross. At this moment the tax, which I estimated in 1853 at £2,000,000 a-year, and which I was laughed at and scoffed at by hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Benches for not estimating at £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 a-year, has not, down to this date, produced £1,000,000 a-year, and what is the reason? The reason is this—that when the Estimate was made the incidence of the consanguinity scale upon land was assumed and believed to be the same as upon personalty, whereas a very much larger percentage of the land goes into the 1 per cent list than goes into the higher list. That was the explanation of it; and as long as the consanguinity scale subsists, you need not be afraid you will have no equality in the taxation upon death between land and personalty. There are many other points on which I will not detain the House now. The House is aware that about five years are allowed for the payment of the Succession Duty. Is that no boon to land as compared with per-

sonalty? Not only so, but suppose another death occurs during the five years, then the duty falls altogether, and the new life begins to run. This is a subject upon which it is not possible now to enter in full. It is a total mistake to suppose that the very mild proposal made by my right hon. Friend goes anywhere near to the point, although it makes an approximation to the point of equality between the Death Duties and the duties on personalty. Well, Sir, objection is taken with respect to the non-taxation of wine, and I do not deny that, upon the surface of the case, that is a very tempting object and a very fair object for criticism. But what is the real state of the case now with respect to the taxation upon wines? Would it have been prudent to tax wines? Hon. Gentlemen have said repeatedly, and amidst great and cordial cheering from the other side of the House, that this is an attempt to favour the foreigner. Allow me to say that there is no article in our tariff which has done so much to promote the interests not of the foreigner, but of the trade and industry at home, as the article of wine. It stands in that respect in a different category from every other article. There has not been another case of duty with respect to which it would have been possible to attain such results; and I have not the least hesitation in saying that the reduction of the Wine Duties effected principally in 1860 has not only had the effect of enormously cheapening the wine at home, has not only had the effect of putting an end to all the worst kinds of adulteration at home, and enabling people all over the country to obtain fair wines at moderate prices, but especially it has had the effect of securing an opening for British industry of many millions of trade per annum. The result must depend upon very delicate machinery, and therefore it is a serious matter to touch the trade in wine in that view. I do not say it ought never to be touched. If a great necessity came on the country, it is quite clear it ought to be touched; but the question is whether in an arrangement of this kind, in which, with regard to spirits, my right hon. Friend does not make his proposition too extreme, and with regard to beer he has impressed upon it a temporary character—the question is, would it have been wise to touch the Wine Duties? I am astonished to hear some Gentlemen say that the taxation upon wines would have afforded easy means of re-adjusting the Budget. Have those Gentlemen considered what the taxation upon wine is, and what the value of the commodity is? The value of the commodity is not first rate. In volume it is not one of those commodities on which you raise Revenue by fives and tens of millions, and of which you consume many hundreds of millions of gallons. It is a commodity of limited consumption and of limited capacity as to taxation; and if my right hon. Friend had taxed it in the proportion that he has taxed beer, he would have had a very insignificant return—in fact, if he had gone considerably beyond that proportion, he would only have got a return of £200,000 or £300,000 a-year, having no important bearing on the balance of this Budget, but at the same time raising serious risks with regard to our foreign trade, which risks may be necessary, may even be expedient in some future generation, but which, at the present moment and for so small an object, it would not have been well to run. There is another very curious circumstance with regard to wine which is really worth the attention of the House—the figures are few and simple, but they are interesting. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) seemed to impute to my right hon. Friend the doctrine that when the Revenue from an article is falling it is a good time to catch it. My right hon. Friend had no intention of giving utterance to such a doctrine as that. Let us observe how the matter stands in the case of wine. Now, in the case of spirits and beer, the retardation of the upward movement or backward movement, if there has been one, has really been, in the main, owing not to diminished means of consumption on the part of the masses of the people, but to the progress of the temperance movement. There is something very singular indeed in the case of wine. I doubt if the falling Revenue from wine has been so much affected by the temperance movement. In 1859, the year before the change of duty, the Revenue from wine was £1,761,000. Under the operation of the changed duty, the Revenue fell to about

£1,100,000. After that it went on increasing steadily and most satisfactorily until 1874, when the reduced duty yielded £1,789,000. From that time there has been a continuous decline. One cannot say that the decrease began in 1874, or for some time afterwards; but here is a remarkable fact—that the decline of the Wine Duty has been constant, and has been far greater than the decline in the case either of spirits or of beer, although the Revenue from that source is likely to have been less affected by the temperance movement. In 1879 the Revenue from wine amounted to £1,466,000; since that year it has gone down year by year, and it is now £1,213,000, I think. What resource is there here? It is extremely doubtful whether, in such a case, you could dare safely to propose a sensible addition; and, as I have pointed out, there are reasons, not in the interest of the foreigner, but of British trade, which forms a considerable element in the matter, and which should cause us to act in the matter with a great deal of caution. At this moment the tax which is levied upon wine is considerably heavier than the tax which is levied, under our present law, on beer, the tax on beer amounting to 20 per cent, and that on wine to 25 per cent. These are two of the objections which are taken to the Budget—one with regard to the Death Duties, and the other with regard to the non-taxation of wines. But there remains a third, because the House is asked to refuse to us the taxes which we ask for upon spirits at the rate of 1*s.* a-gallon, and upon beer at the rate of 1*s.* upon 36 gallons for a little more than one year, but not quite for one year from the date at which I speak. I am bound to say that, although this Motion is made by the Conservative Opposition, and though rash and daring proposals—unprecedented proposals—are sometimes supposed to proceed from moving and advanced Parties, I do not think that it has been well considered how very strong, I might say how very violent, certainly how very unusual, a proposal this is. A great necessity has come upon the country. With the question who is responsible we have now nothing to do. There has been urgent necessity for great military preparations, which have had it in view to ward off a great and serious danger impending over the Empire. We now hope that that danger may pass away; but we are not, at this moment, able to say that it has passed away. It would be premature to say it, and we are still asking you to grant us the pecuniary means for bearing the cost of preparations required, in the main, by a great danger that has been impending over the Empire, and the absolute cessation of which we are not yet in a condition to affirm. On the very first day we are in a condition to affirm it we shall only be too happy to do so. Now, Sir, what has happened? The preparations have been sanctioned; the charge has received the unanimous approbation and support of the House; we ask you for one moiety of it—for it is little more than a moiety—by taxation to provide £7,000,000 by resorting to taxation, as against £6,000,000 that are to be found without resort to taxation—and the regular Opposition, the loyal Opposition, the National Opposition, the patriotic Opposition, the Constitutional Opposition, refuse us the money. I say that is a strong—I believe it is an unprecedented—proceeding. I want to know where the precedents are to be found? I know them not. So far as my recollection goes, I do not believe that the pages of Parliamentary history exhibit a single one. I have known the Conservative Opposition assume a very different attitude. When, in the early part of 1860, we proposed to repeal the Paper Duty, and when later in the year it was evident that there were to be hostilities in China, and we had to make provision for those hostilities, we did not feel that we could withdraw the virtual pledge which we had given to the trade with respect to the repeal of the duty. But the Opposition denounced us for taking away the resources of the country in the face of war, and the patriotism of the House of Lords took the unhappy direction of inducing it to reject the Bill for the repeal of the Paper Duty. But that was, however, a line which, if an excess, was an excess in the right direction. The Opposition in those days shrank from war; but, at the same time, I may almost say it abhorred the idea of withholding the means necessary for military preparations, those military preparations having been recognized as required by the honour of the country.

What does the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down do now? He refuses us those means, and he suggests no others. He says that any others which may have been suggested have only been suggested by way of illustration. The virtual meaning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), in referring to a tax upon tea, was only "an illustration." There was no real intention of suggesting an additional tax upon tea. Consequently, the right hon. Gentleman does this—he recognizes and supports the Vote of Credit of £11,000,000 for warlike preparations, mainly and partly for warlike expenditure; and having done that, as Leader of the Opposition, he comes down to this House and refuses to the Government the means which they ask for meeting the charge, and he proposes no substitute for those means. He says that the Budget will be "easily re-adjusted." Is that a course worthy of the position held by those Gentlemen who claim still to discharge the functions which in other times were performed by men like Sir Robert Peel, Lord Derby, and Sir James Graham? I know of no case in the slightest degree approaching this, and I wish to hold it up to the country that there may be judgment passed upon it. Are all the intelligent and approved modes of Parliamentary Opposition to be abandoned, and to be abandoned by the Party which calls itself sometimes "Conservative" and sometimes "the Tory Democracy." So much, Sir, for the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. But such was not the conduct of the Mover of the Amendment. He was deliberate and perfectly intelligible in his arguments. He used expressions again and again which had but one meaning—"You ought," he said, "to cast your net wider—you ought to cover a broader circle," and he showed his meaning when he said—"You ought to lay a tax upon tea; the tax upon tea is so moderate, surely it will bear increasing." Twenty per cent upon beer he looks upon as enormous, and the addition of 3 per cent which my right hon. Friend proposes he looks upon as intolerable. What is the tax upon tea? It is not less—I believe it is more—than 48 per cent at this moment—48 per cent at the least. And what is proposed? It is proposed to sweep away the tax upon spirits and the tax upon beer—["No!"]—the additional tax upon spirits and the increment upon beer. But these two increments together are estimated to bring in £1,350,000 a-year. In order to obtain that sum from tea, as proposed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), you must lay a tax upon it of not less than 3*d.* a-pound, in addition to the present tax of 6*d.*—that is to say, you must raise the tax of 48 or 50 per cent to 75 per cent upon a useful beverage of universal consumption by the people, because you will not allow us to lay an additional tax of 3 per cent, in addition to an existing 20 per cent, upon beer.

MR. O'SULLIVAN: And 400 per cent upon whisky.

MR. GLADSTONE: I spoke of beer.

MR. O'SULLIVAN: I spoke of whisky.

MR. GLADSTONE: My speaking was orderly, and the hon. Gentleman's speaking, I am sorry to say, is disorderly. I am perfectly ready to speak with the hon. Gentleman on whisky if he desires it. I was going to say this when he interrupted me—that so long as I can recollect, on every occasion when I was Chancellor of the Exchequer, at all times that the subject had been touched upon, it has been universally held and admitted in this House that with regard to the article of spirits they did differ somewhat from other articles of taxation, inasmuch as it was desirable, in point of reason, to lay upon it as much taxation as was reasonably possible. I think my right hon. Friend's figures completely disproved the allegation that any injustice will be brought about in Scotland and Ireland by the proposal now made. I have now done. I have no occasion to detain the House longer—I have, I think, shown that fundamental objections exist to the idea of laying this tax on tea. I have only one word more. The right hon. Gentleman says that it is easy to readjust the Budget. If it is, why did he not tell us how? Why was he so absolutely silent? Why was he reduced to an illustration in order to get rid of what he felt to be inconvenient? If it is so easy to re-adjust it, why did he not tell us how the re-adjustment was to be made? It is idle to talk of re-ad-

justment. What are you going to tax? Are you to tax the raw materials of industry? Are you to impose protective duties? If you are not going to do either of those things—and I believe you have not yet reached that point of retrogression—what are you to tax? You may tax alcoholic liquors if you want a considerable amount of money, or you may tax tea, or you may impose a tax upon sugar. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!] I rejoice, Sir, when I come across these frank antagonists who, when you discuss their proposals, do not shrink and cover themselves behind the assurance that it would be quite easy to re-adjust the Budget, but meet you in the light of day. Let them show us what other subjects there are that can be taxed, or that we are unreasonable in asking for this taxation. If you will not have protective duties, if you will not have a tax on raw materials, am I not right in saying that you have nothing to choose between laying the tax for the considerable sum required on alcoholic liquors, tea, or sugar? That is the issue before us. That is the issue before the country. That is the issue upon which we have made up our minds; it is the issue on which we are attacked. It is a question of life or death. As such we accept it, and as such we do not envy those who if they gain the victory will have to bear the consequences.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 252; Noes 264: Majority 12.

AYES.

Acland, rt. hn. Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Amory, Sir J. H.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, hon. H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Colman, J. J.
Corbett, J.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
De Ferrieres, Baron
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duff, R. W.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
James, Sir H.
James, hon. W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, W.
Lea, T.
Leake, R.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lyons, R. D.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M'Arthur, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Coan, J. C.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Minnies, J. G.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Martin, R. B.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Mason, H.
Maxwell-Heron, Capt. J. M.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Noel, E.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Donoghue, The
Otway, Sir A. J.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, G.
Parker, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Picton, J. A.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.

Ramsay, J.
Rathbone, W.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
Rogers, C. C.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild, Sir N. M. de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Russell, T.
Ruston, J.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, Sir B.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Shaw, T.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Sinclair, W. P.
Slagg, J.
Smith, Lieut-Col. G.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Steble, Lieut-Col. R. F.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stuart, J.
Summers, W.
Sutherland, T.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A. Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Walter, J.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Williamson, S.
Wills, W. H.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

NOES.

Ackers, B. St. J.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Balfour, A. J.
Barry, J.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Biggar, J. G.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, M.
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T. C.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Callan, P.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Commins, A.
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corbet, W. J.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
Dawson, C.
Deasy, J.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Digby, J. K. D. W.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Eckersley, N.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Emlyn, Viscount
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Findlater, W.
Fitz-Wygram, Sir F.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Fort, R.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
French-Brewster, R. A. B.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gorst, J. E.
Grantham, W.
Gray, E. D.
Greene, E.
Gregory, G. B.
Gunter, Col. R.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harris, W. J.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Healy, T. M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenny, M. J.
Ker, R. W. B.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Lalor, R.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Leahy, J.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, right hn. Lord H. G. C. G.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Lloyd, S. S.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lynch, N.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Carthy, J. H.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Mahon, E.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Martin, P.
Marum, E. M.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, T.
Meagher, W.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Molloy, B. C.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Muntz, P. A.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W.
Nicholson, W. N.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Brien Sir P.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donnell, F. H.
O'Kelly, J.
Onslow, D. R.
O'Sullivan, W. H.

Paget, R. H.	Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Parnell, C. S.	Smith, A.
Patrick, R. W. Cochran-	Smithwick, J. F.
	Stanhope, hon. E.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.	Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Pell, A.	Stanley, E. J.
Pemberton, E. L.	Storer, G.
Percy, rt. hon. Earl	Strutt, hon. C. H.
Percy, Lord A. M.	Sullivan, T. D.
Phipps, C. N. P.	Sykes, C.
Phipps, P.	Synan, E. J.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.	Talbot, J. G.
Power, P. J.	Thomson, H.
Power, R.	Thornhill, A. J.
Price, Captain G. E.	Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Puleston, J. H.	Tollemache, H. J.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.	Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Rankin, J.	Tremayne, J.
Read, C. S.	Wallace, Sir R.
Redmond, J. E.	Walrond, Col. W. H.
Rendlesham, Lord	Warton, C. N.
Ridley, Sir M. W.	Watney, J.
Ritchie, C. T.	Whitley, E.
Rolls, J. A.	Williams, General O.
Ross, A. H.	Wilmot, Sir H.
Ross, C. C.	Wolff, Sir H. D.
Round, J.	Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
St. Aubyn, W. M.	Wroughton, P.
Salt, T.	Wyndham, hon. P.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.	Wynn, Sir H. W.
Scott, M. D.	Yorke, J. R.
Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir H. J.	TELLERS.
Severne, J. E.	Thornhill, T.
Sexton, T.	Winn, R.
Sheil, E.	

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That this House regards the increase proposed by this Bill in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine, and declines to impose fresh Taxation on Real Property until effect has been given to its Resolution of 17th April 1883 and of 28th March 1884, by which it has acknowledged further measures of relief to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, going through the Orders of the Day, if we went through them now, would be merely nominal. No real Business could be taken to-night, although I could not absolutely pledge myself to say that of every description of Business without looking over the list. The best thing, therefore, is that I should now move the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 9th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4)* (123).

Second Reading—Order discharged—Secretary for Scotland* (117); Women's Suffrage* (27); Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister* (110); Burial Boards (Contested Elections)* (105).

Committee—Order discharged—Submarine Telegraph Cables* (104).

Report—Order discharged—Lunacy Acts Amendment* (60); Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution)* (129).

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 2)* (83); Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation* (82); Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation* (81), and *passed.*

Third Reading—Order discharged—East India Unclaimed Stocks* (113).

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, your Lordships are aware, not only from the ordinary means of communication, but also by the Minutes of the proceedings of the House of Commons, communicated to this House, of what took place in that Assembly last night. In consequence of that event, I have to move that your Lordships do adjourn until Friday. It will, perhaps, be convenient that the Provisional Order Bills should be taken before I make the Motion.

The Orders of the Day having been disposed of,

EARL GRANVILLE said: I now beg to move the adjournment of the House till Friday. I may state that the Sittings will be continued for the purpose of Judicial Business, and also for Private Bill Committees.

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

LORD BALFOUR: I should like to ask whether the Committee of Privileges will meet to-morrow?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Yes.

LORD DENMAN, who had a Notice on the Paper to move the second reading of the Women's Suffrage Bill, said, that this subject had been before their Lord-

sbips for several years, and he hoped that the House would proceed with it at once.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 9th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2)*[192]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5)* [196]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6)* [197]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9)* [198].

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. GLADSTONE: Immediately on having arrived at the hour when Public Business usually commences, I am desirous of addressing a very few words to the House—and I do so before any Questions have been addressed to my Colleagues or to myself, on the ground that I perceive that some or many of these Questions relate to the intentions and views of responsible Ministers; and, therefore, if the House concurs in the views I entertain of the present situation, these Questions are obviously of a nature which had better be deferred. In consequence of the division of last night, the House will not be surprised when I state that the Cabinet which assembled to-day have thought it their duty, through me, to submit a dutiful communication to Her Majesty. It would be altogether premature on my part, were I, at present, to allude particularly to the nature of that communication. But I will say to the House, as has been said on former occasions—what indeed is obvious—that some few days must elapse before the result of that communication can be arrived at, so as to be made known to the House. Obvious reasons, both of convenience and propriety, and I think invariable custom, have established the rule that during intervals of the nature of that which is now before us the House refrains from the transaction of its ordinary Business. I propose, Sir, to act upon that principle myself, by making a Motion to the effect that the House, at its rising, do adjourn until Friday next. I make that Motion before the Motion for the adjournment of the House, and allow an interval between them—first, because it is no right of mine to proscribe the transaction of Business should the House be inclined to attempt it; but I humbly venture to recommend that the usual practice should be adhered to. It would be unnecessary, I think, that we should go through the form of postponing the Orders of the Day, because, by the Rules of the House, those Orders which are on the Paper in the interval would re-appear as dropped Orders when the House re-assembled; and it would then be the pleasure of the House, without doubt, to make suitable arrangements with respect to them. It would, however, be desirable that the usual Motion should be made to allow the Sittings of Committees to continue—therein also adhering to the established practice of Parliament. Sir, under these circumstances, I think I have no more to say, except to make the Motion, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, I think that the course which the right hon. Gentleman proposes is, as he says, both convenient and usual. The only question which I wish to ask him is this. I did not quite understand whether it is his intention, as soon as this Motion, "That the House, at its rising, will adjourn till Friday," shall have been adopted, immediately to move the adjournment of the House, or whether he proposes that other Business should be carried on? I should also wish to ask him whether he considers that there is any Business which would be likely to be of special importance to be transacted in connection with the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill in the other House? I do not know whether that is a matter on which the right hon. Gentleman is pre-

pared to give the House any information; but I put that question because, as the House is aware, the question of the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill is a question in which days are of importance.

MR. GLADSTONE: May I be allowed, Sir, to reply to the question of the right hon. Gentleman? I did intend to make myself clear to this effect —that although I have no right, and it would be going out of the usual course, to make a Motion for the purpose of forcibly putting aside Business which is on the Paper—yet certainly the recommendation I ventured to submit to the House was that it should entertain the Motion for the adjournment of the House before the regular Business is commenced. The only reason, as far as my views are concerned, for any interval at all, after the first Motion, which is now in the hands of the Speaker, is simply this—that it is usual and convenient to make a Motion to allow Committees to sit notwithstanding the adjournment of the House. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to a point of considerable importance, which has not escaped my attention—namely, whether we shall reserve to ourselves a discretion to ask the House to proceed with any matter relating to the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill, in case occasion should arise. That subject, Sir, had not escaped our attention; and what I have to observe upon it, in the first place, and principally, is that it does not depend upon us, but upon the House of Lords, to regulate the proceedings in such a way as to bring the subject before us or not. If the House of Lords should think fit to carry forward the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill so as to cause it to reach this House at the time when we reassemble on Friday, it certainly would then be our duty to consider and to advise the House to the best of our ability as to the propriety of proceeding to deal with any Amendments which have been made by the House of Lords. That would be undoubtedly an unusual proceeding, and it would be one which could only be justified by a joint reference to two considerations, one of them that the other House of Parliament had thought fit to make a precedent, on the ground of what it conceived to be urgent public reasons, for proceeding with a particular piece of Business, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House under peculiar circumstances; and the other, that we were of opinion that those peculiar circumstances were such that the need for going forward speedily with the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill was so urgent as, when taken in connection with the general concurrence of opinion as to every important matter of principle embraced in the Bill, might possibly render it our duty to raise the question notwithstanding the peculiarity of the position in which we stand. That question, however, I think I had better reserve for the present, inasmuch as it cannot arise, unless it be in consequence of proceedings, which may or may not be taken in the other House, with respect to which, of course, I have no authentic information. Authentic information is more likely to be in the possession of the right hon. Gentleman opposite than in mine; but, so far as any information has reached me, it was not to the effect that the House of Lords was likely to proceed with the Bill in the interval which has to elapse between this time and Friday.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg now to move, "That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. GLADSTONE: And, Sir, interpreting the silence of the House to mean consent, I beg leave to move, "That this House do now adjourn."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock till Friday.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 10th June, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 11th June, 1885.

Their Lordships met;—

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

Report of Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

And having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 12th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—*Representative Peer for Scotland*—The Earl of Lindsay, *v.* The Earl of Selkirk, deceased.

Took the Oath—The Earl of Lindsay.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Real Property Registration * (132).

Committee—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (108).

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) * (123).

Select Committee—Report—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [No. 130].

Report—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * (31-131).

Report—Third Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) (129), and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF EARL GRANVILLE—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, in regard to what I had the honour to state at the last Sitting of the House—Tuesday, the 9th—to your Lordships, I have now to inform the House that Mr. Gladstone has tendered his resignation and that of his Colleagues to Her Majesty, and that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept that resignation, and has summoned the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), who I believe, is at this moment at Balmoral. Under these circumstances, your Lordships, I am sure, will feel that it would not be right to proceed with any ordinary Business; but there is one exception, and that is in regard to the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill; and my noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley), who has charge of that Bill, will explain the arrangement which has been entered into between himself and the noble Marquess, and in that course I understand that the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranbrook) will propose that the House do concur.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—(No. 129.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

REPORT.

Report of Amendments *considered* (according to order).

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in moving that the Report of Amendments be received and agreed to, said, that although the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) was not present, he (the Earl of Kimberley) believed he was anxious that the consideration of the present stage should be taken at once, for the arrangement which had been come to would be one for the public convenience in regard to the Bill coming into operation, and it would have the effect of preventing some delay to its progress, and the consequent amount of inconvenience, which would be very considerable, arising from it. He therefore hoped the Motion would meet with the concurrence of the House. The circumstances of the case were such that he ventured to hope that all minor matters in regard to the names of divisions would not be pressed by his noble Friends, as they were not of vital importance. Of the Amendments he had to propose, the most important was one to enable a Dissolution of Parliament to take place after the 7th of November next. That was intended to have been dealt with by a separate Bill, which had been prepared by the Government; but it had been suggested to him (Lord Salisbury) that it would be a great convenience to insert the necessary provisions in the present Bill There were

also other provisions intended to meet the case of some boroughs which had been disfranchised, and which were situate in two counties. There was a precedent in the proceedings of 1868 for what he now proposed to do. The clauses were to meet technical difficulties, and some of the Amendments which he would propose would be verbal only, and such as he had no doubt their Lordships would find no difficulty in agreeing to.

Moved, "That the Report of Amendments be received and agreed to."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that in the absence of his noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) he had been requested by his noble Friend to state that he entirely agreed with the course proposed to be taken by the noble Earl; while as to Amendments of a minor character, he (Viscount Cranbrook) hoped that their Lordships would act on the proposition of the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley), and agree to the Report being received, in order to carry the Bill to a successful issue.

Motion *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendments made:—Title, page 1, leave out ("relative thereto"); Clause 17, page 8, line 1, after ("arising out of") insert ("successive occupation or"); line 12, insert at end of clause—

("and where the area of the constituency of which such place before such change formed part becomes, after such change, part of two or more constituencies, each of such two or more constituencies shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to have included the whole of the said area");

Clause 19, page 9, line 21, leave out ("of counties"); lines 22 and 23, leave out—

("make such order as may be necessary") and insert ("by order alter or vary such polling districts and the polling places for such districts in such manner as appears to him necessary or desirable");

Clause 23, page 11, line 18, leave out from ("districts") to ("and") in line 19; and in page 12, line 44, after ("county") insert ("at large").

Page 14, after Clause 28, insert the following clauses:—

The Earl of Kimberley

PART IV.

ACCELERATION OF REGISTRATION IN 1885.

(Power to appoint additional barristers.)

"If in the present year it is made to appear to any judge of the High Court of Justice, sitting in chambers at any time after the fifth day of September, that the lists of voters for any Parliamentary county or borough in England cannot by reason of the insufficient number of barristers be revised within the period fixed by this Act, such judge shall appoint one or more duly qualified barristers to act in addition to the barristers originally appointed for such county or borough, and a barrister so appointed shall have the same duties, powers, and authority as if he had been originally appointed.

"Where the Lord Chief Justice or judge appoints in the present year barristers for counties and boroughs on any circuit, he shall appoint them to act for all the counties and boroughs for which he has power to appoint revising barristers; and each barrister, when acting in or for any county or borough, shall have the same duties, powers, and authority as if he had been appointed sole revising barrister for such county or borough.

"The duties of barristers so appointed shall be distributed among them as the Lord Chief Justice or judge who appoints them, or, after the fifth day of September, any judge of the High Court of Justice sitting in Chambers may direct.

(Dates for registration in the year 1885 in England.)

"With respect to the registration of voters in Parliamentary counties and boroughs in England in the present year, the following provisions shall have effect:—

"(*a.*) The lists of Parliamentary voters, and the lists of burgesses which are revised together with the lists of Parliamentary voters, shall be revised between the eighth day of September and the eighth day of October both inclusive, and shall be revised as soon as possible after the seventh day of September, and the eighth day of September shall be substituted in the Acts relating to the registration of Parliamentary voters for the 15th day of September; and the declarations under section ten of the County Voters Registration Act, 1865, and section twenty-four of the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, shall be sent to the Clerk of the Peace or town clerk on or before the fifth day of September.

"(*b.*) The printed book or register containing the lists of voters, when revised, shall be delivered to the returning officer for the Parliamentary county or borough to which such book or register relates on or before the seventh day of November, and shall be the register of persons entitled to vote for the county or borough at any election of a member to serve in Parliament which takes place after that day, or if this present Parliament is not then dissolved, then after the date of such dissolution, and before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

"(*c.*) In sections sixty-two and sixty-three of the Act of the session of the sixth and seventh years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter

eighteen, relating to appeals from revising barristers in England, 'the Michaelmas sittings of the High Court of Justice' shall be substituted for 'the Michaelmas term,' and forthwith after the fourth day of the Michaelmas sittings a court or courts shall sit for the purpose of hearing such appeals, and those appeals shall be heard and determined continuously and without delay, and any statement by the barrister for the purpose of any such appeal made in pursuance of section forty-two of the said Act may be made at any time within ten days after the conclusion of the revision, so that it be made not less than four days before the first day of the said Michaelmas sittings, and the statement need not be read in open court, but shall be submitted to the appellant, who shall sign the same as directed by the said section, and return the same to the barrister.

(35 & 36 Vict. c. 33.)

"(*d.*) In section five of the Ballot Act, 1872, relating to polling districts, the first day of October shall be substituted for the first day of November, as respects the date at which orders relating to polling districts apply to registers of voters.

(Date for registration for 1885 in Scotland.)

"In Scotland, notwithstanding anything contained in section thirteen of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, the register of voters made in the present year shall come into force on the first day of November one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five."

(Dates for revision in Ireland in 1885. 13 & 14 Vict. c. 69. ss. 46, 47, 64, 76.)

"In Ireland, in the present year

"(*a.*) The lists of voters shall be revised between the fourth day of September and the eighth day of October, both inclusive, and shall be revised as soon as possible after the fourth day of September, and that day shall be substituted in the Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act for the eighth day of September.

"(*b.*) Notice of the holding of a revision court may be given by the chairman or revising barrister to the clerk of the peace at any time not less than five days before the holding of the court, and shall be published and posted by the clerk of the peace forthwith.

"(*c.*) The book or books constituting the register of voters for every county and borough shall be signed and delivered to the sheriff or returning officer not later than the seventh day of November.

"Such register shall commence and come into force on the seventh day of November, or if this present Parliament is not then dissolved, then on the day of such dissolution, and shall be the register of voters in force between the day on which it commences and the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven."

"(*d.*) In sections seventy-five and seventy-six of the Act of the session of the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter sixty-nine, relating to appeals from chairmen or revising barristers, 'the Michaelmas sittings of the High Court of Justice in Ireland' shall be substituted for 'the Michaelmas term,' and forthwith after the fourth day of the Michaelmas sittings, a court or courts shall sit for the purpose of hearing such appeals, and those appeals shall be heard and determined continuously and without delay, and any statement by the chairman or revising barrister for the purpose of any such appeal made in pursuance of section fifty-eight of the said Act may be made at any time within ten days after the conclusion of the revision, so that it be made not less than four days before the first day of the said Michaelmas sittings, and the statement need not be read in open court, but shall be submitted to the appellant, who shall sign the same as directed by the said section, and return the same to the chairman or revising barrister.

(Definitions.)

"For the purposes of this part of this Act—

"The expression 'present year' means the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

"The expression 'parliamentary county' means a county returning a member or members to serve in Parliament, and where a county is divided for the purpose of such return means a division of such county.

(41 & 42 Vict. c. 26.)

"Other expressions in this part of this Act have, unless the context otherwise requires, the same meaning as in the Acts relating to the registration of parliamentary voters.

(Temporary repeal of inconsistent provisions.)

"All provisions of any Act of Parliament inconsistent with the provisions of this part of this Act shall not apply to the lists or register of voters to be made in the present year; but, save as aforesaid, all the provisions of the Acts relating to the registration of parliamentary voters shall remain in full force."

Schedule 6, page 37, column 2, line 24, leave out ("detached"); line 25, after ("entirely") insert ("or nearly.")

Seventh Schedule.

VISCOUNT BURY proposed an Amendment, which in effect was that a division of Hampshire should be called "The Lymington" instead of "The New Forest" Division.

Amendment *moved*, in page 59, line 35, before ("New Forest") insert ("Lymington and.")—(*The Viscount Bury.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he objected to the Amendment, as the matter had been discussed and disposed of by the House of Commons.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, he hoped that his noble Friend (Viscount Bury) would not press his Amendment.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

On the Motion of The Earl of KIMBERLEY, the following Amendments made:—In page 77, line 17, 2nd column, after ("Stafford") insert ("including the whole of the parish of Gnosall"); lines 18 and 19, leave out ("including the whole of the parish of Gnosall");

page 90, line 28, after ("Kilbride") insert ("and so much of the parish of Kirkpatrick juxta as may be in the county of Lanark"); line 36, leave out ("so much") and insert the ("detached portion"); page 91, line 1, leave out ("as") and insert ("which"); page 103, lines 11 and 12, leave out ("North Liberties"); page 110, line 3, leave out ("Kilculliheen"); and line 28, after ("Dysart") insert ("except the townlands of Ballyote, Slanebeg, and Slanemore").

Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to Order), and *dispensed with;* Bill read 3ª with the Amendments, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY proposed that their Lordships should adjourn during pleasure, in order that they might receive the Bill on its return from the Commons after the Amendments had been considered.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he should propose that their Lordships should meet at the usual hour on Monday; but it would be necessary for the House to meet to-morrow as a Committee for Privileges, and therefore the Adjournment would be formally until to-morrow.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

On the Motion of Earl GRANVILLE, House adjourned till *To-morrow*.

THE EARL OF LINDSAY.

The Clerk of the Crown in Chancery delivered his certificate that the Earl of Lindsay had been elected a Representative Peer for Scotland in the room of the Earl of Selkirk deceased.

REAL PROPERTY REGISTRATION BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to facilitate the transfer of real property in England by establishing a general system of registration of title—Was *presented* by The Duke of MARLBOROUGH; read 1ª. (No. 132.)

PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS.

Ordered that Standing Orders Nos. 72 and 82 be suspended for the remainder of the Session.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 12th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation * [204]; Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation * [205].

Report of Select Committee — River Thames (No. 2) * [No. 218].

Report—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * [143]; Water Provisional Orders * [142]; Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [149].

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS — STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE — ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise, Sir—as the House, I think, will anticipate—for the purpose, in the first instance, of communicating what has taken place since I apprised the House on Tuesday last that the Cabinet had submitted a humble communication to Her Majesty. The nature of that communication, although it could not be expressly stated, was perfectly understood to be the resignation of the Offices which we held by the favour of the Crown. That communication was made on the 9th, and reached Balmoral in the regular course on the afternoon of the 10th. Her Majesty acknowledged it by telegram upon the 10th, and Her Majesty's reply—Her gracious reply—was made on the 11th, accepting the resignation of the Government, and announcing, at the same time to me, that she had summoned Lord Salisbury to Balmoral. In that communication to Her Majesty of the 9th of June, I stated, on the part of the Cabinet, that their resignation grew out of the vote which had been given by the House of Commons on Monday night, and that it sprang from that source, and was founded upon that reason alone. Sir, of Lord Salisbury's movements I have no direct information; but I believe I am correct in saying that he left London last night for the purpose of obeying the commands of Her Majesty; and, if so, in the regular course, at the moment I am speaking, Lord Salisbury ought to be at Balmoral and in communication with Her Majesty. Sir, under those circumstances, and in his absence—it being impossible to have

had any communication from him—the House will feel that the general arguments which induced the House on Tuesday to refrain from entering on Public Business are still in full force. If that view is taken it will not, in fact, be necessary for me to make a Motion on the subject; because the Motion that I should make, if any such step were necessary, would be that the House should, at its rising, adjourn till Monday; and that is what I believe will take place in the regular course without any Motion on the subject at all. That being so, Sir, I have still to make a deviation in a particular case from the general rule to which I have just referred, and to submit to the House some considerations relating to a particular subject which was named on Tuesday last. A question has not unnaturally arisen, considering the very peculiar circumstances of the case, whether it might be expedient for the public interest and convenience that the House, even in the present state of things, without having, in the full sense of the term, what may be called a responsible Government, should proceed to deal with any Amendments that the Lords may have made in the Bill for the Redistribution of Seats—presuming that those Amendments may now be, as I believe is probable, on the point of being settled in the House of Lords, and may be likely to reach this House before possibly even so short a time as half-an-hour may have elapsed. Now, Sir, upon this subject I venture to make a recommendation, with very great deference to the House, conditional upon several circumstances, and grounded upon reasons which may be stated in the shortest way. I make it conditionally on the full and unqualified assent—I may almost say the desire—of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who sit opposite, and who are responsible for the conduct of the affairs of what I may call the principal Opposition in this House. I will venture to assume, on the part of another important, although not numerically so strong, portion of the Opposition, that there is probably a desire in that portion of the House likewise that the subject of the redistribution of seats should be settled. I assume that such is the case. Unless such be the case, I should not persevere in the suggestion which I make. But, Sir, it is founded on considerations of importance. In the first place, I believe I am correct in saying that there are no differences of principle touching the substance of the Bill. I am happy to think that, not only are none likely to arise, but that none can possibly arise in relation to this great subject. The goodly ship, whose voyage we have watched with the greatest anxiety, is virtually in port. That consideration of the absence of differences is one of vital importance, and lies at the root of the recommendation which I now make. But further, Sir, it is well known to the House that there was, on the part of the existing Government, something in the nature of a compact with those who constitute the Opposition in this House having relation to the nature of that Bill, having relation to their anxiety to have the entire question settled at once and placed beyond the reach of any adverse contingency, having relation to their very great desire—a desire in which up to a certain point we concur—that the new franchise should come into operation in connection with the redistribution of seats and the new constituencies. That compact, on our part, as well as on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite—they have the chief interest in it—is all but fulfilled. I feel that it will have been fulfilled when the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill has passed both Houses of Parliament; and I confess it is a gratification to me, and I believe to my Colleagues, in quitting Office, if we can look upon that transaction as a transaction signed, sealed, and delivered, with nothing remaining for the future. The most important consideration, however, of all is that which I have not yet mentioned, but which is very familiar to the minds of all who hear me. It is that already, owing to the necessity of the case, the time has run so short that it will impose considerable difficulties upon the local officers throughout the country charged with the important business of registration to dispose of that duty in a satisfactory manner; and I do not exaggerate when I say that, as far as I understand the case, every day is of great importance, and that every day lost is a serious public inconvenience and evil. Now, Sir, in putting these circumstances together, if I find that I am right in my impression that there is a general de-

sire, and particularly a desire on the part of those with whom we formerly communicated on the subject of the Redistribution of Seats Bill, that this Bill should be dealt with at once, notwithstanding the pendency of a regular Government, I should certainly advise that that course should be taken, and that this House, if so disposed, shall wait until the Lords' Amendments have been communicated, and shall then at once proceed to consider them. There is nothing unusual in that course. In regard to the general Business, it is more customary that we should have Notice; but if Notice were interposed, we should have to wait until Monday for the purpose of dealing with this subject; but if we determined that, upon the whole, we ought to set aside the main difficulty which arises from the position of the Government, it is quite obvious that we ought to take the full advantage which we are to gain, the prospect of which has led us to set aside that objection, and ought at once to proceed to dispose of these Amendments. That is all that it is necessary for me to say; and I have no Motion to make, having submitted this statement by indulgence, which indulgence, I have no doubt, will be extended in like manner to those who may have to inform the House whether my suppositions and assumptions as to the general feeling on this subject are correct. If that be so, I trust the justification will be ample for me in submitting the communication which I have ventured to make—that, by following a mode not very unusual, we should await the time when the Lords' Amendments may, in the regular course, reach us, and should then proceed to deal with them.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I am desirous that the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman refers should proceed as rapidly as possible, and, as far as I am aware, there is no reason why the Amendments made in the House of Lords should not receive the assent of this House; but we are in a peculiar position through not having the Amendments printed and put before us, and though my own feeling was originally that it would be desirable to proceed with them at once, yet communications have reached me from different parts of the House, from which I understand that there is some doubt in the matter. It is not a case in which we ought to proceed if there is any doubt, and I think we had better not proceed until the Amendments are printed.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am certainly bound, and I am not indisposed, to accede to the wish which has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman. I am sorry that we should lose the time until Monday; but still we should gain the most part of what it is desired to gain, and therefore I withdraw any suggestion as to proceeding to-day; but I would still suggest that the sitting of the House should not be brought to a close, but that the Amendments should be brought down to this House and laid upon the Table, after which they could be printed and taken into consideration on Monday next.

House suspended its Sitting at a quarter to Five of the Clock.

House resumed its Sitting at a quarter past Five of the Clock.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

On the Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Lords' Amendments to be considered upon *Monday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 202.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, 13*th June*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Two o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 15*th June*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Yorkshire Registries* (133).

Second Reading—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (114); Burial Boards (Contested Elections) * (105).
Report—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (108).
Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) * (123), and *passed*.

GLASGOW CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL.

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) in moving the postponement of the Order, said, his ground for doing so was, that the Post Office authorities had written complaining that certain clauses which they wished inserted had not been put before the Committee.

Moved, "That the Order be postponed."—(*The Earl of Redesdale.*)

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he objected to the third reading of the Bill being postponed on that account. He was Chairman of the Committee before whom the Bill came; and as the Post Office officials, who had had ample time for the purpose, had not replied to the promoters regarding the clauses to which they objected, the Committee, after carefully considering the matter, in the absence of any communication from them, took it for granted that the Post Office was satisfied, and were not going to take any further steps. The Committee, therefore, proceeded with the Bill, and inserted several clauses which they knew the Post Office desired; but they rejected others which they did not think ought to be introduced. After the Committee had disposed of the Bill, a note was received by the promoters' solicitors from the Post Office, objecting that certain clauses had not been inserted; but the Committee refused to re-open the case, as the Post Office officials had had sufficient time to make their wants known before the Bill left the Committee. If the matter was of sufficient importance, the Bill could still be amended in the House of Commons, and the clauses desired by the Post Office considered. On those grounds he hoped his noble Friend would not insist upon postponing the third reading.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES), in withdrawing the Motion, said, that he hoped that what had occurred would be a lesson to Government Offices.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Original Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

MOTION.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: My Lords, in the absence of my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) I beg to move that the House do adjourn until Friday next, upon which day it is probable that my noble Friend will make a statement.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, as a question had been put to me on the subject of moving the Adjournment, I wrote to the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) to ask what were his wishes; whether he desired the Adjournment to be moved by his own Friends, or from that (the Treasury) Bench? In reply, he was good enough to tell me that his Friends or himself would move the Adjournment of the House. He has accordingly selected one of his own Friends for the purpose; and although I think the precedents are the other way, I do not intend to make any Motion whatever. I can only say that I agree with the Motion of the noble Viscount.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON: I hope I may be allowed to proceed with the Bill that stands in my name—the Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I have no objection to withdraw my Motion for the moment, if there is any Business which can be proceeded with.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: In point of form, the House would adjourn till to-morrow, to allow of the Judicial Business being proceeded with; it being understood that the House will not meet till Friday for Legislative Business.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: Of course that will be understood.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

After an interval, during which several Bills were advanced a stage.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: I now beg to move that the House do adjourn for ordinary Business until Friday next.

PUBLIC OFFICES—THE NEW ADMIRALTY AND WAR OFFICES—THE MODELS.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Before the Motion for the Adjournment is put, I should like to ask a Question of my noble Friend the First Commissioner of Works (the Earl of Rosebery), if I may so call him. It relates to the models of the new War Office.

EARL GRANVILLE, interposing: In accordance with the agreement on both sides of the House, I must object to entering into any question whatever under the present circumstances. Nothing but necessary Business can be taken before the Motion is put.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: All I want is that my noble Friend shall make some arrangement by which persons interested may be able to see the model of the new War Office which is to be exhibited this week.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My noble Friend is aware that, at the present moment, I am neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor any other product known in natural history; and under the circumstances I must decline to enter into any arrangement, or to agree to the making of any arrangement, on this subject.

Motion *agreed to.*

YORKSHIRE REGISTRIES BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Yorkshire Registries Act, 1884—Was *presented* by The Lord WENLOCK; read 1ª. (No. 133.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 15th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, Provisional Order.*

Ordered—First Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) [206].

Second Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations)* [199]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7)* [201].

Committee—Copyhold Enfranchisement [26]—R.P.

Lords Amendments considered—Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) [202].

Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4)* [169]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order* [194]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2)* [183]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3)* [188]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4)* [185]; Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders* [170]; Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order* [173]; Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order* [174]; Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order* [175].

Considered as amended—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1)* [143].

Third Reading—Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2)* [149]; Water Provisional Orders* [142]; Princess Beatrice's Annuity* [187], and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE — ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker, I have received authentic information that Lord Salisbury has undertaken the formation of a Government, and I have likewise received an expression of a desire, to which I am sure the House will be as ready to conform as I am, that I should move to-day that the House, at its rising, should adjourn until Friday next. That accordingly is my intention, and I believe it will be quite conformable to precedent, as it is to the reason of the case, in this necessarily early stage of the arrangements. That being so, we have before us the question whether it is desirable to proceed with the Lords' Amendments to the Redistribution of Seats Bill—a matter upon which, as I have said before, I am in the hands of the House. But my opinion is that, on the whole, it is for the public interest and for the satisfaction of all parties that we should proceed to deal with them and to complete the measure. There is another arrangement, rather less in magnitude, but which, at the same time, touches matters of feeling in relation to Royalty of such a nature as makes it desirable for me to submit to the House whether another exception ought not to be made to the more usual practice. The House will remember that some time ago—I do not know how many weeks ago—it was determined, by a very large majority, to introduce the usual Annuity Bill for the

marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. That Annuity Bill has reached its third reading, and, although it is true a limited opposition was made to it on its first stage, that opposition has not been revived. The House has, therefore, on the various stages of the measure, except upon one occasion, given its unanimous assent to the Bill. As there are practical arrangements connected with that measure, and as it touches the relation of the House towards the Throne, and the loyal feelings of the House, my opinion is that there will be a general disposition on the part of the House to approve that course, if I should proceed to move the third reading to-day. There is another portion of the arrangements as to which I do not propose to take a similar course, for reasons which, I think, will be obvious. The custom has always been, besides the Annuity, to propose the grant of a capital sum. But towards the grant of that capital sum in the present instance —which is precisely based upon former precedents—owing to the course of Business, the first stage which is to procure the voting of that capital sum has not yet been taken. I have not the smallest doubt in my own mind that that capital sum will be voted with the same readiness and the same loyalty as was the Annuity. But the House has given no decision upon it, and I wish to call attention to that point—that the House has given no decision upon it, and has not become a party to it. The proposal itself is a responsible act, and I think it is better, being a responsible act, however sure we may be of the decision the House will give, that we should properly reserve it to the House, to be dealt with in the usual manner, upon the proposal of a responsible Government. Consequently, I do not intend, as far as I am concerned, to take any steps in regard to that proposal; but with respect to the third reading of the Annuity Bill, the House will probably be inclined unanimously, as it has been on the later stages of the Bill, to think that, under these circumstances, it is just to make that also an exception to our usual methods of proceeding, and allow the Bill to go forward to the House of Lords by reading it a third time to-night. I beg leave to move that the House, at its rising, do adjourn until Friday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I presume that we may infer, from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, that he will limit his proposals this evening to taking the first and fifth Orders of the Day, omitting the intermediate ones, and that, after the fifth Order has been disposed of, he will move the adjournment of the House?

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: May I ask whether it will be possible to make another exception in a matter of great interest throughout the country—that is, to allow the introduction of the Bill for the prevention of the disqualification by reason of medical relief? I am sure that exception would be received with much gratification throughout the country. I do not know to what extent the Bill will be opposed on either side of the House; but it will be simply carrying out an act of justice in preventing the disqualification of a large number of the new voters.

MR. GLADSTONE: If I may be permitted to answer that question, without giving an opinion on its merits, I certainly should say that I do not see how such an exception could be made. This is a matter which falls within the category of general legislation, with which the House, I take it, is not now disposed to deal. No doubt, it is perfectly competent to the House to deal with it—it is perfectly competent for my hon. Friend to propose it. I do not wish to say one syllable by which, in any degree, his proposal could be subjected to prejudice. But as regards the important rule to which, upon very special grounds, we are led to ask for one exception, I can see no resemblance whatever between the two cases.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I took a vote on the first reading of the Princess Beatrice Annuity Bill, and was defeated. I shall, therefore, not oppose the Bill on its subsequent stages. But there is another question which I would venture to ask the right hon. Gentleman. It is this. We have recently seen, in authoritative newspapers, statements that there is some species of negotiation going on between the Leaders of the present Opposition and

Her Majesty's Government, and that Her Majesty's Government are about to give certain assurances to the Conservative Party that should they take Office they will not oppose them. In *The Standard* it is stated that they must do this as patriots, because the present Ministry have brought the country into such a deplorable state that they ought to be thankful to anyone who gets it out of that state. But in *The Times* it is stated that Ministers ought to take this course, and, indeed, that they intend to take this course, and that without it the present Opposition will not take Office, because the Ministers themselves have committed a species of suicide. Now, I think it is desirable that these statements should be put to rest at once. We know perfectly well that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite during the present Session did their best—especially, I believe, on Monday last—to turn out Her Majesty's present Advisers, though they were warned beforehand that, if they did so, they would have to accept Office. Under these circumstances, I would ask the Prime Minister whether there is any truth in these statements, and whether anything beyond that aid will be afforded to the Leaders of the Conservative Party to carry on the Government which the Conservative Party have afforded to Her Majesty's present Advisers during the present Session? It would set at rest a very strong feeling which is felt in the country on the subject, if the right hon. Gentleman could give some sort of assurance that these statements, however authoritative they may appear, have no sort of foundation.

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to what has fallen from my hon. Friend, all that I can say is that I have no cognizance of any such communications as he has referred to. I can commit nobody, I can promise nothing, I can refuse nothing. I simply state that I am absolutely without information. At the same time, as regards the matter of form, I may explain that it may be requisite to take a different course with regard to the adjournment. Substantially, the meaning of the Motion is that no opportunity shall be given for making a House for going on with Business between this time and Friday. That is the real object we have in view. We are now going to consider, and perhaps dispose of, the Lords' Amendments to the Redistribution of Seats Bill. They will be returned, in the shape in which they may receive the assent of this House, at once to the House of Lords. I think it probable, from what I hear, that the House of Lords will deal with them this evening, or if not this evening, at any rate to-morrow morning. [An hon. MEMBER: The Lords have adjourned.] At any rate, the Bill will probably be in a condition to receive the Royal Assent before Friday. [Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR here made a communication to the right hon. Gentleman.] I have just received intelligence that the House of Lords has adjourned. That being so, I have only to say that the original intention will be fulfilled.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the right hon. Gentleman propose Friday?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till *Friday* next.

COMMITTEES.—RESOLUTION.

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.—[BILL 202.]

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords' Amendments read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Lords' Amendments be now considered."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that, wishing to make a few observations upon this subject, he would conclude by moving the adjournment of the debate. There was no responsible Government or Opposition in the House, and yet they were asked to deal with Amendments involving several questions of a Constitutional character. He objected to the Bill as it had come down from the Lords, because a most important Amendment had been made in the title, and that Amendment entirely altered the character of the Bill. Originally the title was "A Bill for the Re-

distribution of Seats at Parliamentary Elections, and for other purposes relative thereto." The Lords had struck out the words "relative thereto," and they had evidently done so with an object, which was to introduce certain clauses that were practically a new Bill. They had introduced a Registration Bill into a Redistribution Bill in the form of a fourth part, the original measure consisting only of three parts, the clauses which formed the fourth part referring to the acceleration of registration, a subject with which the original Bill had nothing to do. It was originally intended that these clauses should have been passed as an independent Registration Bill. Another point of objection was that one of these clauses gave the Judges the right to appoint additional Revising Barristers. He maintained that this clause was, indirectly perhaps, but not the less distinctly, an infringement of the Privileges of this House. No reference was made to the salaries of these additional Revising Barristers; but it was clear their salaries would have to be provided. If these clauses had been contained in the original Bill, or if they had been embodied in a separate Bill, they would have gone through all the stages of first reading, second reading, Committee, and third reading in this House, which would have had ample opportunity of discussing them; but, instead of this, the House of Commons was called upon to pass them at one stage, and that the consideration of the Amendments made by the Lords. This was an infringement of the liberties of the House of Commons so far as the provision of the salaries was concerned, and it was done at the instance of a Liberal Government. For these reasons, and without detaining the House any longer, he moved that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not know whether the hon. Member's statement that this had been done at the instance of the Liberal Government applied to all the points he raised, or whether he only meant it to apply to the last one; because, as regarded the more important point which he raised first, he could assure the hon. Member that the step which had been taken had not been taken at the instance of the Government. It was taken at the instance of the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: What step?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE replied, that the step of putting into this Bill the Acceleration of Registration Clauses was taken entirely at the instance of Lord Salisbury, or the suggestion of Lord Salisbury. The intention of the Government was, on the whole, to have made these clauses a separate Bill, and they had prepared a separate Bill for that purpose. It was the opinion of the Leaders of the Party opposite that the other was the preferable course, and communications were made so strongly urging the Government to place the clauses in the Redistribution Bill, instead of in a separate measure, that they thought in the circumstances, there being no difference of principle, it was desirable to do so. Therefore, he was very much astonished that that objection should come from Members on the other side of the House. He thought the matter was merely one of convenience; but if it was to be argued on its merits, it was a different question. As to the point about the additional Revising Barristers, that was a question they might argue when they came to it. He was not certain that the clause as to the Revising Barristers was necessary, and whether what it proposed to do could not be done without it; but he saw no reason for refusing to consider the Lords' Amendments. With regard to the main objection as to the Acceleration Clauses, it would have been a most improper thing to have inserted them unless they had been encouraged to do so from the other side; but they had been so encouraged, and, under the circumstances, he did not see any reason why they should not proceed with the consideration of the Amendments.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, that he simply rose to confirm what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman. A communication was made to the effect that it was proposed to introduce a separate Bill; and it was suggested by Lord Salisbury that it might be more convenient to introduce the clauses into this Bill.

MR. GORST said, he did not think that anyone could gravely find fault with the substance of these clauses; but

they ought to be careful that they were not doing something which could be drawn into an inconvenient precedent hereafter. If the House of Lords could upon this occasion introduce clauses which were not directly germane to the Bill, they might on another occasion introduce clauses which would be objectionable. He understood the Prime Minister to suggest that they should consider Amendments that were trifling and unimportant, so that the Bill might speedily pass into law; but they were asked to do a great deal more than that, and to pass clauses of an unusual character, introduced, no doubt, with a good intention, but in a manner for which there was not a precedent, and which might be made into a very inconvenient precedent. Nor, in point of time, was there any urgency. The clauses did not come into effect until the revision was about to commence, about the 7th or 8th of September, and, therefore, there was plenty of time for regular legislation. He thought the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), or some of those at whose suggestion these clause had been inserted, should explain why there had not been time to pursue the course intended by the Government, of introducing a separate Bill, which could have been discussed in all its stages.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that there was no hurry for proceeding with the Bill. He (the Attorney General) begged to tell the House that there was every reason why a single day should not be wasted in dealing with it. Whether they should proceed with what were called the "Acceleration Clauses" was not the question. The Motion before the House was to discuss the Lords' Amendments to the whole Bill, and that had been delayed too long already, if they were to do justice to those who would be charged with carrying out the measure. The moment the Bill passed, Town Clerks and Clerks of the Peace would have to issue precepts, and there was barely time for them to do all the work involved in the registration of voters. Unless the House considered the Amendments of the Lords at once, a vast addition would be made to the labour of these officials. It was said they must be careful not to establish an evil precedent; but the House of Commons always had its remedy. If the House objected to these clauses, it could strike them out; but, at all events, let the House consider the clauses, which was all it was now asked to do.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I shall not be contradicted by anybody of authority if I say that the House of Commons is generally extraordinarily careful and very jealous of setting any new precedent in procedure or the conduct of its Business. We are asked by the Government to make a precedent for which there is no justification whatever. I shall be glad to know from the First Lord of the Treasury, who is well acquainted with many a change of Government and many an interregnum, whether he can adduce any precedent whatever for Parliament or the House of Commons proceeding with important questions in the absence of responsible Advisers of the Crown? I do not believe that there is any precedent whatever. Are the Government prepared to contend that the delay of Business for a few days—namely, till Friday—will really cause the country any inconvenience? Unless they are prepared to lay that down with all the force they can bring to bear, the proposition is one that the House ought not to entertain, in view of the great danger of creating a new precedent for the conduct of Business. But as regards the new clauses, it is obvious that the House ought not to proceed, because the House of Lords has, no doubt ignorantly, at the instance of the Government, imposed a pecuniary burden upon the people. Is it not curious? Here you have a Liberal Government, which is inclined to take a most derogatory view of the power of the House of Lords, using that House to impose fresh burdens upon the people. That is a position they cannot controvert; and to propose, in the absence of any responsible Advisers of the Crown, that the House should consider such an extraordinary innovation on the Constitution of the country is monstrous, and ought not to be entertained. But even supposing that the country does suffer inconvenience from being unable to proceed at the present moment with the Lords' Amendments, whose fault is it, I should like to know? Who has thrown the country into this state of confusion? Aye, not only thrown the country into this state of confusion,

but deliberately, and I will say of malice aforethought, prepared the inconvenience under which the House is now suffering. Is it not a notorious thing that the whole of the events of Monday night, the inconvenience of which we are now suffering from——

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is perfectly entitled to give reasons against the adjournment of the House, which is the immediate Question before the House; but the noble Lord is now going beyond the Question.

LORD RANDOPH CHURCHILL: I fully recognize, Sir, the force of your observation. I will only point out that I was endeavouring to support the Motion of my hon. Friend on the ground that the argument of the Government that the adjournment would create inconvenience is not one that can have any weight with the House of Commons. I will, however, pursue the point no further, but will simply say that the matter before the House is a serious disagreement between the Lords and Commons. As to the contents and scope of the Bill—and I venture to say that there is no precedent for the House of Commons, under such circumstances, proceeding with the discussion of the Bill without having at its command responsible Advisers—I sincerely trust that the Leader of what is called the Constitutional Party in this country will not sanction a precedent which, some day or other, will have most inconvenient and dangerous consequences.

MR. ONSLOW: I should like to ask, as a point of Order, whether it is competent for the House of Lords, on a Constitutional question, to send down to this House clauses in a Bill entailing a fresh charge on the Consolidated Fund?

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member will look at the Amendment proposed by the House of Lords he will find that in the form of it there is no charge on the people of this country. There is a provision for appointing fresh officers in case of need; but, of course, the provision for those officers will have to be made in the ordinary Estimates of the year, when the House will have full control over the matter. The Amendment makes no provision for the payment of these officers.

MR. GLADSTONE: We are, it appears to me, putting together two questions which are entirely distinct. Observations have been made upon the merits of the Lords' Amendments with respect to one set of clauses, that it is travelling too far beyond the precincts of the Bill as it went up from this House, and ought not to be entertained; to another set of clauses, that it imposes charges on the people and ought not to be entertained. Upon the last I can only say that to a certain extent I sympathize with those who dislike the practice which has grown up of late years of inserting in the House of Lords clauses which do not impose charges directly, but which do so as a natural consequence. But that, I am afraid, has become a settled practice. If, however, they are to be rejected—and I do not say the House is not free to reject them—why not do so when we come to them, if the arguments produced be sufficient to justify that course? But these are really matters only, in my opinion, partially relative to the main question. The main question I freely admit, is one not without importance, and it is whether this subject should be entertained at all in the absence of a full, responsible Government. That is a fair question to raise and entertain; but in order that it might be fairly considered we must consider what is the scope and view of those who ask for an adjournment. They ask for an adjournment till Friday, and say that, after all, there can be no very great evil in that. I believe we are prepared to show that even adjourning till Friday will very greatly aggravate the present inconvenience. But what I wish to observe particularly and press upon the House is that an adjournment till Friday cannot possibly suffice—that there can be no responsible Government in the full sense of the word on Friday next. The utmost that can happen, I apprehend, is that Lord Salisbury will be in any position which will enable him and his Friends to come down to Parliament not *in propriis personis*, but through their proper agents, and move certain Writs for the re-election of certain Members; but until the Gentlemen honoured by the choice of Her Majesty have been returned and have taken their places there will be no means of meeting the objection that there is not a responsible Government. I do not know how long that will be; but speaking in the rough I

should think this day fortnight will be the very earliest day on which it is possible to entertain this subject with a responsible Government fully installed on the Treasury Benches. Is it worth while, for the sake of objecting to make a precedent—I assume it is making a precedent—to incur a very great and serious inconvenience indeed? Now, certainly, it would not become the present outgoing Government to be fastidious and captious in making objections to the settlement, and the speedy settlement, of this affair. It is distinctly a matter with us not only of policy but of honour to do everything we properly can towards the absolute closing of this affair at the earliest possible moment; and I am prepared even to make a precedent, unless it be shown to me that in that precedent there is danger. I cannot possibly say that I find danger in the precedent, and I found that observation on these two principles—first of all, the extreme peculiarity of the circumstances, which can hardly recur; and secondly, the general assent of the House. Now, only when these two conditions exist, and when it can be fairly and impartially said that they exist in a very marked degree and form, I am prepared to create a precedent for the purpose, at the same time putting a stamp upon that precedent, and recording the opinion that it is not to be followed as a precedent except in cases where the same conditions, the same urgency, and the same general assent should seem to recommend it. These are the observations I wish to make, and I cannot help thinking that they represent the evident sense of the House.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the closing words of the right hon. Gentleman place us in a considerable difficulty. How is it possible for us to set a precedent as to which we can be perfectly sure that no peculiar circumstances, or circumstances said to be peculiar, will recur to justify its being followed in the future? I understood when the Motion was made that this Amendment should be considered, and when my right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon expressed his concurrence in the consideration of the particular Amendment alluded to by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), that that Amendment had the support of Her Majesty's Government. We understand now from the speech of the Prime Minister that he looked upon that Amendment—being, as it is, a proposal by the Lords to insert something which would lead, if carried out, to a charge on the taxpayers—as an Amendment upon which there is a great deal to be said; in fact, that it is so far a matter of contention that he even intimated that it was somewhat doubtful whether Her Majesty's Government would support it. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No, no.] At any rate, there was quite enough in what fell from the Prime Minister to warrant the expectation of a considerable amount of opposition in this House. But this is not all. There are other Amendments of importance, and there is one in particular as to which it has been publicly stated—I do not know with what truth — that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Border Burghs is prepared to move that the House should disagree with it. Does the House seriously think that it is well that we should enter, not merely upon Business upon which we are all agreed and which we desire to carry through unanimously, but upon contested questions, and that these questions should be thrown on the floor of the House for debate and decision without there being any responsible Government in Office? I think my right hon. Friend and all those who supported proceeding with this matter to-night, only gave that support with respect to Business that was uncontested. I do not think it fair that we should be asked to-night to enter upon matters on which such differences may arise as those hinted at by the Prime Minister. But we have had no intimation as to the precise nature of these differences; and if we are to have contests and divisions upon this matter, serious though the delay may be, it would be preferable that we should not deal with it until a responsible Government is sitting on that Bench to direct the proceedings of the House, rather than set a precedent which will certainly be followed, perhaps with great disadvantage to the country, in similar circumstances.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman has said that we are placed in a difficult position. Well, of course we are, because my right hon. Friend has made a proposal which has

been accepted and approved by the Leader of the Opposition; and then the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) gets up and denounces it, and he is supported by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). No doubt, that is a difficult position; but it has not been created either by those who for the moment sit upon these Benches, or by the Leader of those who sit upon the Benches opposite. I take it the responsibility rests with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire. I do not wish to enter into a controversy on the matter; but the whole question is one not only of the convenience of the House, but of the convenience of the country and of the constituencies. It is in favour of the constituencies that this appeal is made. We are not in a position to dictate to or put pressure upon the House in any way; but I think it is a matter which ought to be determined by the free vote of the House. Let the House take the opinion of my right hon. Friend and of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon on the one hand, and the opinion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire on the other, and decide between the two. Now, the reason why we, at all events, have recommended this course to the House is on account of the very great inconvenience, which it is impossible to exaggerate, which will result from delaying this matter for a fortnight. I am authorized by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board to say that it was the facts brought before Lord Salisbury as to the great inconvenience which would ensue to those who have to make up the Registers which are to be the foundations of the future Elections, and upon which the rights of the constituencies rest, which induced Lord Salisbury to approve the course which has been taken, and that argument equally applies to our going on with the matter now. That, no doubt, is also the reason why the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, who has been, as I believe the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire has not, in constant communication with Lord Salisbury in reference to this Bill, had approved not only of the introduction of the Acceleration Clauses in the House of Lords, but of doing what has been done with precisely the same object—namely, the taking into consideration these clauses to-night, in order that we might accelerate the measure, and that the House of Lords may deal with them on Friday. How can there be danger in such a precedent as this? If the clauses are objectionable, let them be objected to. If the Lords have made proposals to enlarge the Bill which they ought not to have done, let those proposals be rejected. If the clauses with respect to Revising Barristers be objectionable, let them be objected to. My right hon. Friend says he quite understands the objections to the course of proceeding taken by the Lords; but the right hon. Gentleman opposite is mistaken in thinking that my right hon. Friend has expressed hostility to that proceeding. The Bill has been throughout a very exceptional Bill. It is not a Bill promoted by one Party and met in a hostile spirit by the other Party. It has been in a very great degree a consent Bill between the two Parties. It is not a matter upon which the two sides of the House are widely distinct or are acting in a hostile spirit. We are desirous of carrying out to the end the spirit in which this Bill has been conducted hitherto, and I sincerely hope that one of its last stages will not be made the occasion of a Party fight.

MR. RAIKES: There is quite the same disposition in this part of the House to deal with this measure as a consent Bill; but the difficulty of dealing with it in that spirit is indicated by the action taken by the Government this afternoon. It seems to me that in casting the Bill on the Table and asking us to discuss it at a moment of such excitement and confusion the Government have done their best to embitter the last moments of the Bill. But for that the Bill might have passed through the House with very little discussion and become the law of the land in a very few days. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that we ought not to shrink from making a precedent in the circumstances. I do not think the House has fully grasped, while discussing generally the form of the matter, the actual

substance of the clauses with respect to which we are asked to make a precedent. We are asked to allow to be introduced Amendments made in the House of Lords on a matter not only of general concern, but one which closely affects the constitution and privileges of this House, a matter dealing with the Electoral Law of the country, which especially concerns the Members of this House, and upon which the Members of this House have always expressed a most decided and unwavering opinion. This House passed a Resolution in 1704, in the Ashby case, declaring that—

"The determination of the right of the election of Members to serve in Parliament is the proper business of the House of Commons, which they would always be very jealous of, and this jurisdiction of theirs is uncontested."

There can hardly be any question more distinctly and exclusively concerning the House of Commons than this matter, of which the Prime Minister asks us to make a precedent by departing from our usual course. If the matter had been brought before us in the regular way, we should have a Bill and should be able to discuss it on the first and second readings, in Committee, on the Report, and on the third reading; but it has been found convenient to ask us to deal with an important matter of electoral law upon the *ipse dixit* of the other House of Parliament, instead of proceeding through all the stages with very careful consideration. If we should have an undertaking that these clauses to which objection has been taken would not be proceeded with, it would be easier to pass the other clauses; but I do not know that there is anyone in a position to give that undertaking. I do not think the present difficulty is due to anyone on this side of the House; it is due to the hasty action of Her Majesty's Government. In recommending the matter to the House an attempt has been made by the President of the Local Government Board to conjure with the name of Lord Salisbury.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What I said was, that the whole of the clauses to which the right hon. Gentleman is now objecting were placed in the Bill because the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) desired that the Registration Clauses should be placed in it instead of being made a separate measure.

MR. RAIKES: That is exactly what I was saying. What I was anxious to point out was, that the Government, in dealing with this matter, are divesting themselves of any responsibility for the matter, and are casting the responsibility wholly on others. ["No!"] Well, when the President of the Local Government Board sat down, up gets the Home Secretary, and he can point to no other ground for proceeding than the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. Thus the Government are so anxious to shirk responsibility for the course they have adopted that they shelter themselves behind the names of Lord Salisbury and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. I call attention to this as an illustration of the embarrassment in which we are placed, and I hope that the Government, having seen what is the disposition of the House, will postpone consideration of these Amendments for a fortnight.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he did not intend to enter into the dispute between the occupants of the two Front Benches. They could settle their differences amongst themselves. He wished, however, to make a suggestion that would meet the views of the majority of Members. The situation was exceptional. The Redistribution Bill was the measure of Parliament, and not the measure of any Party. It was the wish of all that it should come into operation at the earliest possible period. Everyone was anxious to have the present unsatisfactory interregnum terminated. Personal and political reasons combined to render the prolongation of the existing uncertainty most undesirable. But it sometimes happened that with more haste there was less speed. He feared that in the anxiety of the Government to have these Amendments considered, they were delaying proceedings that all were anxious to facilitate. His proposal was this—that the Amendments to the Redistribution Bill should be taken at once. Their consideration would occupy but a very short time. There was not much in dispute about them; and when they were passed the Redistribution Bill would be safe. That work being accomplished, they might allow the new matter to stand over for further consideration. It was originally the intention of the Government that this should be the

case. They had drawn a Bill for the purpose of accelerating the formation of the Registers, and that Bill would in time have run its regular course in that House, where there would have been adequate opportunity for Members discussing it. The object sought by the Bill was one they were all agreed on, though they might differ as to its details. But, instead of a Bill that could have been dealt with in this way, the House of Lords had attached important clauses which in themselves constituted a Bill. He could not understand how Gentlemen who complained of the encroachments of the House of Lords on popular liberty could assent to such a proceeding. He objected, too, to the clauses on their merits. They required at the hands of the Local Authorities work to be done in a given time which could not be done. He was speaking with some knowledge of the subject, and he made bold to affirm that it was impossible for the Registers to be got ready in the time specified. This was another reason why the matter should be delayed; and, as the delay would not stop the formation of the Registers, he was at a loss to know how they could object. If the Government would agree to this suggestion, he believed the difficulty would be solved, and the Lords' Amendments disposed of in an hour, or even less.

MR. LEWIS ventured to suggest that, inasmuch as the whole of the difference seemed to turn on the Acceleration Clauses, the course proposed by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) was a most judicious and sensible one, and, in the end, would prove the most expeditious. He himself was about to make the same suggestion. The Acceleration Clauses appeared to have been drawn up in too great haste. Certainly, on their merits, they required the gravest consideration, and he should be able to show, if they came to them, that they would not work. In order that they might be adequately dealt with, the House must wait until responsible Ministers and a responsible Attorney General should be in Office, who would give weight to the discussion.

MR. DILLWYN rose to Order. He wished to know whether the observations of the hon. Member were admissible on the Question that the debate be adjourned?

MR. SPEAKER said, that he had not observed that the remarks of the hon. Member were out of Order. Of course, the debate must be confined to the Question before the House—namely, that of the adjournment of the debate.

MR. LEWIS said, he thought the usual very great acumen of the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) would have enabled him to appreciate the great importance of the question whether the House ought to take into consideration the arrangements for the Election on the 7th of November or not. The Question before the House was whether they should consider those matters now or not? It was unnecessary for him to add what had already been said; but he thought that the suggestion of the hon. Member for Newcastle took away the objection to creating a precedent. If the Acceleration Clauses were postponed, the other matter might still be disposed of that evening. He doubted whether these clauses could have been introduced into the Seats Bill during the stage of Committee.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, he personally thought the action of the House of Lords was for the public advantage, and would be glad if the House assented to it. On the other hand, the suggestion of the hon. Member for Newcastle was not at all a bad one. It was not desirable to proceed with any question which had not the general assent of the House; and as there was a difference of opinion upon this subject, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would say that he would drop these clauses from the Bill, leaving the subject to be dealt with by a separate Bill. If the suggestion should receive the approval of the House, the practical discussion of the main Amendments of the House of Lords could be proceeded with.

MR. O'DONNELL desired to make a suggestion which he thought would perhaps terminate the discussion. With the indulgence of the House the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) might be asked to make an explanation. Then they might know whether he accepted the views of a noble Lord in the other House, or the views of a noble Lord in the House of Commons. He asked because he was rather concerned about the unity of the future Government. At present it ap-

peared that it would be about as united as the great united Liberal Party.

MR. RITCHIE said, that, in his opinion, the Government ought to express some opinion with respect to the proposal of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS thought the House ought certainly to hear some statement from the Government. The proposal of the hon. Member for Newcastle was a very reasonable one, and appeared to meet with a great deal of favour in all parts of the House.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 35; Noes 333: Majority 298.—(Div. List, No. 202.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lords' Amendments *considered* accordingly.

NOTE.—The page and line refer to the Bill No. (109) as first printed by the Lords.

Page 1.—Title, leave out ("relative thereto,") the first Amendment, read a second time.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in moving to agree to the Amendment, said that, although a verbal one, it raised the question of the Acceleration Clauses, and it was desirable that the House should now make up its mind whether it intended to put in these clauses or not. He could only repeat that the original intention of the Government had been to place these clauses in a separate Bill; but they were informed in the most distinct terms by the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, that he desired that these clauses should be placed in this Bill, and, as the Government had no objection whatever to that course being taken, they at once acquiesced.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. LEWIS said, it was perfectly obvious that the Attorney General could not suggest any reason whatever why these clauses should be hurried forward. Such a matter as the acceleration of the registration required that freedom of action which alone could be had in Committee of the Whole House. There was, he thought, some legitimate ground for requiring that they should have an opportunity of considering in Committee in detail the question of the dates when the revised lists were to come into force. He believed it would be practically impossible to get the revision through and the lists published by the dates named in the Amendment. A further objection was that there would certainly be a large number of appeals which could not possibly be heard before the early days of the month of November. He believed that the 7th of November was far too early a date to fix for the new Registers to come into effect. In his opinion, the proper and legitimate course was to carry out the original intention of the Government to put these clauses into a separate Bill.

MR. GORST hoped that the suggestion of the hon. Member for Newcastle would be adopted. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) both appealed to the Government before the division to postpone the consideration of the Acceleration Amendments; and he (Mr. Gorst) understood the late division to be a protest against the refusal of the Government. Now the tables seemed to be turned, and they had the President of the Local Government Board making an appeal to the Front Opposition Bench to the same effect. So that they had the Front Opposition Bench appealing before the division and the Government after the division. ["No!"] It, therefore, seemed to him they were all agreed that these Acceleration Clauses should be postponed. ["No, no!"] At any rate, the two Front Opposition Benches were agreed.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of two Oppositions, but there was a third Opposition which was opposed to both. The hon. and learned Member was entirely mistaken in the interpretation he had put upon what the President of the Local Government Board had said. His right hon. Friend did not make any sort of appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to withdraw these clauses. These clauses, like many others in the Bill, had been agreed to by arrangement between those who were understood to represent both Parties in the House. Her Majesty's Government

felt themselves bound to adhere to the arrangement which they had made with Lord Salisbury as to the introduction of these Acceleration Clauses. The Government approved of them themselves, and while it was a mere matter of form whether they should be introduced into the present Bill or not, the Government were bound to adhere to the arrangement they had made.

MR. GRANTHAM asked whether the President of the Local Government Board would state the difference which he intimated existed between the proposals of the Government and those of Lord Salisbury?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE replied, that as far as he remembered there was no difference in substance, but the clauses of the Government were more detailed.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE remarked, that he was afraid the House would get unnecessarily confused on this matter. The circumstances were these—while the Bill was in progress through the House of Lords some discussion took place with regard to the introduction of a separate Bill, which had been contemplated at an early period of the Redistribution Bill, for the purpose of accelerating the time of the elections. The policy of accelerating the elections had been more than once mentioned in that House, and he had heard no objection to it. While the Bill was in progress through the House of Lords circumstances arose which induced Lord Salisbury to endeavour to accelerate matters and save time, and that was the only object he had in introducing the clauses necessary for the purpose of accelerating elections into this Bill instead of the same object being carried out by a separate Bill. He believed his noble Friend communicated with one or two Representatives of the Government, and he also made a communication to him to the effect that he had agreed with the Government that it would be more convenient to introduce Acceleration Clauses into the present Bill than to bring in a separate Bill. There was no attempt to curtail or shorten the time that the House might require for the discussion of matters which it had a right to discuss, and there could be no objection to a fair discussion taking place upon every point that arose in connection with these clauses. The suggestion made by the hon. Member for Newcastle was a very reasonable one—that if they came to matters which were open to considerable discussion they should be set aside, and they should proceed with such parts of the Bill as did not raise any such discussion. With regard to Lord Salisbury's action in the matter, he wished it to be understood that his sole and simple object was to save time. The Government took the same view, and he was bound to say his noble Friend made a very reasonable proposal. As to the merits of these Amendments, he should not pronounce any special opinion. He was ready to listen to any expression of opinion, and the matter seemed to him to be one which justified fair consideration on the part of the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 3.—Line 38, at beginning of clause insert as a separate paragraph—

"The borough of Warwick shall be called Warwick and Leamington."

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. WARTON said, that the argument which applied to this case applied equally to that of Pembroke and Haverfordwest. Unless the case of Pembroke was also dealt with, they would have the anomaly of acting differently with regard to two boroughs, formed from merged boroughs, the cases of which were exactly parallel.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he had submitted the proposal as to Pembroke to the draftsman, and he had not thought it necessary to make the alteration, as the two cases were not on all fours.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 4.—Line 43, leave out ("required,") the next Amendment, *agreed to.*

Page 5, line 2, at end of clause insert—

"(5.) In any new borough constituted under this Act, the whole or the larger part of the area of which was before the passing of this Act comprised in the Parliamentary borough of

Westminster, the high bailiff of Westminster shall be the returning officer for the new borough, and also the town clerk for the new borough within the meaning of the Registration Acts, and may, by writing under his hand, appoint a fit person to be his deputy for all or any of the purposes relating to Parliamentary elections in any such new borough, and anything in relation to a Parliamentary election authorised or required to be done by, to, or before the returning officer, may be done by, to, or before the high bailiff himself or such deputy.

"(6.) Every such deputy shall, in so far as he acts as returning officer, be deemed to be included in the expression 'returning officer' within the meaning of the law relating to Parliamentary elections,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. RAIKES said, he understood that this Amendment was consequential to the sub-division of the City of Westminster, which the Government had now adopted. He would take that opportunity to ask the President of the Local Government Board, if he would state the reasons which induced the Government to change their minds with regard to the City of Westminster? The Government had had four different policies with regard to this question during the course of this Bill, each one opposed to the other, and they had now reverted to their first opinion, he presumed, in deference to the House of Lords. He thought it was a pity that the House of Lords should have gone into this question at all, or should have sought to reverse the carefully considered conclusion arrived at by the House of Commons.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the Amendment had been moved by Lord Salisbury himself. It had been agreed to by the Government on account of the pledge which he himself had publicly given in that House on a former occasion.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that this question had been carefully considered by those interested in it in the City of Westminster; and, on the whole, it had been found best to accept the proposals of the House of Lords.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 5.—Line 9, leave out ("determination,") and insert ("fixing"); and

Page 6.—Line 28, after ("practices,") insert ("prevention,") the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 6, line 41, leave out the words—

("Provided that this sub-section shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland") and insert ("Provided that in Ireland the place of election, in the case of a division of a county at large, shall from time to time be fixed by the returning officer, and shall be situate within the division or within a county of a city or town adjoining that division,")

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. PARNELL said, he wished to know the effect of this Amendment? It was very desirable that it should not be in the power of Returning Officers to hold elections at a distance from the division. A considerable practical inconvenience would frequently result. If the Lords' Amendment practically left the question as it left the House of Commons, they would be willing to agree to it. He would like to have a definition of the effect of the word "adjoining" in the Amendment?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, this was a matter of detail about which there had been some difference of opinion. He thought that the hon. Member would be safe in accepting the words as they had come down from the House of Lords. It had been admitted that there were some cases in which it would be desirable that the place of election should be in a city as described. The expense would be avoided of transporting the necessary apparatus of an election to places which were far from railways or good roads. It had been suggested that the places should be scheduled; that, however, had been found to be impossible.

MR. SEXTON said, he could not see why it it was impossible to schedule the places. The number of counties of towns was extremely limited in Ireland. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had not defined the word "adjoining." Did it mean physical contact with the division?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Yes.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Page 7, line 8, after ("of,") insert ("successive occupation or"); line 19, insert at end of clause—

("And where the area of the constituency of which such place before such change formed part becomes, after such change, part of two or more constituencies, each of such two or more constituencies shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to have included the whole of the said area.")

Line 34, at end of line insert—

"Divisions of counties may be divided into polling districts at any time after the passing of this Act in like manner as they might be divided after the end of this present Parliament.

"Where any act or thing has, before this Act came into operation, been done in pursuance of the Registration Acts, or in relation to polling districts or polling places, such act or thing shall be as valid as it would have been if this Act had previously thereto come into operation, and it had been done by the officer or authority and in the form and in relation to the constituency by whom, and in, and in relation to which it would have been done if this Act had previously thereto come into operation, and where any act or thing ought to have been done if this Act had come into operation before the time for doing the same, the same shall be done forthwith after this Act comes into operation, and shall be as valid as if it had been done at the time now appointed by law.

"In England the clerks of the peace and town clerks shall, as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, send to the overseers on whom they have served precepts under the Registration Acts, such supplemental precepts as are necessary or desirable for instructing the overseers to carry into effect the Registration Acts in the constituencies as altered by this Act, and in municipal boroughs affected by this Act, and in particular shall, where necessary, instruct overseers as to the difference between the county and borough lists of voters, and shall direct the overseers of parishes situate in municipal boroughs, and included by this Act in parliamentary boroughs, to prepare lists of burgesses in conjunction with the lists of parliamentary voters, and shall send the corrupt and illegal practices list containing the names of voters disqualified by this Act. Every such supplemental precept shall be served by the clerk of the peace or town clerk who would have served the former precept if this Act had come into operation before the time for the service of such former precept.

"In Ireland any polling districts which have been formed in anticipation of the provisions of this Act shall be valid; nevertheless, if the districts are inconsistent with the boundaries of any divisions constituted by this Act, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, may by order alter or vary such polling districts and the polling places for such districts in such manner as appears to him necessary or desirable."

Page 8, line 38, leave out ("by which they are wholly surrounded,") and insert ("to which they adjoin.")

Page 9, line 1, leave out ("or townland,") and insert ("townland or place"); line 12, after ("by,") insert ("the whole or part of"); line 23, after ("districts,") insert—

("And in the case of a parliamentary division of a county in Ireland, by the Local Government Board for Ireland, by order made after local inquiry, and taking effect when made");

line 35, leave out ("contents and boundaries,") and insert ("limits").

Page 10, line 5, after ("under") insert ("the"); line 10, leave out ("the area comprised in"); line 41, after ("county,") insert ("at large,") the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 12, after Part III., insert—

PART IV.

CLAUSE A.—ACCELERATION OF REGISTRATION IN 1885.

(Power to appoint additional barristers.)

"If in the present year it is made to appear to any judge of the High Court of Justice, sitting in chambers at any time after the fifth day of September, that the lists of voters for any Parliamentary county or borough in England cannot by reason of the insufficient number of barristers be revised within the period fixed by this Act, such judge shall appoint one or more duly qualified barristers to act in addition to the barristers originally appointed for such county or borough, and a barrister so appointed shall have the same duties, powers, and authorities as if he had been originally appointed.

"Where the Lord Chief Justice or judge appoints in the present year barristers for counties and boroughs on any circuit, he shall appoint them to act for all the counties and boroughs for which he has power to appoint revising barristers; and each barrister, when acting for any county or borough, shall have the same duties, powers, and authorities as if he had been appointed sole revising barrister for such county or borough.

"The duties of barristers so appointed shall be distributed among them as the Lord Chief Justice or judge who appoints them, or, after the fifth day of September, any judge of the High Court of Justice sitting in Chambers, may direct."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the object of the clause was to give power to a Judge in Chambers to appoint additional Revising Barristers where it was shown to be necessary. The clause was a useful though not a very important one. The hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), in his remarks in moving the adjournment of the debate, was under a misapprehension as to this clause. In consequence of the addition of 2,000,000 voters and of the diminishing of the time that would be at the disposal of the Revising Barristers for

carrying on the revision, it would be necessary to add to the present number. He had endeavoured to find out how many would have to be appointed. He had called the Revising Barristers together, and they gave him the best opinion they could on the subject, and it seemed that the smallest number of Revising Barristers that could be added would be some 34. By an existing Act of the present Reign they had power to appoint any number of Revising Barristers that might be required by Orders in Council. They could thus either increase or diminish the number. They were anxious to take the most economical or smallest number; but they did not know exactly where the pressure of the work might come in the different counties and boroughs. They had made the best estimate they could; and if it should turn out that in any particular locality the Revising Barrister should find that an additional Revising Barrister was wanted, he might go to the Judge in Chambers and ask that such assistance should be given to him. If in any place a miscalculation had been made, and they had not given sufficient strength for the revision of the lists of voters, the Revising Barrister might say that he wanted help; and the clause sent down from the House of Lords gave power to enable that help to be afforded. The clause provided that if in the present year it was made to appear to any Judge of the High Court of Justice, sitting in Chambers, at any time after the 5th of September, that the lists of voters for any Parliamentary county or borough in England could not by reason of the insufficient number of Barristers be revised within the period fixed by that Act, such Judge should appoint one or more duly qualified barristers to act in addition to the barristers originally appointed for such county or borough; and the barrister so appointed should have the same duties, powers, and authority as if he had been originally appointed. The power given by the clause was a mere general power, the object being to avoid increasing the number of Revising Barristers unnecessarily, and not to put the country to any undue expense. And to talk of the House of Lords having in that case interfered with the privileges of the House of Commons was really an abuse of language. Those Revising Barristers could not be paid without a Vote of that House, and he therefore trusted that the Lords' Amendment would now be accepted.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he was sorry to hear the unconstitutional principles laid down by the Attorney General. Of course, they must have some additional Revising Barristers, and they had already power to appoint them by Order in Council; the existing Act of Parliament also enacting that Revising Barristers should be paid 200 guineas by way of remuneration for their services and travelling expenses. That Act gave a salary to the Revising Barristers who were appointed, and they might be appointed by Order in Council; but instead of following the Constitutional course, the Government had persuaded the House of Lords to introduce a clause into that Bill, which he maintained was an infringement of the privileges of the House of Commons, and would impose a burden on the country. The infringement might not be an important one, but it set a bad precedent.

MR. GREGORY said, he thought the clause was very wide in its terms; it gave the go-by to the Order in Council, because it vested power in Judges in Chambers to make the appointments.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) explained that the Order in Council would come into operation before the revision, and it would probably fix the right number of Revising Barristers. It was only in case the number proved insufficient that power was to be given to apply to a Judge in Chambers.

MR. GREGORY said, that the responsible person from whom the application should come ought to be definitely defined by the House.

MR. GRANTHAM said, it would be desirable to ascertain beforehand the number of Revising Barristers who would be required, and what was necessary in regard to additional Revising Barristers might be better done under an Order in Council than by the novel proceeding now proposed.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, that in respect to that being done by Order in

Council, it would be impossible at present accurately to fix, not only the additional number of barristers that would be necessary, but the counties in which they would be required. There would be a great pressure this year, which in all probability would not occur again. The cost of that arrangement had been already provided for by the Estimates for this year, and the Treasury reckoned that about 120 would be the number required, although probably less than that would be sufficient. He was satisfied that the most practical and economical way of meeting the emergency was by leaving the matter in the hands of the Judge in Chambers.

MR. WARTON pointed out that the Attorney General had spoken of 34 as the number of Revising Barristers who would be required, whereas the Under Secretary for the Home Department had mentioned 120. He pointed out that the revision would be a very difficult one on account of the new franchises introduced by the Bill, and the investigations which were rendered necessary as to whether property came by marriage or inheritance. The pressure put upon the officials in order to complete the lists would be tremendous, and the consequent hurry would have the effect of making the Revising Barristers more than ever likely to commit mistakes. Errors made in this connection might have terrible influence with regard to the coming elections, especially when it was borne in mind that there would be no Court of Appeal, because no time was allowed for the decisions to be revised. He maintained that there ought not to be any undue economy with regard to the appointment of Revising Barristers.

MR. LEWIS said, he was of opinion that the Government had dealt with this matter in the only manner consistent with efficiency and economy. It seemed to him that the machinery provided by this clause was sufficiently necessary to overtake the revising work.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked for some explanation as to the method in which an application was to be made to a Judge in Chambers?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) pointed out that this provision was only to continue for one year, and that it was not to be a permanent one. He thought the House might leave it to the Judges to see that the application made was a proper one.

MR. GORST said, he would call the attention of the House to the great inconvenience of discussing this matter as they were now doing. It was impossible for the Government to answer the numerous questions which were being asked, and he thought it would be much better if the House put the sole responsibility for this matter on the Attorney General and the Members of the Government.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause B :—

(Dates for registration in the year 1885 in England.)

With respect to the registration of voters in parliamentary counties and boroughs in England in the present year, the following provisions shall have effect :—

"(*a.*) The lists of parliamentary voters, and the lists of burgesses which are revised together with the lists of parliamentary voters, shall be revised between the eighth day of September and the eighth day of October both inclusive, and shall be revised as soon as possible after the seventh day of September, and the eighth day of September shall be substituted in the Acts relating to the registration of Parliamentary voters for the fifteenth day of September; and the declarations under section ten of the County Voters Registration Act, 1865, and section twenty-four of the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act, 1878, shall be sent to the clerk of the peace or town clerk on or before the fifth day of September.

"(*b.*) The printed book or register containing the lists of voters, when revised, shall be delivered to the returning officer for the parliamentary county or borough to which such book or register relates on or before the seventh day of November, and shall be the register of persons entitled to vote for the county or borough at any election of a member to serve in Parliament which takes place after that day, or if this present Parliament is not then dissolved, then after the date of such dissolution, and before the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

"(*c.*) In sections sixty-two and sixty-three of the Act of the session of the sixth and seventh years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter eighteen, relating to appeals from revising barristers in England, 'the Michaelmas sittings of the High Court of Justice' shall be substituted for 'the Michaelmas term,' and forthwith after the fourth day of the Michaelmas sittings a court or courts shall sit for the purpose of hearing such appeals, and those appeals shall be heard and determined continuously and without delay, and any statement by the barrister for the purpose of any such appeal made in pursuance of section forty-two of the said Act may be made at any time within ten

days after the conclusion of the revision, so that it be made not less than four days before the first day of the said Michaelmas sittings, and the statement need not be read in open court, but shall be submitted to the appellant, who shall sign the same as directed by the said section, and return the same to the barrister.

(35 & 36 Vict. c. 33.)

"(*d.*) In section five of the Ballot Act, 1872, relating to polling districts, the first day of October shall be substituted for the first day of November, as respects the date at which orders relating to polling districts apply to registers of voters,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in moving to agree to the clause, said, that he was not at all surprised that some hon. Members should think that the Government were not allowing sufficient time for the printing of the Register. At present registration began on the 15th of September in boroughs, and it must be finished on the 12th of October. Between the 12th of October and the 1st of November sufficient time existed for the printing of the lists in the boroughs. In the counties registration began on the 15th of September and was finished at the end of October. Under this Bill, registration was begun on the 7th of September and finished on the 8th of October in boroughs; therefore, they were allowing more time than existed at present. It would be seen that more time was allowed for the printing of the lists, and, therefore, so far as the boroughs were concerned, there could be no objection. In the case of the counties, however, they did diminish the time allowed for the printing of the Register. They allowed from the 8th of October to the 7th of November, and therefore they allowed only one month instead of two, as at present. At the present time they could not begin to print the Register until the revision was completed; but, under the present arrangement, they could begin to print the moment they had finished dealing with one polling district. The Government had taken the best advice they could obtain on the point, and on the whole they believed that with a little care and discipline on the part of the officials connected with registration, the time allowed was sufficient to carry out the object in view.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

MR. LEWIS said, he was of opinion that, in the exceptional circumstances of the current year, the time for printing the Registers in counties ought by no means to be curtailed. He would, therefore, move to omit the words "seventh of November," and insert "twentieth of November."

Amendment proposed, in sub-section (b.), line 4, by leaving out the word "seventh," and inserting the word "twentieth," —(*Mr. Lewis,*) —instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'seventh' stand part of the said Amendment."

MR. H. H. FOWLER opposed the Amendment, which he said would have the effect of postponing the election for another month. In 1868 Parliament had to deal with a very similar state of circumstances, and the time given for revision by the present clause was one week longer than in 1868. This question had been carefully considered by the Clerks of the Peace, and there was no doubt that there would be no difficulty in printing the lists by the 7th of November.

MR. WARTON called attention to the fact that the dates for the completion of the Registers were 1st of November in Scotland, 2nd of November in Ireland, and 7th of November in England. He wished to know what was the explanation of the difference of date in the different countries?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that with regard to Scotland the answer was very simple. It was that the clause, as it here stood, would simply restore matters to the position in which they now were. At present the 1st of November was the day on which the new Registers came into operation. In the Franchise Bill it was postponed till the 1st of January, so that there should be a simultaneous coming into operation of the Registers in all the three countries. But when it was resolved to go back, as was done by this Bill, they simply went back to the present date.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in sub-section (c.), line 6, by leaving out the

words "forthwith after," and inserting the words "on or before,"—(*Mr. Gregory,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words 'forthwith after' stand part of the said Amendment."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause C:—

(Date for registration for 1885 in Scotland.)

"In Scotland, notwithstanding anything contained in section thirteen of the Representation of the People Act, 1884, the register of voters made in the present year shall come into force on the first day of November one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five,"

—the next Amendment, *agreed to.*

Clause D:—

(Dates for revision in Ireland in 1885. 13 & 14 Vict. c. 69, ss. 46, 47, 64, 76.)

"In Ireland, in the present year

"(*a.*) The lists of voters shall be revised between the first day of September and the eighth day of October, both inclusive, and shall be revised as soon as possible after the first day of September, and that day shall be substituted in the Parliamentary Registration (Ireland) Act for the eighth day of September.

"(*b.*) Notice of the holding of a revision court may be given by the chairman or revising barrister to the clerk of the peace at any time not less than five days before the holding of the court, and shall be published and posted by the clerk of the peace forthwith.

"(*c.*) The book or books constituting the register of voters for every county and borough shall be signed and delivered to the sheriff or returning officer not later than the seventh day of November.

"Such register shall commence and come into force on the seventh day of November, or if this present Parliament is not then dissolved, then on the day of such dissolution, and shall be the register of voters in force between the day on which it commences and the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

"(*d.*) In sections seventy-five and seventy-six of the Act of the session of the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of Her present Majesty, chapter sixty-nine, relating to appeals from chairmen or revising barristers, 'the Michaelmas sittings of the High Court of Justice in Ireland' shall be substituted for 'the Michaelmas term,' and forthwith after the fourth day of the Michaelmas sittings, a court or courts shall sit for the purpose of hearing such appeals, and those appeals shall be heard and determined continuously and without delay, and any statement by the chairman or revising barrister for the purpose of any such appeal made in pursuance of section fifty-eight of the said Act may be made at any time within ten days after the conclusion of the revision, so that it be made not less than four days before the first day of the said Michaelmas sittings, and the statement need not be read in open court, but shall be submitted to the appellant, who shall sign the same as directed by the said section, and return the same to the chairman or revising barrister,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. CALLAN moved, as an Amendment, that 10 days' notice be given of the holding of a Revision Court, instead of five days, as mentioned in the Bill. This would be necessary in order that the people should have full notice of the holding of the Court.

Amendment proposed, in sub-section (b.), line 3, by leaving out the word "five," and inserting the words "ten clear,"—(*Mr. Callan,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'five' stand part of the said Amendment."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) thought five days was sufficient.

MR. LEAMY supported the proposal of the hon. Member for Louth. The Irish Members were in the habit of holding a great many meetings in Ireland; but no meeting was ever held unless a Sunday intervened between the notice of the meeting and the holding of it, so that the people might see the notice of it posted on the church doors on the Sunday. He thought that the information of the holding of the Court would not reach the people unless, as he said, a Sunday intervened; and he hoped, therefore, that the Amendment would be accepted.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses E and F:—

(Definitions.)

"For the purposes of this part of this Act—

"The expression 'present year' means the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

"The expression 'parliamentary county' means a county returning a member or members to serve in Parliament, and where a county is divided for the purpose of such return means a division of such county.

(41 & 42 Vict. c. 26.)

"Other expressions in this part of this Act have, unless the context otherwise requires, the same meaning as in the Acts relating to the registration of parliamentary voters.

(Temporary repeal of inconsistent provisions.)

"All provisions of any Act of Parliament inconsistent with the provisions of this part of this Act shall not apply to the lists or register of voters to be made in the present year; but, save as aforesaid, all the provisions of the Acts relating to the registration of parliamentary voters shall remain in full force,"

—the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 15, line 42, leave out ("district"); line 43, leave out ("Westminster | Three").

Page 16, line 25, leave out ("Liberty of the Rolls").

After line 61, insert—

St. George, Hanover Square	Middlesex	One	Parish of St. George, Hanover Square.

Page 17, after line 5, insert—

Strand .	Middlesex	One	Strand District, parish of St. James, Westminster, and parish of St. Martin-in-the Fields.

After line 11, insert—

Westminster .	Middlesex	One	Westminster District, Close of Collegiate Church of St. Peter.

Page 18, line 44, after ("and") insert ("including"),

—the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 23, after line 18, insert the words—

"Hawick District	The present district, and the municipal burgh of Jedburgh,"

the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was afraid he must trouble the House by asking it to disagree with this Amendment, for reasons which he would be able to state very briefly, though they were very weighty. The Amendment was a very exceptional one. Other Amendments related to names and technicalities; but this one touched the very substance of the Bill. It proposed to take out of the county a town—he did not say for the purpose, but with the effect, of altering the political balance in that county. Even in the House of Peers, he was informed, the proposal caused such compunction among Members of the Conservative Party that there was a poor division as compared with the full strength of that Party. What were the facts of the case? The groups of the Haddington Burghs and the Wigtown Burghs, which contained no less than nine burghs, had been merged in the counties, with the exception of one burgh out of the nine, and that not the largest or the second largest of these burghs, which it was proposed to place in a group of existing burghs. It was very necessary to prove that this was done in obedience to some principle, and he thought it was quite impossible to prove that the principle of the Bill was to remove from the list of burghs every town under 15,000 inhabitants. Here it was proposed to insert in a list of burghs a town of only 3,000 inhabitants, when such towns as Banbury and Kendal, with populations of from 14,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, were merged in counties. He said it was a proposal that the House ought not to accept. To take a town of 3,400 inhabitants out of a county and put it into a list of burghs—was that consistent with the understanding?—and here he did not refer to any private agreement, but to a public understanding between the two Parties in that House. What he was now saying was very much in the memory of the House. His right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate introduced a great number of important Amendments, some of which were voted upon and actually carried. The Leaders of the Party opposite protested in private, and the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) protested in the House. These Amendments were accordingly dropped, and those which had already been carried were withdrawn, very much to the regret of several Scottish Members, and to the regret of no one more than the hon. Member for Roxburgh, whose constituency was now being tampered with. Among these Amendments there were many proposals to merge small boroughs in the counties. This was supposed to be an advantage to the Liberal Party. It was opposed by the Conservative Party, but was none the less carried. It was proposed to put the Inverness district in Schedule A in order to merge Fortrose in Ross, and this was carried by 46 votes. It was proposed to place the Hawick Burghs in Schedule A, in order to put Jedburgh in Hawick group of burghs. This, after long debate,

was lost by 73 votes. Yet when they had spontaneously abandoned the proposal which told in favour of their views, and which was carried in the House of Commons by a large majority, they were asked to accept a proposal which told against their views, and which was thrown out in the House of Commons by a majority nearly twice as large. When the Lord Advocate drafted his proposals with regard to the Scottish burghs it was quite understood on the Liberal side of the House that all proposals emanating from the other side of the House were dropped likewise. He did not charge anyone with bad faith. All he did say was, that when that turned out not to be the case they were very much surprised. There was only one point to which he wished to call the attention of the House. It was an important one. He thought the Liberals of the Border Burghs had been very ill-used in this particular. [*A laugh.*] The hon. Member would agree with him that, if they had not been ill-used, they had behaved very well. Galashiels had a population of 14,000 or 15,000 inhabitants within the municipal boundary; but the Parliamentary boundary only contained 12,000 inhabitants. Those 2,000 inhabitants or more who were outside the Parliamentary boundary were very strong Liberals. What was the course that the Liberal Association of Galashiels took? Of their own accord, because they thought it just to the Conservative Party, and to the burgh of Galashiels, they applied to the Government to send down a Redistribution Commissioner in order that on their application 2,000 of the population should be taken out of the county where they would tell for the Liberal Party, and put into the burgh, where they would not tell at all for the Liberal Party. The Conservative agent declared he had pleasure in expressing his acquiescence in what had been done, and that everyone would approve of the position taken up by the Liberal Association, who had thrown up Party interest and looked at the matter in a broad light. Now, he would put it whether it was a proper return to such honourable conduct that at the eleventh hour, in an Amendment superinduced on the Bill, they should bring forward a proposal which the Liberals of the burghs regarded as most inequitable? The people concerned did not wish it. The noble Lord who moved tht Amendment in the House of Lords said that the burgh of Jedburgh did not wish it, but that the county did. That he utterly denied, and his hon. Friend who had been sent to speak for the county utterly denied and the people entirely reprobated it. The proposal was to cut out of Roxburgh the county town, which was the natural centre of the county life, the market town, the town where one of the principal newspapers was published, the county town in every sense of the word. It was proposed to mix that town up with towns with which it had little or nothing in common. The Border Burghs consisted entirely of ancient towns and villages, which had become considerable manufacturing towns quite recently, and the population of which was increasing very rapidly. But Jedburgh was a rural town, which had in it only one or two manufactories, which was not a commercial town in any sense, and in which the population was very much the same as it was 10 years ago. Nor was it on account of any discrepancy of numbers between the county and the town. If the county contained a very large population and the burghs a very small population, then there would be something to say for this proposal; but the burghs at this moment contained 40,000 inhabitants, whereas the county, including Jedburgh, only contained 37,000, and therefore on no question of population, and with no public need to serve, it was proposed to take 3,000 people out of the county, which wanted to keep them, and put them into a group of burghs with a large population, which did not want to have them. They did not require in Scotland to redress any balance between the town and county populations. In Scotland, in general, every burgh Member had a larger population attached to him than the county Members. For his own part, he had no interest in the matter. He should be very proud to represent the population of Jedburgh; but he did not wish to represent them at the expense of the interests and the feelings of the county to which they naturally belonged. This Bill as it had come back to the House of Commons contained one proposition only relating to Scotland which showed signs of having been introduced on other than on public and national grounds. It was

a proposal that did not square with anything else in the Scottish representation; and he thought he had shown excellent reasons why the House of Commons should—agreeing with a decision of its own carried by nearly 80 voices—overset a decision of the House of Lords in which only 66 Contents could be found against 53 Not-Contents. He believed he had put the case with sufficient clearness, and he trusted it would commend itself to the judgment of the House. He moved that the House disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. DALRYMPLE said that, as he had moved the Amendment in Committee of this House, he might be allowed a few words. He was much astonished at the statement of his right hon. Friend that because proposals made by the Lord Advocate were found to be inconsistent with the agreement between the heads of Parties, therefore Amendments on the Paper from that side of the House ought not to have been moved. No such statement had been made, at all events while the Bill was in Committee. He therefore dissented from that statement, because there was no agreement about Amendments, and the Amendments were moved in due course. His Amendment was defeated on a division; but no such contention as that suggested by his right hon. Friend had ever been started. The House would imagine from what his right hon. Friend had said that this had been a proposal to take a town out of a county where it had always been in the Parliamentary sense, whereas the truth was that Jedburgh had been a Parliamentary burgh for 200 years. It was one of the Haddington group, and though it was no doubt part of the Government Bill that that group should be destroyed, their contention was that the case of Jedburgh was quite exceptional, and that Jedburgh should not be flung into a rural constituency, as it had nothing in common with a rural constituency. His right hon. Friend had said something about the character of the place. The character of the place was simply this—that the main occupations of Jedburgh were exactly the same as those of the Border Burghs; and he was told that there were not 20 persons in Jedburgh connected with agricultural pursuits. The right hon. Gentleman's argument, therefore, as to the towns remaining in the county had very little support. It was with considerable surprise that he found himself with an opportunity of saying a few more words on this subject, for he knew nothing whatever of the reasons why this particular Amendment—[*Laughter*]—he did not know what the laughter meant; but what he had to say was that he knew nothing of the circumstances which led to the selection of this burgh for special notice elsewhere. He thought the explanation was that it differed from the other Amendments by which they on his side of the House had endeavoured to add towns in counties to presently existing groups of burghs, where they had not been Parliamentary burghs before; whereas in this case the burgh was already one of a group of burghs. But it was certain that this was a life and death question with the Party opposite. He would tell Gentlemen opposite why he said it was a life and death question with them, because it was the subject of a four-line Whip. It was a question of life and death judging by the number of lines; but he thought it was rather hard upon Jedburgh, where it was so important that it should only have had four lines. The feeling opposite was very strong indeed. He imagined that the Party opposite would have staked its political existence on the subject if it had had any political existence to stake. But the point selected for this life and death struggle was one with regard to which the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill said that he sympathized with the view entertained on this side of the House. He could not say that the Chancellor of the Duchy had added any further reasons; but he would add a word as to expressions of opinion from that locality. He had had no communication with the locality until Saturday, when he received three Petitions on the subject. Two of them were from the associations in the county, but the third was from the burgh of Jedburgh itself, and was signed by 300 male persons, which was a remarkable fact when it was remembered that Jedburgh only had 390 voters in it. That was probably, therefore, a very large

proportion of the constituency of Jedburgh. They were told recently that the good ship of Reform was about to come to port. He thought it would be a good thing if the ship were to come into port, but not flying false colours. ["Oh!" *and cries of* "Divide!"] He would explain what he meant. It had been part of the instructions to the Boundary Commissioners that they should, as far as possible, separate urban and rural constituencies; it had further been stated by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government that these elements should, as far as possible, be kept distinct; and the proposal before the House was dead in the teeth of this view, and of the declaration of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) that the great object in view was that the country should be represented. It could hardly be in irony that this expression had been used, and yet it was the country parts of counties that would be unrepresented if the urban element overwhelmed them. Here a considerable urban population was flung into the midst of the rural population, dominating and inundating the political population of the county. He would only conclude by saying that he, for one, was not at all anxious to ask the House to go to a division on this subject. He held that, so far as this House was concerned, its decision was taken on a former occasion; and it was for the other House of Parliament to do what they thought right in the matter. He once more protested in regard to the arrangements for Scotland that there was a most unfair re-arrangement in regard to the disparity of population between counties and burghs. He entirely disagreed with the statement of his hon. Friend that the burgh Members represented in many cases greater populations than county Members. It was quite otherwise in regard to many counties. It was not, however, in this case, in regard to numbers, but because an urban population was being flung into the midst of a rural constituency, that he had once more objected to the proposal before the House.

MR. CRAIG SELLAR, who rose amid loud cries of "Divide," said, he would not detain the House; but there was still a Representative of the burgh of Jedburgh, and he hoped he might be allowed to add his voice to that of his right hon. Friend, and to express the hope that the House would disagree with this Amendment. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] He would confine himself to a single point which had been alluded to by his hon. Friend who had just spoken—namely, that with regard to the expression of opinion in the locality. When the news arrived on Wednesday that the change had been made in the House of Lords, and that Jedburgh had been taken out of the county and thrown into the Border Burghs, the surprise was greater than he could express. Immediately a public meeting was called in the old-fashioned way—by tuck of drum — and that evening a large meeting assembled in the hall, and a motion was put to the meeting, and the whole gathering, except eight, voted in favour of disagreeing with the Lords' Amendment. A Petition was sent to him which he had presented to this House to-day, and he had got another Petition, not from that meeting, but signed by 70 per cent of the electors of Jedburgh, begging the House not to agree to this Amendment. That, he thought, was a sufficient answer to the Petition, which was said by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dalrymple) to have been signed by 300 male inhabitants of the borough. In the face of the facts, he thought it would not be possible for the House to agree to this Amendment.

MR. LEWIS said, that one of the points raised in connection with the Bill was that every burgh of under 15,000 inhabitants should be disfranchised. He thought the case was not so indefensible as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) seemed to believe. If anyone had broken the principle of the Bill it was the Government, who had done so in the cases of Pembroke and Warwick, and of these flagrant exceptions no explanation had been given. He should certainly vote in favour of the Bill as now drawn.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Page 28, column 1, line 14, after ("Staple Inn") insert ("and"); column 1, lines 15 and 16, leave out ("and Liberty of the Rolls").

Page 35, column 2, line 24, leave out ("detached"); column 2, line 25, after ("entirely") insert ("or nearly").

Page 38, leave out lines 1 to 11, both inclusive.

Page 42, line 26, leave out ("Donnybrook") and insert ("Saint Stephen's Green").

Page 50, line 34, leave out ("South-Eastern") and insert ("Ilkeston"),

—the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 51, line 20, leave out the word "Crediton," and insert the words "South Molton," the next Amendment, read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Johnson.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he had a strong feeling that the name originally selected by the Boundary Commissioners was the right one, and he could not understand why it was departed from.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the Boundary Commissioners probably would not have chosen South Molton if they had anticipated it was to be preceded by the words "Northern or," which did not sound well with South Molton.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 52; Noes 87: Majority 35.—(Div. List, No. 203.)

Page 53, line 27, leave out ("and") and insert ("including").

Page 55, line 29, after ("Caerphilly Lower") insert ("including the whole of the parish of Eglwysilan").

Page 56, line 8, column 3, after ("Kibbor") insert ("except any part of the parish of Eglwysilan").

Page 64, line 25, leave out ("Hindley") and insert ("Ince").

Page 66, line 10, after ("Hawerby") insert ("-cum-Beesby").

Page 67, line 26, after ("Kensington") insert ("St. George, Hanover Square, Strand").

Page 75, line 8, after ("Okeover") insert ("Prestwood"); line 16, after ("Stafford") insert ("including the whole of the parish of Gnosall"); lines 17 and 18, leave out ("including the whole parish of Gnosall").

Page 76, line 1, leave out ("South-Eastern") and insert ("Handsworth"); line 11, leave out ("Lowestoft") and insert ("Mutford and Lothingland"); line 38, after ("Hadleigh") insert ("or Cosford").

Page 78, line 7, after ("parliamentary") insert ("borough of Deptford and the area of the Parliamentary"); line 8, leave out ("Deptford"),

—the next Amendments, *agreed to.*

Page 84, line 29, leave out "Batley," and insert "Morley," the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON, in moving that the House disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment, said, the question had been fully discussed in the House, and he did not propose to repeat arguments that had been heard already. He would simply say that his Motion in favour of Batley was carried by a majority of 17. The majority in favour of Morley in the House of Lords was only three, and he thought this was a case in which the opinion of the House of Commons ought to prevail.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon.*)

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM said, that, although the majority on the second occasion in favour of Batley was 17, yet it was a small House, and the majority contained no fewer than 23 of the extreme Irish Party; while of 4 county and 10 borough Yorkshire Members present, all the county and 6 of the borough Members voted in favour of Morley.

MR. WADDY said, that four-fifths of Batley was in the borough of Dewsbury, and what was now wanted by his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon) was that the new constituency should be named after a small corner of Batley, four-fifths of which was already represented by himself.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he hoped the House would not discuss this question over again. On the whole, he sided with his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Serjeant Simon) in favour of Batley; but he must say that the majority of the Government voted for Morley. The question had been carried both ways in that House, and not by a very large majority; and in the House of Lords Morley was only carried by 21 to 18.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 36; Noes 86: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 204.)

Page 85, line 38, after ("Owston") insert ("Skellow"),—the next Amendment, *agreed to*.

Page 86, line 39, leave out the words "Spen Valley," and insert the word "Birstall," the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. ILLINGWORTH, in moving to disagree with the Lords' Amendment, said, that in that House they had already had two debates and three divisions on the point, with the result that the name of Spen Valley was confirmed. In the Lords, the change was made at the end of the discussions on the Bill after a very short debate. This district comprised six towns, and in point of population Birstall was only the fifth. Spen Valley was a well-known area. The name had been adopted by the Local Government Board for the whole district for sanitary purposes. It had been said that this was a matter of sentiment; but sentiment ought to be respected. The Spen was not a large stream; but it was a very important one, running through the very centre of the district, and on it were a large number of very important works. On the other hand, Birstall was a small place, at the extreme north-east corner of the constituency. There could be no case made out why a name covering the whole area should be given up for the name of a small town. This was a Party move on the part of the other House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with The Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. E. STANHOPE protested against the language of the hon. Gentleman. He had had occasion to look into this subject, and he found that the feeling in the district was very strong indeed in favour of Birstall. It was a name thoroughly well known in the district, while, on the other hand, nothing could be stronger than the statement of Lord Cranbrook, who told the House of Lords that he had known the district intimately all his life, and had never heard of the Spen Valley.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, according to whether a man knew one part of a district or not, so he thought one or other of these names was the better. The Government had received a Memorial in favour of Spen Valley, from the Local Boards of Heckmondwike, Liversedge, and Cleckheaton, with a population of over 32,000, forming by far the greater portion of the inhabitants of the district. It was quite true that the name of Spen Valley was very little known. It was a name which was invented a few years ago by the Local Government Board. This was one of those questions where local jealousies interfered between town and town; and Birstall, which was a small place, was unpopular among the larger places, and therefore they had united on the name of Spen Valley. While he should not expect all his Colleagues to vote with him, he himself would support Spen Valley.

COLONEL GUNTER said, he trusted that the House would agree to the Lords' Amendment, not only because it was agreed to there, but also because it was the name given by the Boundary Commissioners, and was the best known in the whole of Yorkshire. Out of a population of 54,000, the whole civil parish of Birstall contained 51,000.

MR. BARRAN said, that nearly the whole of the population were in the civil parish of Birstall, and no district was better known in Yorkshire. He should regret very much if Birstall did not retain the name.

MR. JACKSON said, that there never had been the slightest reason shown why the name of Birstall should not be adopted.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 65; Noes 46: Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 205.)

Page 88, line 26, leave out ("Kirkpatrick Juxta").

Page 90, line 28, after ("Kilbride") insert ("and so much of the parish of Kirkpatrick juxta as may be in the county of Lanark"); line 36, leave out ("so much") and insert the detached ("portion").

Page 91, line 1, leave out ("as") and insert ("which").

Page 103, lines 11 and 12, leave out ("North Liberties").

Page 110, line 3, leave out ("Kilculliheen"); line 28, after ("Dysart") insert ("except the townlands of Ballyote, Slanebeg, and Slanemore"),—the concluding Amendments, *agreed to*.

Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing to two of the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed;"—Sir CHARLES DILKE, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, The LORD ADVOCATE, Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR, and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND:—To withdraw immediately:—Three to be the quorum.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

Reasons for disagreeing to The Lords Amendments *reported*, and *agreed to*.

To be communicated to The Lords.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I ask the indulgence of the House one minute in order to express a wish that the adjournment of the House will not be agreed to until one other item of Business, which will probably take only five or ten minutes, has been disposed of. The Business of to-night has been of an unusual character. All the Business has been postponed except the Seats Bill and the Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill. The item I propose to proceed with is germane to the Seats Bill—almost a part of it, and it is a matter which thousands in this country look upon as very important. What I propose is that the remaining Orders be run through until we come to the Motion for what is practically the first reading of the Bill, which provides that no person shall be disqualified from voting at Parliamentary elections by the receipt of medical relief for himself or for his family. If it is the will of the House that this Bill should be proceeded with, it will only take about 10 minutes; and, seeing the shortness of the time at our disposal, it is of importance that the Bill should be introduced at once. The first reading is a stage of the Bill that does not usually raise contentious matter, and no harm could be done by agreeing to my proposal.

MR. BROADHURST said, he would add his earnest appeal to that of the hon. Member for Ipswich. Since the decision in regard to medical relief was agreed to, evidence had come to hand from all parts of the country showing that the measure of enfranchisement which both Houses had passed would in many cases be a perfect mockery unless this disqualification were removed. He hoped the House would not refuse a request which was intended to do justice to a vast body of the electorate.

MR. BIGGAR said, he originally supported the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey), as there was something real about it; but this resuscitation of the question was made for the purpose of getting up an electioneering cry. It was perfectly impossible to pass the Bill through the House of Lords this Session. Hon. Gentlemen could not seriously expect to pass the Bill.

MR. WARTON was of opinion that the Bill could not be considered by the House, as the subject of it had already been disposed of.

MR. R. T. REID repudiated the charge of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that this was an electioneering trick, though, no doubt, the hon. Member knew as much about tricks as anybody. If Radical Members had simply an electioneering object in view, they would allow the grievance to remain unredressed, for the grievance would be much more beneficial than the remedy. It would be a cruel thing, seeing the period of the Session, to refuse to allow the first stage of the Bill to be taken, especially as he had reason to believe that the coming Conservative Administration would not oppose it.

MR. KENNY said, he thought that the subject ought not to be introduced at the present time.

MR. PICTON pointed out that, as to the idea that it was sought to introduce this Bill for the purpose of an electioneering cry, the best electioneering cry the most advanced Liberal could have was that the House had refused to take any trouble to pass a measure of justice such as this was. By passing the measure they were rather depriving themselves of an electioneering cry. On behalf of the most helpless portion of the community, he supported the request of the hon. Member for Ipswich.

MR. CALLAN said, he also should support the proposal. He regretted that the Attorney General and other Members of the Government were not present to explain the course they took on a former occasion.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR said, he was glad one Irish Member had risen to sup-

port the proposal. They were all agreed that medical relief in Ireland should not be a disqualification; and it was astonishing that two Irish Members could be found to prevent the same privilege being applied to the rest of the country. From one point of view, he was very anxious about this. It was possible—he hoped it was not probable—we should have a visitation of cholera; for we saw cholera coming over different parts of Europe at the present moment. Now, the most important measure to prevent the spread of cholera was immediate isolation in a public or parish hospital of infected patients, and we ought to offer the greatest facilities for producing that isolation in the case of any epidemic visiting this country. But if medical relief were to be a disqualification, one of our greatest sanitary measures would be rendered inoperative. He was sure the other side would not have made this alteration in the House of Lords had they known it to be of the importance it was. What his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) asked the House was not to decide upon the merits of the Bill, but that he should have permission to introduce it, in order that in the limited time of the Session they might have a chance, if what had been done was considered a mistake, of rectifying it.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 32; Noes 55: Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 206.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE explained that, under the circumstances, it was, of course, not the intention of the Government to take any Government Orders that night, and he appealed to private Members not to take their Orders. The Government had, of course, no power to prevent private Members from taking their Orders; but the only effect of taking any of the Orders would be to keep the House sitting to a late hour, without producing any good result.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson.*)

[BILL 26.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. PELL, in moving that the Speaker leave the Chair, said, he only asked it to do so formally, although the Bill was quite as important, if not more so, than the one relating to disfranchisement through medical relief, which the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. J. Collings) was so anxious to push through the House. It was one in which small holders, who were among the most provident people in the country, were interested.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Pell.*)

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he hoped the Bill would not be proceeded with, as it would be impossible to adequately discuss its merits on this occasion. If this Bill, which was a very good one, was proceeded with, he thought it was likely that the reasons of its interposition would be taken to be a desire to prevent the bringing on of the Bill for which the House had consented to go through the Orders. He hoped there would be no attempt by any side wind to upset the conclusion to which the House had so recently come.

MR. WARTON protested against this attempt of hon. Members opposite to set aside the understanding which had been entered into early that evening, that no Business except the Redistribution Bill and the Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill should be proceeded with. The Government had, by their statement, induced the majority of the House to leave, and had now failed to secure the adjournment of the House. He accused the Radical Members of a want of honesty and fair play in their endeavour to force a Bill upon the House in the face of the understanding between the two Front Benches. Sharp practice did not pay in the long run.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDERS OF THE DAY.

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the remaining Orders of the Day

be deferred till Friday."—(*Mr. Rowley Hill.*)

MR. CALLAN said, he should oppose the Motion. He proposed to take a stage of the Irish Borough Funds Bill, which stood in the name of the hon. Member for Carlow, and was a Bill of great importance.

MR. KENNY said, he was also opposed to the Motion. The Irish Turbary Bill was down on the Paper, and was an extremely just and equitable one.

MR. BIGGAR said, that when this question of enfranchising those who obtained medical relief which hon. Members were driving at in an irregular fashion came properly before the House he would vote for it. He opposed the present Motion on the ground that the Irish Turbary Bill, which was down on the Paper, ought to be considered.

MR. BROADHURST pointed out that when the appeal was made to the House not to adjourn, the sole objection was to permit the introduction of the Medical Relief Bill. He, therefore, hoped his hon. Friend would not press his Motion.

MR. SAMPSON LLOYD pointed out that many hon. Gentlemen were interested in other Bills which stood on the Paper. He thought the simplest course would be to allow all the Orders of the Day to be run through, as this would be better than to stop at a particular measure.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that after the speech of the hon. Member for South Warwickshire (Mr. Sampson Lloyd), it seemed hopeless for him (Mr. Jesse Collings) to attempt to get the Medical Relief Bill introduced to-night. The hon. Member had contended for the right to deal with certain Bills. That was not in the mind of the House when it agreed to continue the Sitting. He could not hope to take the first stage of his measure to-night without keeping hon. Members for such a length of time as he did not like to propose. He regretted the course the hon. Member had taken, and he left the responsibility with him. He understood that after the House went into Committee *pro formâ* on the Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill, nothing would stand in the way of the Medical Relief Bill. He was afraid that the bottom of the Opposition was an unwillingness to allow the object which the House wanted carried out to be accomplished. Therefore, if the hon. Member for Worcester (Mr. Rowley Hill) went to a division, he should vote with him.

MR. SAMPSON LLOYD repudiated the imputation that he wished to delay the question of Medical Relief. Nothing was further from his intention. All he asked was that if for the convenience of some hon. Members they proceeded with certain Orders they might also proceed with other Orders in which other hon. Members were interested.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir Henry Fletcher.*)

MR. BIGGAR thought it was idle for hon. Members opposite below the Gangway to attempt to make the public suppose that they could introduce a Bill on the 15th of June, and pass it into law during the present Session. There were no fewer than 42 Bills on the Orders for to-night, many of which were of far greater importance than this.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, they were in the midst of what was known as a Ministerial crisis. There was no responsible Minister of the Crown present in the House, and the well-understood practice of the House for generations had been that no legislative action of any kind should take place when there was no responsible Minister of the Crown ready to undertake the responsibility of advising the acceptance or rejection of these measures. Special exception had been made in favour of a measure passed in both Houses, and which would shortly receive the Royal Assent, and the House had also decided to allow a Bill to be introduced closely connected with that measure. An exception had further been made with regard to the closing stages of the Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill. He would submit that it would not be wise, in the absence of a Ministry, and in the absence of a large number of Members on both sides of the House, to attempt to snap a division on any of the Orders of the Day on the Paper, and that it was due to the House and the country that they should on that occasion follow well-understood precedents, and adjourn the proceedings of the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he entirely concurred with what had

fallen from the hon. Member, that it was in accordance with all practice in a Ministerial crisis that the House should merely meet from day to day to know when it might expect that crisis to terminate; and that it was most unusual and unprecedented for Business of a controversial character to be taken. To-night they had had a large number of Orders of the Day, the accumulation of former days, and it was perfectly understood, when the Motion was made for the adjournment of the House to-day, that it was that a further adjournment might be made, that a day might be fixed in order to take the necessary steps to establish regular order in their proceedings. Two exceptions, however, had been made by the House at the suggestion of the present Government. One was to finish, so far as lay in their power, the proceedings on the Redistribution of Seats Bill, and the other was to finish the Bill with regard to Princess Beatrice's Annuity. Both of these were treated exceptionally, and they were informed by the right hon. Gentleman still at the head of the Government, who, although only holding Office till his Successor was appointed, still had the responsibility of the actual events of the day, that as soon as the fifth Order had been passed—namely, that of the Princess Beatrice Annuity Bill, the Motion would be made that the House would adjourn. That Motion was made; but he was certainly surprised that no steps appeared to have been taken to keep hon. Members present. However, they must not be too critical at a time like this. It was unfortunate, and had led to some confusion; but he believed they were now in this position—that all the Government Orders had been postponed, and other days fixed for them. One or two Orders for Bills of independent Members had been proceeded with, and he believed his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had obtained a stage on his Bill. It was obvious that something might be done all through the remaining Orders; but he did think it would be considered hardly fair, and hardly in accordance with practice, that those Bills so put down should be taken. The case of the Motion of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) was treated as a peculiar one; and although the Government, and he with them, divided in favour of the adjournment of the House, yet, now that the division had been carried against them on it, he certainly did not desire to throw any impediment in the way of that Motion being made; but he thought it would be extremely inconvenient for the House if they were to proceed with all those Bills, most of which were met with Notices of opposition, and none of which were expected to be taken on a Monday, which was a Government night. He thought it would be unfair if advantage were taken of accidental circumstances. He hoped, therefore, the House would agree to the postponement of all these Orders till Friday, and that the hon. Member for Ipswich would be permitted to bring forward his Motion.

DR. CAMERON remarked, that it was one of the inconveniences of having no responsible Government that no responsible Minister thought it necessary to stay in the House while the dinner hour was on.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 75; Noes 7: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 207.)

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (MEDICAL RELIEF) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS moved for leave to bring in a Bill to provide that no person shall be disqualified from voting at Parliamentary Elections by the receipt of Medical Relief for himself or for his family.

MR. WARTON rose to Order. He wished to know whether it was in Order that a Bill should be introduced dealing with a question which had already been several times discussed and decided by the House on another measure? Both in Committee, on the Report stage, and on the Lords' Amendments, the question raised by this Bill had been before the House. If this practice was adopted there would be no end to the proceedings of the House. Three times had this very question been discussed—once upon the Committee stage, again upon the Report, and now as an Amendment of the House of Lords.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL maintained that, until the Bill was in the hands of Members, no such point of Order could be raised.

MR. SPEAKER said, that he could not give a decision upon that point without seeing the Bill. If the Bill was substantially the same as a Bill upon which the House had come to a decision, it would be out of Order; but if it referred to a clause in a Bill which had been decided in different ways at different times, then he was clearly of opinion that it would not be irregular.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill to provide that no person shall be disqualified from voting at Parliamentary Elections by the receipt of Medical Relief for himself or for his family, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JESSE COLLINGS, Mr. DAVEY, Mr. BURT, Mr. BROADHURST, Mr. HENEAGE, Mr. REID, Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL, Mr. CARBUTT, and Mr. AGNEW.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 206.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1867, PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order relating to the Village of Renton, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND.

House adjourned at a quarter before Ten o'clock till Friday.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 16*th June*, 1885.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

Returned from the Commons with several of the amendments *agreed to*, and some *disagreed to*, with Reasons for such disagreement: The said Reasons to be *printed;* and to be considered on *Friday* next. (No. 135.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Three o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 17*th June*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Princess Beatrice's Annuity * (138).

PRINCESS BEATRICE'S ANNUITY BILL.

Read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Friday* next; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with (*The Earl Granville.*) (No. 138.)

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 18*th June*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 19*th June*, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * (141); Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * (142); Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * (143); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * (144); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (145); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (146); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (147); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (149); Archdeaconries * (150).

Second Reading — Committee negatived — Third Reading—Princess Beatrice's Annuity (138), and *passed.*

Committee—Report—Burial Boards (Contested Elections) * (105).

Third Reading—Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (108), and *passed.*

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—STATEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise merely to ask the noble Earl opposite whether he will consent to another adjournment of the House until Tuesday? The communications which have been going on have not yet reached a position which will

enable either side of the House to make a statement; and it will be more convenient, therefore, in my opinion, and also probably in that of the noble Earl opposite, as well as for the interest of Public Business, that we should adjourn until Tuesday. I wish to make just one observation with regard to an important Order upon the Paper. I am quite aware of the importance, as a matter of general Business, of getting the Redistribution Bill passed as soon as possible, so as to enable the Local Authorities to do their work; but a very serious Constitutional question has unfortunately arisen. It turns out—and we have taken good opinion upon the point—that the Redistribution Bill, when it passes, absolutely takes away from this time until November next the power of Dissolution. It destroys one set of constituencies, and——

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg the pardon of the noble Marquess. Does he propose to make his statement on the Motion for the Adjournment, or on the Order for the consideration of the Bill?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My proposal was to take the Motion for Adjournment before the Orders of the Day; but if the noble Earl proposes to go through the Orders of the Day first, I shall offer no objection to that course being adopted. I, however, think that it would be an inconvenient one. What I was about to say with regard to the Redistribution Bill was that that was the effect of it. It destroys one set of Registers——

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I rise to Order. It is against the Rules of the House to discuss one Order when the House is considering another question. I therefore object to the noble Marquess making a statement at the present moment. [*Cries of* "Divide!"]

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am aware that these observations before half-past 4 o'clock are never technically in Order at all; but if the noble Earl objects, of course I will not proceed.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I think it will be more convenient to wait until the Order is reached.

PRINCESS BEATRICE'S ANNUITY BILL.

(*The Earl Granville.*)

(NO. 138.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

EARL GRANVILLE: After the reception which your Lordships gave to the observations made on this subject the other day by the noble Marquess and by myself, it does not require any words of mine to commend this Bill to your Lordships, and I therefore move the second reading of the Bill. I think your Lordships will be of opinion that this is a Bill with regard to which the Standing Orders should be suspended.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee *negatived:* Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with:* Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

HONORARY FREEDOM OF BOROUGHS BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENT.

Commons Amendment *considered* (according to order).

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON moved that the Commons' Amendment to this Bill, by which Corporations were allowed to grant the freedom of their boroughs by a bare majority, be agreed to.

Moved, "To agree to the said Amendment."—(*The Marquess of Ripon.*)

EARL BEAUCHAMP objected to the Amendment. The Bill originally required a two-thirds majority, and he moved that the Amendment be not agreed to.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, he regarded the point as a small one. He would not give the House the trouble of dividing.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

A Committee appointed to prepare a reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said amendment: The Committee to meet *forthwith:* Report from the Committee of the reason prepared by them; read, and *agreed to;* and Bill returned to the Commons with a reason.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

Order of the Day for considering the Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords amendments, read.

Moved, "That the House do now take the said reasons into consideration."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I must renew the grounds of the objection which I stated a short time ago. The Bill, by its structure, legally prevents any Dissolution taking place between the time of its passing and November next. I will not argue as to the fact; I believe that it is undoubted. I will not enter upon the expediency. That is a question which I do not wish now to discuss; but the point I wish to impress upon your Lordships is that it is a very singular and unusual event in our history. Except in the time of the Long Parliament, the Sovereign has never before been deprived of the power of Dissolution, and I think that such a state of things ought not to exist unless there is a responsible Government in power at the time. I think a Bill having such an effect should not be passed without a responsible Government. What a responsible Government, whether on that side of the House or this, may decide on the matter, I do not wish to anticipate; but we have no right to make so large a Constitutional innovation when no responsible Government is in power. I, therefore, move that the consideration of the Commons' reasons for disagreeing with the Lords' Amendments to this Bill be postponed until Tuesday.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("on Tuesday next.")—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: So far as this side of the House is concerned, I feel bound to say that it was thought probable that some objections of this kind would be raised. The noble Marquess is well aware, of course, that the clause in debate—the clause as to the Dissolution—was introduced at his suggestion. It now appears that some technical objection is raised to the clause. It seems to me that if it is not the intention of any Party in this country—and I cannot conceive for a moment that it can be the intention anywhere—to lay aside this important Bill, there is no reason why the consideration of these Amendments should not be proceeded with forthwith. I would venture to ask your Lordships' attention to what took place in the other House, and I have a right to refer to what took place there, because their proceedings in regard to the Bill are formally before us. After the resignation of the Government took place, and when the Amendments came to be considered, the House decided, by an overwhelming majority of 333 to 35, I believe, that it should proceed with the Amendments. Now, my Lords, is it for this House, after such a declaration of opinion on the part of the House which is immediately concerned, to raise some technical objection of this kind, and refuse to pass this Bill into law to the great inconvenience of the whole country? My Lords, I do not wish that anything I say should be supposed for a moment to impute motives which I have no right to suppose exist; but how is it possible to avoid the belief that there may be some intention somewhere of tampering with this important Bill? If not, how can it be possible that the minds of noble Lords opposite should not be prepared to proceed, having before them this great majority in the other House? The present Government, which is still technically, though not in one sense a Government, are ready to proceed with these Amendments. I say it is impossible to understand what can be the object the noble Marquess has in this appeal. My Lords, can it be that it is contemplated that there should be a Dissolution of Parliament before the present Bill comes into effect? That may be technically possible; but I assert that the whole country is so bent upon this Bill passing into law, and upon there being no Dissolution and no Election until this Bill has passed into law, that no man could possibly hold Office in this country that would advise Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament except under this Bill. These are the undeniable facts, and I shall ask the House to proceed with the consideration of the Amendments, and I earnestly hope that the Amendments will be taken into consideration forthwith.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, he objected to the Amendments being proceeded with now. The House had been very much hurried with regard to the Amendments on this Bill. He himself had had two or three Amendments, in which great interest was felt by the people of the West Riding of York-

shire, and he had been precluded at a former stage from having those Amendments discussed, because of the noble Earl's statement that it was most important that the Bill should go down to the other House on that night. But what occurred? So far from the other House taking the Amendments into consideration on that night, the Bill was postponed till the following Monday. Notwithstanding the noble Earl's protests, therefore, the other House had proceeded with great deliberation, and had allowed an interval of two or three days before considering the Amendments. He held in his hand a telegram as to one of the local Amendments to which he had referred; but the noble Earl seemed to think that these local affairs were of no consequence. He begged to tell him that the localities felt deeply on the Amendments which had been hurried through in that House; and he, for one, should certainly support the Motion to postpone the Bill. The House should not be asked to hurry forward this measure when the other House had proceeded with such deliberation.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I wish only to say that the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) is quite mistaken—at least, according to our opinion—when he says that these Amendments, which are the cause of the difficulty, were made at my instigation. It is the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th clauses which, I believe, make the difficulty. I think the noble Earl has taken an unnecessarily heroic line on this subject. The whole question is a delay of three or four days. If your Lordships grant that delay there is a possibility that there will be a delay of four days in the Dissolution? Is the sky likely to fall if that should occur? I hope your Lordships will not succumb to the very tragic tone of the noble Earl, but will consent to my proposition.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I may have been mistaken as to the particular clauses which create the difficulty, and I, of course, do not impute any possible breach of engagement to the noble Marquess in the slightest degree. Still, I ask, why should there be a delay of four days? I understood the noble Earl who spoke just now (the Earl of Feversham) to complain that there had not been sufficient Notice of the Amendments in Committee on the Bill; but I think that the Notice was ample, as those Amendments have been before the House for several days. There has been as much Notice as there was in the other House. Therefore I do not understand why this matter is not to be proceeded with. The House can oppose the Commons' Amendments and give reasons for disagreement; or, if it does not insist on its own Amendments, the Bill will then pass through both Houses of Parliament; but I have not heard any reason given why we should adjourn the consideration of this Bill for four days, and I shall certainly divide the House upon the question.

On Question, That ("now") stand part of the Motion? Their Lordships *divided:* — Contents 56; Not-Contents 124: Majority 68.

CONTENTS.

Selborne, E. (*L. Chancellor.*)	Carrington, L. [*Teller.*]
	Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)
Devonshire, D.	Elgin, L. (*E. Elgin and Kincardine.*)
Marlborough, D.	
Somerset, D.	Emly, L.
	Ettrick, L. (*L. Napier.*)
Northampton, M.	FitzGerald, L.
Ripon, M.	Granard, L. (*E. Granard.*)
Camperdown, E.	Hammond, L.
Chichester, E.	Herries, L.
Derby, E.	Hothfield, L.
Granville, E.	Houghton, L.
Kimberley, E.	Kenmare, L. (*E. Kenmare.*)
Minto, E.	
Northbrook, E.	Leigh, L.
Shaftesbury, E.	Londesborough, L.
Sydney, E.	Lovat, L.
	Lyttelton, L.
Eversley, V.	Monk Bretton, L.
Gordon, V. (*E. Aberdeen.*)	Monson, L. [*Teller.*]
	Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Leinster, V. (*D. Leinster.*)	Mount-Temple, L.
Powerscourt, V.	Robartes, L.
Sherbrooke, V.	Rosebery, L. (*E. Rosebery.*)
Aberdare, L.	Strafford, L. (*V. Enfield.*)
Acton, L.	
Alcester, L.	Sudeley, L.
Belper, L.	Sudley, L. (*E. Arran.*)
Bramwell, L.	Tweeddale, L. (*M. Tweeddale.*)
Braye, L.	
Breadalbane, L. (*E. Breadalbane.*)	Tweedmouth, L.
	Wenlock, L.
Carlingford, L.	

NOT-CONTENTS.

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	Sutherland, D.
Grafton, D.	
Leeds, D.	Abergavenny, M.
Manchester, D	Bristol, M.

Bute, M.
Salisbury, M.

Annesley, E.
Ashburnham, E.
Bandon, E.
Beauchamp, E.
Belmore, E.
Brownlow, E.
Cairns, E.
Carnarvon, E.
Coventry, E.
Cowley, E.
Dartmouth, E.
Dartrey, E.
Eldon, E.
Feversham, E.
Hardwicke, E.
Harewood, E.
Harrowby, E.
Jersey, E.
Kilmorey, E.
Lathom, E. [*Teller.*]
Macclesfield, E.
Manvers, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Milltown, E.
Mount Edgcumbe, E.
Northesk, E.
Onslow, E.
Orkney, E.
Poulett, E.
Radnor, E.
Ravensworth, E.
Redesdale, E.
Rosse, E.
Stanhope, E.
Strange, E. (*D. Athole.*)
Strathmore and Kinghorn, E.
Vane, E. (*M. Londonderry.*)
Waldegrave, E.

Clancarty, V. (*E. Clancarty.*)
Cranbrook, V.
Gough, V.
Hardinge, V.
Hawarden, V. [*Teller.*]
Hutchinson, V. (*E. Donoughmore.*)
Sidmouth, V.
St. Vincent, V.

Chichester, L. Bp.
Gloucester and Bristol, L. Bp.

Amherst, L. (*V. Holmesdale.*)
Ashford, L. (*V. Bury.*)
Aveland, L.
Bagot, L.
Balfour of Burley, L.
Beaumont, L.
Blantyre, L.
Bolton, L.
Borthwick, L.
Boston, L.
Brabourne, L.
Castlemaine, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clifton, L. (*E. Darnley.*)
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Colchester, L.
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Crofton, L.
De Freyne, L.
de Ros, L.
Denman, L.
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Ellenborough, L.
Forester, L.
Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*)
Gage, L. (*V. Gage.*)
Gerard, L.
Gormanston, L. (*V. Gormanston.*)
Hartismere, L. (*L. Henniker.*)
Keane, L.
Ker, L. (*M. Lothian.*)
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Leconfield, L.
Lyveden, L.
Mostyn, L.
Napier, L.
Norton, L.
Oranmore and Browne, L.
Penrhyn, L.
Petre, L.
Raglan, L.
Ranfurly, L. (*E. Ranfurly.*)
Ross, L. (*E. Glasgow.*)
Rossmore, L.
Saltersford, L. (*E. Courtown.*)
Saltoun, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Silchester, L. (*E. Longford.*)
Stanley of Alderley, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Strathnairn, L.
Templemore, L.
Tollemache, L.
Trevor, L.
Tyrone, L. (*M. Waterford.*)
Ventry, L.
Watson, L.
Wimborne, L.
Winmarleigh, L.
Wynford, L.
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

Resolved in the *negative.*

Ordered that the said reasons be considered on *Tuesday* next.

EARL GRANVILLE: In consequence of this decision, and what was said by the noble Marquess, I move that the House do now adjourn till Tuesday next. It will, of course, be understood that the House will be able to sit for the disposal of Judicial Business on Monday.

Motion *agreed to.*

ARCHDEACONRIES BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to explain the Act 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 113., sect. 34. (Provision for Archdeaconries)—Was *presented* by The Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY; read 1ª. (No. 150.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 19th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Public Health (Scotland) Act, 1867, Provisional Order * [207].

Report—Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 8) * [158]; Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * [192]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [196]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [197].

Third Reading—Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * [174]; Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * [173]; Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * [175]; Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * [170]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3) * [188]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * [185]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [183]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * [169]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * [194]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * [143], and *passed.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (MR. BRADLAUGH).

MR. SPEAKER: I think it is my duty to acquaint the House that I have received a letter from Mr. Bradlaugh, the Member for the borough of Northampton, which, I think, I ought at once to communicate to the House. It is as follows:—

"20, *Circus Road.*
"*St. John's Wood, London, N.W.*
"15 *June*, 1885.

"*Sir,*

"*When I was for the fourth time re-elected to the present Parliament for Northampton in February* 1884, *I offered through your predecessor in the Chair an undertaking to the House to make no attempt to take my seat until judgment had been given in the proceedings taken by the Crown with reference to my self-administration of the Oath of Allegiance on the* 11*th February* 1884. *The House did not accept the undertaking which was formally communicated to it, but by Sessional Resolution excluded me from the precincts of the House. Prior to the re-assembling of the House for the Second Session of* 1884, *I wrote you, Sir, respectfully offering a similar undertaking. This Letter you did not communicate to the House; but the House did not renew its Resolution, and I have during the winter of* 1884, *and the adjourned Session of* 1885, *repeatedly attended its sittings, remaining during its Divisions as an unsworn Member. In consequence of the change of Government, and of the blocking of the Second Reading of the Oaths Bill, brought in by Mr. Hopwood, I desire to be in a position to assert the rights of my Constituents by presenting myself at the Table to comply with the Law under my perfectly unimpeached Return; and I beg, therefore, most respectfully to notify you that I withdraw and cancel the Letter to yourself which has not been accepted by the House. As I do not wish to take any steps unfair to the House, I shall not present myself for the purpose of taking my Seat until the new Ministry has been formed, and the re-elections have all taken place.*

"*I have the honour to be, Sir,*
"*Your most obedient Servant,*
"*C. BRADLAUGH.*"

I ought here to state with regard to the reference made by Mr. Bradlaugh, in his letter to me, to a prior communication made at the commencement of the Autumn Session of last year, and which he says, and says truly, I did not communicate to the House, that that letter was simply an announcement from Mr. Bradlaugh that, as proceedings by information had been taken by the Attorney General on behalf of the Crown to test the legality of the course taken by himself on February 11, and as such proceedings were still pending in the High Court of Justice, and no judgment had yet been delivered, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) undertook, with the consent of his constituents, not to present himself at the Table for the purpose of taking his seat until the lapse of one week after judgment had been delivered in such suit. To the letter, which I have just read, the following letter in reply, by my direction, has been written:—

"*House of Commons,*
"*June* 16*th.*

"*Sir,*

"*I am directed by the Speaker to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the* 15*th of this month, and to say in reply that, as you now propose to take definite action, he will think it his duty to take the earliest opportunity of communicating your Letter to the House.*

"*I am, Sir,*
"*Your Obedient Servant,*
"*EDWARD PONSONBY.*"

I have thought it right, without delay, to communicate the letter I have received, and I respectfully solicit the direction of the House thereupon.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, having understood from you that it was your intention to communicate this letter from Mr. Bradlaugh to the House, I gave Notice to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) that I should propose to ask him, having regard to that letter and to the judgment of the Court of Appeal on the question of Mr. Bradlaugh's power to take the Oath, what course he recommends the House to pursue?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, that the House will have appreciated the judgment with which you have taken the first opportunity of communicating Mr. Bradlaugh's letter to the House, and likewise the full sufficiency of the reason which led you to conclude, upon the receipt of a prior communication from him, that there was no occasion for bringing it under the immediate notice of the House. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) has put to me a question analogous to that which he has put to me on some former occasions, when I have stated, more than once, that, as I had not the good fortune to represent the sense of the majority of the House in relation to the admission of Mr. Bradlaugh — having, in fact, strongly dissented from the course taken by the House—I did not intend to take upon myself the office of adviser of the House in the matter. Cer-

tainly, Sir, that answer would apply to the circumstances to-day, which are the same. But I own that, exercising my private judgment on the letter which we have just heard, I should go one step further, and say that, as far as I am able to form a judgment, no case appears yet to have arisen for submitting any Motion to the House, or taking any step in relation to the letter, because it refers to a contingency not yet completely realized; and until that contingency is completely realized, as I hope may shortly be the case, there is nothing for the House to take into view, and no action of Mr. Bradlaugh's positively impending in relation to the interruption of our proceedings. That, Sir, is the mere giving of an opinion to the House which may or may not be right; but it appears to me the course to take under the circumstances.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS.

MR. GLADSTONE: May I proceed to say that I have had an intimation from Lord Salisbury that it is his intention that a Motion shall be made in the House of Lords proposing an adjournment of that House until Tuesday next; and I have, in reply, stated to Lord Salisbury that, he having announced that intention, I would make a Motion to a similar effect in the House of Commons. I therefore move that this House, at its rising, do adjourn until Tuesday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn until Tuesday next."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE: On a previous occasion I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister whether there was any truth in the rumour that demands had been made by Gentlemen opposite for certain assurances of support from this side of the House, as a condition of their taking Office. We anticipated that to-day the new Writs would have been moved for. So far as we can gather from public report and from the public Press they are not moved for to-day—not in consequence of any difficulties which Lord Salisbury finds in forming a Government, but owing to his not having received such assurances as he would desire from Her Majesty's present Government with regard to the support which they would give to the present Opposition in the event of their taking Office. Now, I think we ought to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this is the case or not, for a very large number of us in this part of the House do very strongly object to any sort of assurances of support being given to Gentlemen opposite in the event of their taking Office. Naturally, we should not engage in factious opposition or obstructive opposition. That, I may say, we leave to hon. Gentlemen opposite. I have no doubt that, if any measure were brought in which would be for the benefit of the country, we should give it our cordial support. But we claim the right to reserve our judgment as to what we shall do until we see what course hon. Gentlemen may pursue in the responsible position they have rushed in to assume for themselves. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman how long these adjournments are to last, because it seems to me that if they are to last until right hon. Gentlemen opposite obtain the assurances which we are told they require, we shall go on adjourning and adjourning until next November.

MR. GLADSTONE: It is certainly not for me, I think, to take upon myself to answer the final question of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton, as to how often these adjournments are to be repeated, and how long they are to last? Of course, that depends upon circumstances not under my control. However, I do not object to the substantial renewal of the Question which my hon. Friend put to me on Monday. But I think the short speech we have heard from him tends to illustrate the difficulties of the situation, and how slippery is the ground upon which we tread when we deal with these matters; because my hon. Friend has said that he and the majority of hon. Members on this side of the House believe—and I rather think he is speaking truly—[*Loud laughter.*] I should be very sorry to appear to doubt the veracity of my hon. Friend. What I meant was that I thought the hon. Member was speaking accurately in expressing the opinion which he has formed, that many Gentlemen on this side of the House, at any rate, for whom he thinks he can speak, are exceedingly averse to giving

any assurance whatever. But it was with some surprise, after hearing the hon. Gentleman lay down that doctrine, that I heard him proceed himself to give to the Party opposite two most important assurances—first of all, that they might rely upon it, as a matter of course, that there would be no factious opposition in the event of their assuming Office; and, secondly, that if they proposed good measures they should receive cordial support. It appears to me that my hon. Friend, who has been to-day in one of his most bountiful humours, has made most valuable gifts and promises to hon. Gentlemen opposite, which I trust, when the time comes, they may be able to take advantage of. I am not in the position in which I was when I replied to the hon. Member on a former day, when I stated that there had been no communication between Lord Salisbury, who has received the honour of a commission from Her Majesty to form an Administration — no communication between Lord Salisbury and his Friends, and myself, on the part of the Cabinet that was lately effectually responsible for the Government of the Queen, and is still in possession of the Seals of Office. I am not in a position to repeat that statement, as I then made it. It was true at that time; but it would not be true now. I have received certain overtures and requests from Lord Salisbury in relation to the subject-matter that has been generally presented to the mind of the hon. Member by statements in the public prints. What I have to say is this—that I can give assurance to my hon. Friend that, should there be any results from any correspondence that may have taken place, or may take place, between Lord Salisbury and myself, that result, and everything relating to that result that it can be material to know, will be made public property; and there will be no secret or confidential arrangement or understanding of any kind between the two Parties in this matter, which I should deem to be wholly unsuitable to the character of the situation. From the first moment that I heard of any possibility of communications of this kind, that was the very first view of them that occurred to my mind; and I am bound to say—and I have great satisfaction in saying it—that Lord Salisbury himself entirely concurs in that view. That being so, I think the House will feel, so far as this matter is concerned, that they are perfectly safe at the present moment. I may, perhaps, go a step further, and say that it is quite true that, under very peculiar circumstances, which we ourselves described as probably unprecedented, and certainly quite exceptional, an arrangement was made between Gentlemen who have the confidence of the Party opposite and ourselves with relation to a Parliamentary measure of great importance. I take this opportunity of thanking the House for its remarkable forbearance and the generous exhibition of confidence that distinguished their conduct on that occasion, and by means of which the entire House was enabled to carry through a settlement of a most vital nature. But that generosity, and that confidence, would, I think, be abused if we were to attempt to repeat anything like a similar proceeding on the present occasion. I have never felt that, at a time when it might please Her Majesty, as it has pleased Her Majesty, to make known to me any communication received from Lord Salisbury—and that has been the only channel through which communications have taken place—it would be consistent with my duty as an outgoing Minister, or as a loyal subject, or as a faithful Member of this House, to decline to receive, or reply to, what Her Majesty may be pleased so to communicate. But the pledge I give is not the result of any apprehension of pressure; it is what I myself feel to be right, that absolute publicity should attend any communications of this kind should they come to any result which can possibly have a bearing on public affairs.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till *Tuesday* next.

COMMITTEES.—RESOLUTION.

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

House adjourned at Five o'clock till Tuesday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 22nd June, 1885.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR SCOTLAND.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had received (by post) from the Lord Clerk Register of Scotland,

Minutes of the election of the Earl of Lindsay as one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, 10th June 1885, in room of Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk, deceased; and

Separate Return by the Lord Clerk Register of certain Titles of Peerage called at the said election, in right of which respectively no vote had been received and counted at any election for fifty years then last past (pursuant to Act 14th and 15th Vict., chap. 87.):

Ordered that the said Minutes of Election, &c. be *printed*. (No. 151.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 23rd June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5)* (152); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6)* (153).

Second Reading—Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2)* (136); Water Provisional Orders* (137); Yorkshire Registries* (133); Women's Suffrage (27), *negatived*.

Third Reading—Burial Boards (Contested Elections)* (105), and *passed*.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—STATEMENT OF THE EARL GRANVILLE.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I am authorized to state that Lord Salisbury has gone down to Windsor, and has accepted Office; and at his desire I propose, when the proceedings of the day close, to move the adjournment of the House, as usual, till Thursday.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS REASONS.

Order of the Day for consideration of Commons reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendments read.

Moved, "That the Commons' reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords' Amendments be now considered."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

LORD DENMAN moved that the Commons' reasons for disagreeing to the Lords' Amendments be considered that day six months, on the ground that the measure was most imperfect, and had been forced through the House in a most unseemly manner. There was no reason to hurry forward an Election in November next, and the polling places could be completed before next year. In one division no polling places were complete until after the old registration to be completed in 1885.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out the word ("now") and at the end of the Motion to add ("this day six months.")—(*The Lord Denman.*)

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

Original Motion *agreed to*.

Commons reasons *considered* accordingly.

Amendment made by the Lords in page 23, after line 18.

Moved, "Not to insist on the said Amendment."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he was perfectly astonished at the reasons which the Commons had sent up against this Amendment, and had been still more surprised at the speeches made in support of the Government in the House of Commons. The first reason given against the Amendment was that Jedburgh was a small town, closely connected with the county, and not homogeneous in its character with the Border Burghs. Jedburgh was not closely connected with the county, and it was homogeneous in character with the Border Burghs. Jedburgh was the only burgh liberated in the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk which was not in the Border Burghs. If Mr. Trevelyan's arguments were worth anything at all

they ought to be applied to Selkirkshire. It was said that as Jedburgh was the county town it ought to vote in the county; but it ought to follow that Selkirk, being the county town, ought to vote with the county. It had been said that Jedburgh was against the change; but that feeling was not unanimous, because a strong Petition had been sent up in favour of the Lords' Amendment. It was a mistake to suppose that the Amendment proposed to alter the existing state of things. Exactly the reverse was the case. What he wished to secure was that the vote which had been given to the agricultural labourers should be exercised to its full value. Mr. Trevelyan had written a public letter, in which he said that this was Party action of the most objectionable character. He perfectly agreed with that. He thought the action most objectionable, but not in the manner in which Mr. Trevelyan meant. So strongly did he feel that he was inclined to ask their Lordships to take another division on this point, and to stick to their Amendment.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that looking at the circumstance that no one in the House of Commons had supported the change in the Bill upon this point which had been made by their Lordships, he should recommend his noble Friend not to insist upon the Amendment.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY also hoped the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian) would not insist upon going to a division.

THE EARL OF MINTO said, he thought it was quite unnecessary to divide. He supported the original proposal of the Bill, considering it better that Jedburgh should remain in the county than that it should be joined to a set of burghs with which it had no connection.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, that as no sufficient reason had been shown against the Amendment he should press it to a division.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, he hoped his noble Friend would reconsider his determination. The principles of the Bill had been agreed upon by the Leaders of both Houses, and he trusted his noble Friend would not think it worth while to put their Lordships to the trouble of another division on the subject. The same point might just as well be raised in regard to one of the burghs with which he was connected; but in the circumstances he had not considered himself justified in contesting it.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY said, he would join in the appeal to the noble Marquess not to press the question to a division, as it was highly inexpedient at the present time to introduce anything like complication into the relations between the two Houses. While giving the noble Marquess every credit for the sincerity of his motives, he hoped he would withdraw his opposition.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he had no desire to do anything inconsistent with the public interest; and, therefore, after the appeal made to him by the noble Earl beside him, he would withdraw his opposition.

On Question? *agreed to.*

Amendment made by the Lords in page 86, line 35.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in moving that the House should not insist upon its Amendment changing the name of the Spen Valley Division to that of Birstall, said, there was, no doubt, a great deal to be said in favour of both these names; but, in order to avoid any complication between the two Houses, he would ask their Lordships not to insist on this Amendment. Whatever might be the merits of the question between Birstall and the Spen Valley, the delay in the passage of this Bill was causing extreme inconvenience throughout the country, which would be aggravated if the alterations made by the other House were not now agreed to.

Moved, "Not to insist on the said Amendment."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM proposed that their Lordships should adhere to their decision.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he must urge upon the House the undesirableness of any further delay in completing the final stage of this Bill. From all parts of the country complaints were arriving as to the confusion that was being caused by the delay of the measure, and further delay would be most serious.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK was bound to say that it was extremely desirable that the Bill should proceed without delay. Although he thought the deci-

sion of the House of Commons on this matter an unwise one, there being no such place known as the Spen Valley, yet it would be better not to insist on the Amendment than to run the risk of further delaying the Bill.

On Question? *agreed to.*

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL.—(No. 27.)

(*The Lord Denman.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DENMAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he had wished that the second reading might be taken silently and discussion put off, as in the case of the Party Processions (Ireland) Act in 1832; but, as that could not be conceded, he must observe that the case for women's suffrage was much stronger than before the Franchise Bill, which, as he moved it on December 4, 1884, in a clause to that Bill, was an imperfect measure without it. He wished to state that his objection to Resolutions was not confined to those in "another place;" because, in looking to see if Lord Hardwicke had made any speech on the proposed exclusion of ladies from the House of Lords, he found that both Lord Hardwicke and that excellent Lord Chief Justice (Lord Raymond) had both voted—in a majority—against a Resolution for dispensing with Hessian troops when no other Forces were available. He hoped that he had not damaged the cause of women householders by bringing this forward; and if he had needlessly troubled their Lordships he regretted it.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR having put the Question, declared that the Not-Contents have it.

LORD DENMAN dissented.

The usual directions for a division having been given——

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I do not consider that this is a proper method of dealing with this matter. I should not care to give a vote on this question, which is one of the greatest importance, without explaining my views upon it; and I, for one, shall leave the House.

[The noble Earl then withdrew.]

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I shall vote against the Bill, and for this reason—because I do not consider this is a proper time for raising the question. Therefore, I shall vote against the Bill, without any reference whatever to its merits.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 8; Not-Contents 36: Majority 28.

Resolved in the *negative.*

HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND COMMISSION—LETTER OF THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.—OBSERVATIONS.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK, in rising to call attention to a statement reported to have been made in that House by the Duke of Argyll on the 7th of May, in moving for a copy of a letter addressed by him to the Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and to make an explanation, said, the noble Duke, on the occasion in question, expressed regret that his letter had not been given in the Report of the Royal Commission along with the evidence and the other documents contained in it, and said that, having asked the Chairman of the Commission whether there was any objection to its publication, and finding that there was not, he ventured to move that it be printed and circulated as a Parliamentary Paper. If the noble Duke had intended to imply, as might be inferred from the terms he had used, that his communication to the Royal Commission was in reality accidentally omitted from the Report by that Commission, then it became incumbent on him to state to their Lordships that the omission of the noble Duke's letter did not take place accidentally, but advisedly, and for the following reasons:—When the Commission came to consider what documentary communications submitted to them should be embodied in their Report, and what should not, the communication of the noble Duke was brought under discussion at a private meeting of the Commission. As no record existed of what passed at that private meeting, he could not undertake to state exactly what each Member of the Commission said or thought in relation

to that subject; but the opinion of the majority—he might say the prevailing opinion of the Commissioners—was that the communication of the noble Duke should not be printed with the evidence in the Report. That opinion was based on reasons connected, first, with the form, and, secondly, with the substance of that communication. The form of the communication was very exceptional. It was, indeed, ostensibly addressed to the Royal Commission in the guise of a letter to the Chairman; but it was published and circulated in the form of a pamphlet before it reached his hands. The noble Duke, in making that communication, submitted his views at once to the public in the form most familiar in political controversy. That publication immediately obtained an immense circulation, at least in Scotland. It was widely disseminated; it was received by some with approval, by others with displeasure; but it was read by all with the greatest curiosity and interest, as was natural in regard to anything that emanated from the noble Duke. It had also been read by persons versed in these questions in England; and, in fact, the document had gained an amount of notoriety by its circulation throughout the country greater than even the Report of the Commission itself. There was much in the substance of that communication of an exceptional character. It embodied a great number of particulars illustrative of the economical condition of the Highlands and of the history of the noble Duke's property and of his own personal system of management—a system which, he had no doubt, deserved the attention and study of Parliament; but the noble Duke was pleased to mix up with these matters of general interest other matters of a controversial and personal character. During the sittings of the Commission, the noble Duke found fault with the conduct of different Members of the Commission, and commented on the opinions of several of the Commissioners and on expressions casually let fall by them with a vivacity and an irony which were familiar to the style of the noble Duke, and of which he was so great a master. In these circumstances, it became incumbent on him, as the Chairman of the Commission, to consider whether the letter was really a *bonâ fide* memorandum, submitted for his own instruction and that of his fellow-Commissioners, or whether it was not a critique of a controversial character; and, having given his careful and, he trusted, his impartial consideration to the question, he was constrained to admit that the letter was at least so controversial in its nature that he could not press its adoption on the Commission with the courtesy which he owed equally to all the Commissioners. He did not think it was a communication which his Colleagues could have accepted and adopted with the courtesy which they owed to one another; and, therefore, he had been obliged to exclude the document from the Blue Book. He asked the noble Duke and the House not to imagine that he and his fellow-Commissioners desired any immunity from criticism; on the contrary, he was deeply sensible that he himself had committed errors, both of omission and commission, and he did not suppose that any of his Colleagues would hesitate to acknowledge the same. He could assure the noble Duke that the omission of the communication was owing to no want of respect or consideration for him personally, but simply for the reasons he had already mentioned.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, he was rather ashamed to occupy the attention of the House upon a matter of such small importance in the midst of this great political crisis. He had been much puzzled when he saw the Notice of the noble Lord to know what reason there could be for bringing this matter before the House at this time; but there were some elements of amusement connected with the matter which he would communicate to their Lordships. The method of proceeding followed by the Crofters' Commission was a curious one. He would take the case of his own estate in the Island of Tiree, which his noble Friend had admitted was a representative estate having a curious and an interesting history. The Commissioners went to this island in a steamer, landing at the only little harbour in the island. They got two or three gigs together and scampered off to a church where the meeting was held. So far as he knew, they did not visit a single croft or cottage in the island. No notice had been sent to him, except at a time so late that he was unable to be present. The meeting was held in the

parish church, and all the tenants and Crofters were invited to attend there. A great deal of the evidence adduced before the Commission at these inquiries was good; but a great deal of it also was utter nonsense. His noble Friend knew that a great number of agitators went before the Commission throughout the Highlands instructing the greater number of the poor Crofters what sort of things they were to say at the official inquiry. A number of the Crofters on his estate complained of land being taken from them; but, as a matter of fact, not a single acre had been taken from them. He must say that his noble Friend who presided at the inquiry cross-examined the witnesses most inefficiently; that was not his noble Friend's fault, because he had not the knowledge of all the circumstances of the island to enable him to cross-examine the witnesses as they ought to have been examined. In these circumstances, he found all the evidence thus adduced, much of which was erroneous, published by the Press and circulated all over Scotland. All the accusations brought forward by the Crofters against the landlords were published and circulated throughout the country; and it seemed to him that it was most important that those reports should be contradicted, and the real state of the facts placed before the public. He adopted the course of sending a letter to the noble Lord the Chairman of the Commission giving all the facts. He thought it important to address to his noble Friend a statement of the facts connected with the history of crofting in this island. He spent a great deal of time and trouble in collecting the documents for that purpose, and the letter which he wrote gave a history of crofting in that island for 150 years. What, however, was his astonishment to find that when the Report of the Commission was issued this letter had been suppressed. Although his letter had been published, and had obtained a large local circulation in Scotland, it could not have reached the Members of this and the other House of Parliament in the same way as if it had been included either in the Report of the Commissioners, or published as a separate Paper? What justification had the noble Lord given for not publishing the letter? One reason was that it had already been published; but his answer to that was that all the evidence had been published in the Press, certain journals taking especial pains to publish all the falsehoods against the landlords, refraining very often from publishing the defence. Another reason given was that the letter was contentious in its character; but nine-tenths of the evidence given before the Commission was in the highest degree contentious. The evidence of most of the witnesses was contentious against the landlords; and he considered that he had a perfect right to publish evidence on the other side. But the noble Lord had not stated the real reason for the suppression of this letter. The noble Lord had a Colleague who seemed to have been exceedingly troublesome to him, because he observed that on one occasion his noble Friend interposed his authority as Chairman of the Commission, and, he thought, stretched it to such an extent that he ordered this Colleague to put no more questions of this particular character. This took place in reference to his own estate; and most offensive and injurious questions were put to a tenant of his bearing on the character of a dead man, an agent of his who had been dead for 10 years. This Gentleman, sitting with the authority of a Royal Commissioner, had the gross bad taste to suggest that this dead factor might possibly have falsified the books of his estate. A more monstrous proceeding he did not know; and he had thought it his duty to call the attention of the public in Scotland to the gross character of the conduct of this Gentleman. His noble Friend said it was due to the courtesy he owed his Colleagues that he should suppress the communication in question. He (the Duke of Argyll) thought the suppression of that document was a mistake. It was, he considered, a perfectly fair proceeding on his part to direct public attention to so gross a departure from the judicial character of this Gentleman's office as Commissioner. When he found that this document, which was held in many quarters to be an important contribution to the question, had been suppressed, he had moved for it; and he felt certain that if the circumstances had been laid before their Lordships a majority of the House would have supported his Motion for its production. He believed Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, the Gentleman to whom he had referred, objected to

his having described the suppression of the letter as an accidental circumstance, and he supposed had insisted upon his noble Friend making the explanation he had just given. But he submitted that he had been perfectly right in directing the attention of the public to the circumstances of the case, and that there was no justifiable reason for the exclusion of the pamphlet in question.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK was understood to say that he did not wish to raise the question whether the noble Duke was right or wrong in what he had done. He had only wished, in fairness to his Colleagues, to state the reasons which had guided him in excluding the noble Duke's communication. He (Lord Napier and Ettrick) was still of opinion that he had only done his duty in taking the course he had upon this matter.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 23rd June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation * [205]; Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation * [204].

Report—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [166]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [167].

Considered as amended—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * [192].

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [196]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [197], and *passed.*

QUESTION.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT (IRELAND)—SPEECH OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD gave the following Notice:—On the first day of Sitting to ask the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), Whether he is correctly reported as having, in a recent speech, charged the late Government with ruling Ireland in a spirit of unjustifiable oppression, comparable only to the rule of Russia over Poland and of Austria over Venice; and, if so, whether the Cabinet, of which he was a Member, agreed to the course he pursued of thus publicly denouncing the Russian and Austrian systems of government?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Perhaps I can save the time of the House by answering the Question at once. I did not use language which I think is capable of the interpretation put upon it by the hon. Member. What I said was, that the government of Ireland resembled that of Russia in Poland and that of Austria in Venice in its centralized and bureaucratic character.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — ADJOURNMENT — ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE BY THE NEW MINISTERS — STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE.

MR. GLADSTONE: Information which has been conveyed to me enables me to acquaint the House that Lord Salisbury has definitely accepted Office, and that his Cabinet is in the course of designation and appointment—I presume at an advanced stage—so much so that he is confidently able to expect that to-morrow, if it be the pleasure of the House to meet to-morrow, the Writs may be moved for the re-election of the Members for those places where Members of the Government may have vacated their seats. As I have no doubt that the House will be disposed to comply with that invitation, the most convenient course to take will be this—and I have no doubt the House will be disposed to comply with the invitation—that I should move the suspension for to-morrow of the first Standing Order which relates to Sittings on Wednesday; that I should then move that the House at its rising do adjourn until 5 o'clock to-morrow, which is the hour indicated by Lord Salisbury on the part of the incoming Government, and that then the House should forthwith adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Standing Order No. 1 be suspended, and that this House, at its rising, do adjourn until To-morrow at Five of the clock."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I see by the newspapers that an arrangement has been made between the Leaders of the two Parties to press forward certain Bills; but I do not find that a Bill of the utmost importance to tens of thousands of the new electors of the country is among the number—namely, the Bill to prevent disfranchisement by the receipt of medical relief. At present, therefore, the House is placed in a somewhat unfortunate and awkward position. Those of us—and I believe we form a majority of the House—think that that measure ought to be included among the number to which importance is to be given. More than a fortnight has now elapsed during which the suspension of the Business of the House has been going on. When the late—or perhaps I ought to say the present—Prime Minister moved the other day that the Orders of the Day should be postponed, he made an exception in favour of two measures, one of which he urged related to non-contentious matter—the Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill, while the other was germane to the great measure of Reform which has just been passed—namely, the Lords' Amendments to the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill. Now, the measure to which I refer comes, at any rate, under one, if not both, of those heads; and, therefore, I would urge upon the Government, or upon the Leaders of both Parties, to give some assurance that it should be included among the important measures to be pressed forward under the agreement which has been arrived at. Otherwise it would, I think, be my duty to take the sense of the House on the question, as I believe the majority of the House would be found to be in favour of proceeding with it. Indeed, I am not sure whether the House would not even be willing to take another stage of the measure to-night, and to read the Bill a second time to-night. Seeing that we are now hard upon the month of July, time is very precious. The Bill to which my remarks apply certainly forms part of the great measure of Reform to which the Prime Minister alluded when he made an exception in favour of the Lords' Amendments to the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill being considered. I do not think it would be at all out of Order, or at all opposed to the present situation we are now in, if he would make another exception in regard to this particular measure—namely, the one which appears as an Order of the Day, under the name of "The Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill," its object being to remove the disqualification which now exists in connection with the receipt of medical relief, and which, as I have said, affects tens of thousands of the voters of this country. If the Prime Minister cannot give the House some assurance upon this matter, I think it will be my duty to oppose the adjournment on this occasion, in order to accentuate, at any rate, the importance which is thought to attach to this Bill outside the House. If the House agree to put off the adjournment, it would then be competent to postpone the Orders of the Day, with this exception, and to carry the Bill forward another stage to-night. That is a very moderate request, and in urging it I would use precisely the same arguments as those which were very effectively used by the Prime Minister when he made an exception of the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill. In fact, the Bill is in precisely the same category as that Bill—that is to say, that it is necessary to complete the great measure of Reform which is now on the eve of passing into law. If the Leaders of the Opposition, or those who could speak for them with authority, can give the House some assurance that the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill will be included in the list which it is the intention of the Leaders on both sides of the House to press forward, such an assurance will be accepted by me, and by my hon. Friends who entertain the same views, as a satisfactory statement. In the absence of some such assurance, it will be the duty of those who feel deeply the gross injustice—for I can call it nothing else—which is being done to poor people throughout the country, to oppose the Motion now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman for the adjournment of the House.

MR. LABOUCHERE: We have been, in consequence of a statement made some time ago by the Prime Minister, expecting that some kind of statement might be made to-day with regard

to any communications which may have taken place as to any assurances which may have been given, or are proposed to be given, to right hon. Gentlemen opposite before they assume Office. I would venture to ask the Prime Minister if he will be good enough either to give us that statement now, or to tell us when that statement is to be given to us? We should like, in any case, to be assured that nothing has been done that deprives us, on this side, of our independent course of action in regard to any legislative measures that are likely to come before this House, and in regard to the privileges which independent Members now enjoy to bring on Amendments or Resolutions whenever they are able on the days now allotted for such a purpose by the Standing Orders of the House.

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to the Question which has just been put to me, very naturally and properly, by my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), I believe Lord Salisbury is of the same opinion as myself, that not a moment ought to be lost which can possibly be avoided in giving to the House the information to which it is entitled with respect to the recent communications. I have very great hopes that it may be in my power to give that information to-morrow. I cannot, however, speak positively, as it depends upon the concurrence of another; but that is my hope and my desire. I will not now attempt to give any account of the character of this correspondence, or of the principles by which I have been guided in endeavouring to conduct it, as there will so speedily be an opportunity which will enable hon. Gentlemen to form their own opinion on an accurate knowledge of everything material that has taken place. That, I hope, is sufficient for my hon. Friend, so far as regards this particular subject. My hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) has—as I understand, in a good-humoured way—threatened to oppose the adjournment of the House if it be true that an agreement has been made between the Leaders of the Party coming into Office and the Leaders of the Party going out of Office, with respect to the progress of certain Bills, and if that arrangement does not include a measure in which he is very deeply interested, and which certainly has strong claims—I give no opinion on it at this moment—to be brought under the judgment of the House. But I think I can effectually relieve the mind of my hon. Friend. He is the victim of a delusion. There is no foundation whatever, great or small, for the belief that such an arrangement has been made, or that any communication of any kind has taken place upon it. The position, therefore, which his Bill has occupied, together with the freedom of my hon. Friend and of the House, remains positively unimpaired; and, under these circumstances, I think he will feel that the second reading of a Bill of that kind ought to be moved when there is a responsible Government in Office.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That Standing Order No. 1 be suspended, and that this House, at its rising, do adjourn until *To-morrow*, at Five of the clock.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg to move that this House do now adjourn.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Five o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 24th June, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 24th June, 1885.

The House met at Five of the clock.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Wakefield Borough, *v.* Robert Bownas Mackie, esquire, deceased.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Considered as amended*—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [166]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [167].

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—NEW WRITS.

MR. ROWLAND WINN: I have to move that the House, at its rising, do adjourn until Friday next—the intention being that no Business shall be transacted on Friday, except the issue of certain Writs, which I am not in a position to move to-day. I propose, on Friday, to move that the House should adjourn until the Monday week following—the 6th of July.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Friday."—(*Mr. Rowland Winn.*)

THE NEW MINISTRY — THE CORRESPONDENCE.

STATEMENT OF MR. GLADSTONE.

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps, Sir, the Motion which has just been made, and which I should have been very happy to second if it had been necessary to do so, may afford me a convenient and regular opportunity of fulfilling the pledge which I have given—and given, indeed, on more than one occasion—to the House. It is strictly in conformity with the pledges given by me to the House in reply to Questions which have been put to me by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that I should now proceed to read, with Her Majesty's permission, all the letters containing assurances as to the conduct of myself, or any Friends, which I have given to Her Majesty, in answer to the request of Lord Salisbury. I shall read these letters without note or comment of any kind, except to say that there is one of them from myself to Her Majesty, from which one or two sentences will be omitted, as they are sentences that have hardly any bearing upon the real points of the correspondence, but relate to matters which may possibly come hereafter into discussion. The first letter, Sir, is a letter from Lord Salisbury, dated June 17th, 1885. It is as follows:—

"Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, respectfully submits the following considerations on the present conjuncture.

"It is very peculiar in this, that probably for the first time in the history of England, except on one well-known occasion, the Sovereign will not have the power of dissolving Parliament between this time and November next. Until the Redistribution Bill had passed both Houses this state of things had not arisen. But now the Bill cannot be altered in this respect by the Forms of Parliament; and as the Bill must pass, it must be accepted as a fact that Dissolution is impossible.

"This wholly abnormal state of things places the Executive in a difficult position in the House of Commons. A Government which has not a majority in that House will have no means of securing that the indispensable Business of the country shall be completed. It is, therefore, in the opinion of the Leaders of the Conservative Party, indispensable that before accepting Office they should obtain from the Leaders of the majority in that House an undertaking to support them in the measures which are absolutely necessary in order to bring the Session to a close. The engagement which, in their judgment, is necessary is that the Liberal Leaders should undertake to support the new Government in the two following respects:—

"1. That on all days on which the Government puts down Supply or Ways and Means, or the Appropriation Bill, the Government Business shall have precedence.

"2. That if no other provision is made by the House to satisfy the Estimates that have been laid on the Table, and the Votes of Credit that have been passed, provision shall be made for the issue of Exchequer Bonds to the amount necessary for that purpose.

"With the support of the Liberal Leaders upon these points a Conservative Government would be able to wind up the Business of the Session so far as those measures are concerned which are absolutely necessary; but without it they could not do so, and could render no useful service to Your Majesty by taking Office."

The second is a letter from myself, dated June 17th, 8.30 P.M.—

"Mr. Gladstone acknowledges with his humble duty Your Majesty's gracious letter inclosing a letter from Lord Salisbury to Your Majesty.

"As Your Majesty desires a prompt reply, and as Mr. Gladstone has had an opportunity of considering the substance of the matter pressed by Lord Salisbury, he answers at once. . . . . ."

Perhaps I may say that this was only received at 8 o'clock in the evening, and the answer was sent immediately.

"At the same time he would have been glad to have had an opportunity of obtaining advice upon the important question whether, as Lord Salisbury states, a Dissolution is impossible. Mr. Gladstone will only say that this is not his impression.

"He has, however, to say that in the conduct of the necessary Business of the country during the remainder of the Session he believes there will be no disposition to embarrass the Government serving your Majesty.

"He does not consider that it would be for the public advantage, from any point of view, to enter into specific pledges on points of Parliamentary action with respect to which he is not in possession of all the facts that bear upon them.

"He humbly asks leave to regard the assurance which he has above conveyed as a public reply to a public question."

Then follows a supplementary letter from myself to Her Majesty of the 18th of June—

"Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, reverts to his letter of last night, and, upon the facts before him, having now had the opportunity of consultation to which he then referred, he agrees with Lord Salisbury in the words 'it must be accepted now as a fact that a Dissolution is impossible.'

"He prays Your Majesty to consider this supplemental letter as being, like the letter of last night, a record of a public transaction."

The fourth letter is a letter from Lord Salisbury to Her Majesty, dated the 18th of June—

"Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, respectfully acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Gladstone's answer to Your Majesty.

"With respect to the question whether an immediate Dissolution is possible when the Redistribution Bill is passed, he begs to submit an opinion signed by Sir Hardinge Giffard and Mr. Gibson.

"Lord Salisbury has laid the two letters before his political friends; and they are unanimously of opinion that Mr. Gladstone's letter contains no pledge that he and his friends would give to a new Government the support necessary for completing the indispensable Business of the Session. Without such a pledge they feel that they would not be justified in assuming Office in the face of a large adverse majority at a juncture when an appeal to the constituencies is legally impossible. By such a step they would not be facilitating the progress of Public Business, and would be rather embarrassing than serving Your Majesty.

"Lord Salisbury concurs with Mr. Gladstone in thinking that their letters to Your Majesty on this subject should be treated as having a public character."

Here is the opinion of Sir Hardinge Giffard and Mr. Gibson, which I will read, although there is no dispute whatever as to the fact, assuming the passing of the Redistribution of Seats Bill—

"June 18.

"We are of opinion that once the Queen's Assent is given to the Redistribution Bill a Dissolution is impossible. The old constituencies and the Registers applicable to them will have been abolished, and the new Registers applicable to the new constituencies will not have come into existence. Of course the Queen's Assent may be deferred and a Dissolution on the old Registers thus obtained; but we do not understand that course to be suggested.

"HARDINGE GIFFARD.
"E. GIBSON."

No. 5 is a Memorandum drawn up by me at Windsor, and submitted to Her Majesty on the 18th of June in a formal document, with certain points—

"Memorandum submitted to Her Majesty at Windsor, June 18, 1885.

"1. Can Lord Salisbury suggest any amendment of my words which would make them satisfactory?

"2. In my opinion the whole value of such a declaration as circumstances like these admit depends upon the spirit in which it is given and received, For myself and for any friends of mine, I can only say that we give the declaration, and should endeavour to interpret and apply it, in the same spirit in which we entered upon the recent conferences on the Seats Bill.

"3. I am of opinion that it would be easy to convince Lord Salisbury himself that it is entirely beyond our power to give the specific pledges which he requires.

"4. I can confidently say that, so far as my knowledge goes, there is not the slightest intention to make an extreme or illegitimate use of the power of a majority, were it in our power to do so.

"5. About the Dissolution, on the facts before us, there is no difference of opinion."

The sixth letter is a letter from Lord Salisbury to Her Majesty, and is dated the 19th of June—

"Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, respectfully acknowledges the receipt of a Memorandum from Mr. Gladstone.

"Lord Salisbury begs to submit the following observations in reply:—

"1. The precise engagements asked for are as follows:—(*a.*) That Mr. Gladstone and his political Friends will support a Motion to give the new Government the time of the House—that is, precedence on all days on which financial Business is put down. The new Government, on the other hand, would engage not to bring forward on those days any other Business to which Mr. Gladstone objected. (*b.*) That if no other provision is made by the House for the Credits already voted and the Estimates laid on the Table, Mr. Gladstone and his Friends will support a financial arrangement to this effect—that the Income Tax shall stand for the year at 8*d.*, and that, in lieu of any other augmentation of taxation, provision be made for Supply either by Exchequer Bonds for the year or any other form of temporary loan.

"The object of this proposal is, on the one hand, to leave Mr. Gladstone at liberty to object to any new taxing proposals which the new Government may make when they are in possession of official information, and, on the other hand, to prevent any possibility of a deadlock.

"If Dissolution were possible the new Government would have no right to ask their opponents for security against a deadlock; an appeal to the electors would be the Constitutional resource, which it would be their duty to recommend to Your Majesty. But this resource having been cut off by the Redistribution Bill, Lord Salisbury and his Friends feel that they cannot take Office with any advantage to Your Majesty's Service unless they receive from the Leader of the majority an engagement to concur in the measures which are indispensabie for closing the Business of the Session. A substitute for such specific pledges eannot be found in a general declaration that there is no intention to embarrass the new

Government, for the precise bearing of such a declaration will be open, as events arise, to different interpretations."

No. 7 is a letter from myself to Her Majesty dated June 20th, after having received that letter of Lord Salisbury—

June 20, 1 P.M.

"Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty.

"He had the honour to receive between 9.30 and 10 this morning a letter from Sir Henry Ponsonby, written on Your Majesty's behalf, and inclosing a letter from Lord Salisbury to Your Majesty, dated June 19.

"Mr. Gladstone felt it necessary at once to call for the presence of all his late Colleagues who were within reach; and they met at 11, when Mr. Gladstone laid before them the letters which have passed.

"The conditions which it is deemed necessary by Lord Salisbury to require from Mr. Gladstone are stated with great clearness.

"It is a matter of the utmost regret to your Majesty's late Advisers and to Mr. Gladstone himself that Lord Salisbury puts aside without a word a portion of Mr. Gladstone's Memorandum, describing the spirit in which the declaration lately made by him would be interpreted and applied.

"This portion of Mr. Gladstone's Memorandum written on the 18th has received the entire and marked approval of his Colleagues, and he himself had hoped that here might be found a solution of the existing difficulty.

"He is concerned to say for himself and on the part of all the Members of the late Cabinet who have assembled that it would be contrary to their public duty to compromise the liberties of the House of Commons by giving the specific pledges which Lord Salisbury requires."

No. 8 is a letter from Lord Salisbury to Her Majesty, dated the 20th of June, which passed through Her Majesty, and reached me on the 22nd—

"June 20.

"Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to Your Majesty, respectfully acknowledges the receipt of Mr. Gladstone's letter.

"Lord Salisbury much regrets that he should have seemed to Mr. Gladstone to have 'put aside without a word' his reference to the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone undertook to interpret the declaration contained in his own letter of the 17th inst. Lord Salisbury had no intention of doing so. The closing sentence of his last letter to your Majesty was intended to convey that his objection was to the generality of that declaration—an objection which is not sufficiently met by a statement of the spirit in which that declaration was made.

"The declaration to which Mr. Gladstone refers was in these words—'In the conduct of the necessary Business of the country during the remainder of the Session, Mr. Gladstone believes there will be no disposition to embarrass the Government serving Your Majesty.' In the subsequent Memorandum he states that he gives this declaration (which is a declaration of his belief), and that he 'would endeavour to interpret and apply it in the same spirit in which he and his Friends entered upon the recent conferences on the Seats Bill.' Lord Salisbury does not entirely understand the meaning of these words as applied to a declaration of belief. But he is glad to have an opportunity of acknowledging the loyalty with which the arrangements at those conferences have been kept. He believes, however, that their success is mainly due to the distinctness of the 'specific pledges' which were then asked for and given on either side. The spirit which declines all 'specific pledges' is certainly not the spirit in which Mr. Gladstone and his Friends entered on the conferences on the Seats Bill.

"Lord Salisbury is not able to understand on what ground Mr. Gladstone speaks of the 'specific pledges' asked for as compromising the liberties of the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury has only asked whether Mr. Gladstone will vote for a certain form of Budget, and whether he will support a motion for giving to the incoming Government (which cannot commence its work till after the beginning of July) facilities similar to those which are frequently, if not uniformly, given to the Government of the day at some period during that month. Lord Salisbury cannot see in this suggestion anything inconsistent with the liberties of the House of Commons.

"Though the language used by Mr. Gladstone on behalf of his Cabinet gives an emphatic sanction to the declaration already quoted, Lord Salisbury humbly submits that the declaration itself contains no definite assurance of support in respect of the matter mentioned in Lord Salisbury's proposals, and offers no security against an immediate recurrence of the present difficulty."

That, Sir, is letter No. 8, which is dated June 20. It reached me on the 22nd, and I mention that fact because my closing letter is dated on the 21st of June before this letter had reached me. My letter is as follows:—

"10, Downing Street, Whitehall, June 21.

"Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to Your Majesty.

"He had the honour to receive soon after 1 to-day Your Majesty's gracious letter. . . . . He has at no time stated that nothing could be done in the sense indicated by Lord Salisbury, and had, indeed, reason to believe Lord Salisbury is already aware that, in his opinion, facilities for expediting Supply may reasonably be provided, but not so as to place the liberties of the House of Commons in abeyance.

"But his Colleagues have been of opinion that it would not be advisable to enter into argument or detail on the demands of Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Gladstone could not but concur, as his reference to the recent conferences on the Seats Bill has simply led to counter-arguments.

"With regard to finance, looking at all the facts and probabilities before him, Mr. Gladstone feels sure there is no idea of withholding the Ways and Means required for the Public Service, and he apprehends no danger on this score.

"The difficulty which he is unable to surmount lies in endeavours to define beforehand the course

to be taken on questions the exact form of which cannot be foreseen.

"He remains, therefore, without power on his own part and that of his Friends to tender the specific pledges required by Lord Salisbury."

I have now read, Sir, with Her Majesty's permission, all the letters containing assurances as to the conduct of my Friends and myself which I have given to Her Majesty in answer to the request of Lord Salisbury.

MR. ROWLAND WINN: Since I moved that the House at its rising should adjourn until Friday, I have been informed that in consequence of an arrangement which has been made for the meeting of the other House of Parliament to-morrow, I cannot move the Adjournment of the House until Friday. I therefore beg to withdraw that Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

NEW WRITS.

For Devon County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, First Lord of the Treasury.

For Gloucester County (Eastern Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, baronet, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

For Lancaster County (South-Western Division), *v.* Sir Richard Assheton Cross, baronet, Secretary of State.

For Woodstock Borough, *v.* Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State.

For Westminster City, *v.* Right honble. William Henry Smith, Secretary of State.

For Lancaster County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley, Secretary of State.

For Launceston Borough, *v.* Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain.

For Dublin University, *v.* Right honble. Edward Gibson, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

For Middlesex County, *v.* Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty.

For Leicester County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. John James Robert Manners, Postmaster General.

For Lincoln County (Mid Division), *v.* Honble. Edward Stanhope, Vice President of the Council.

For Lincoln County (Mid Division), *v.* Henry Chaplin, esquire, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

For Hertford Borough, *v.* Arthur James Balfour, esquire, President of the Local Government Board.

For Dublin University, *v.* Right honble. David Robert Plunket, First Commissioner of Works.

For Kent County (Mid Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Rowland Winn.*)

NOTICE OF MOTION.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—RENEWAL OF ACT.

MR. PARNELL: I desire, Sir, to take this opportunity, the first I have had since the change of Government that has taken place, to give Notice that upon an early day—the earliest possible day I can secure—I shall call attention to the maladministration of the Criminal Law in Ireland, and more especially certain provisions of the Crime Prevention Act, during the Viceroyalty of Earl Spencer, whereby persons have in some cases been condemned to death and executed, and in others sentenced to penal servitude for life or for long terms of years, which sentences are now in operation; and to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the Government to institute strict inquiry into the evidence and convictions in the Maamtrasna, Barbavilla, Crossmaglen, and Castleisland cases, the case of the brothers Delahunty, and, generally, all cases in which witnesses examined in the trials now declare that they committed perjury, or in which proof of the innocence of the accused is tendered by credible persons, and that such inquiries, with a view to the full discovery of truth and the relief of innocent persons, should be held in the manner most favourable to the reception of all available evidence."

Question put, and *agreed to*.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 25th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * (141); Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * (142); Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * (143); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * (144); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (145); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (146); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (147); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (149); Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment * (128).

Committee — Report — Yorkshire Registries * (133).

Third Reading—East India Unclaimed Stocks * (113), and *passed*.

Royal Assent—Princess Beatrice's Annuity [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 24]; Local Authorities (Expenses of Conferences) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 22]; Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 23]; Burial Boards (Contested Elections) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 21]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 2) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xxix]; Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 1) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xxx]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xxxi]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 3) [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xxxii].

The Earl of REDESDALE—Sat Speaker.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Right Honourable Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD, Knight, having been appointed Lord Chancellor—Sat Speaker.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW MINISTRY—STATEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I rise, for the first time, to occupy the most honourable office of Leader of this House, and to express the hope that, during the time I have the privilege to occupy that position, I may be honoured with that support from your Lordships which you have always given to the Leader of this House, and that I may not be held to fall short of the distinguished men who have preceded me. The political events of the last few days render it unnecessary that I should remind you of what you are acquainted with by the ordinary means of communication, of what has taken place "elsewhere," and especially with the correspondence which has been read in the other House of Parliament; and it is not necessary that I should add very much to the statement which was there made. There are only one or two supplementary facts which, for the understanding of our conduct in this matter, it is necessary that your Lordships should know; but upon which, being matters of a private and personal, more than of a public, interest, I shall not dwell at any unseemly length. When I was summoned by Her Majesty to Balmoral, my first representation to Her Majesty was that, owing to the peculiar legislation which had taken place, the country was in a position of a very exceptional kind—that a Bill had practically passed through both Houses of Parliament by which a Dissolution of Parliament had become impossible, and that the House of Commons was practically, therefore, without that direct responsibility to the constituencies which is an essential part of its Constitutional position. I represented to Her Majesty that, under these circumstances, it was, in my judgment, desirable that the Government, whose legislation had produced this state of things, should take charge of the management of Parliament during the abnormal interval that must transpire before the constituencies could be consulted; and I, while readily acknowledging the responsibility which rests upon any political Party that has produced a defeat of the Government in the House of Commons, was of opinion, in the wholly peculiar and abnormal position in which we stood, that the course I recommended was the wisest to pursue. Her Majesty was graciously pleased to communicate to Mr. Gladstone these opinions of mine. A telegram was sent, in which I urged him to take these circumstances earnestly into consideration, before he finally resolved upon his retirement. Her Majesty received a telegram in reply, in which Mr. Gladstone, reciting some of the events that had taken place, said that, after these events, the retiring Government was precluded from reconsidering its resignation. That was, no doubt, a very important statement, and laid a considerable responsibility upon the Conservative Party. It appeared to

me, however, that, under the circumstances, it would very much assist the conduct of public affairs and the welfare of the Public Service, if the Leader of the majority of the House of Commons would give those pledges which were necessary as an assurance that, in this strange and unusual interval, the Business of Parliament should be wound up with all practicable smoothness and despatch, and that an appeal to the constituencies should take place at the earliest time. Your Lordships are aware of the correspondence which has passed, and you are aware that Mr. Gladstone declined to give specific pledges. In the last letter, however, of that correspondence his attitude was, to some extent, modified. If I might borrow a form of language which, perhaps, might be attributed to him, I should say that, although his pledges were not specific, his general pledges were specifically applied. This last letter, however, I confess did not produce at first upon my mind the impression that we were sufficiently secure from an early recurrence of difficulties and crises to make it desirable that we should undertake the duties of Office. At that stage Her Majesty spontaneously was pleased to intervene—not, I need hardly say, with the slightest partiality for one Party or another; for, throughout the whole of Her Reign, Her Majesty has maintained the most admirable and Constitutional position of impartiality between the two Parties; but simply to call my attention, in very earnest language, to the injury that was being done to the great, the highest interests of the State by the prolongation of the Ministerial crisis; and Her Majesty was pleased to add that, in her opinion, I might reasonably accept Mr. Gladstone's assurances. This testimony of Her Majesty to Mr. Gladstone's loyalty I hardly needed, because I never doubted that loyalty—I doubted the application he would make of the principle on which he acted; still, I could not but pay great deference to an opinion so expressed. What, however, pressed much more strongly upon my mind was the representation which Her Majesty was pleased to make of the evils which a prolonged interval of Ministerial suspension were likely to cause. I could not but consider that in connection with the telegrams which had passed at Balmoral, if it had been possible simply to hand back my task to the retiring Ministry and to call upon them to go on, there would have been much to be said in favour of adopting such a course in the peculiar position of public affairs—I mean the peculiar position arising out of the impossibility of a Dissolution. But that issue had been cut off by these telegrams, and I felt that if I now declined the responsibility of Office on behalf of myself and my Friends, I should be compelling Her Majesty to recur either to new Leaders or to new combinations—that a very great and long delay must necessarily intervene, and that the evil of suspense to the Public Service would probably exceed any evil which we might incur by dispensing with Mr. Gladstone's specific engagement, even if we took the most unfavourable view of the intention which his refusal to give this engagement might imply. Under these circumstances, with the unanimous consent of my Colleagues, I thought it was my duty to assume Office. With that statement I will close any further reference to a subject with regard to which, if I were to push it further, I think I might justly be accused, at a moment of considerable importance and anxiety, of thrusting personal matters into undue and inconvenient prominence. My Lords—rightly or wrongly—we considered that the balance of advantages to the Public Service would rather be consulted by our accepting Office than by our declining it. It is needless for me to dwell upon the question whether we were right or not. The history of the next four or five weeks will furnish a better commentary than any that I could offer, and I trust and earnestly hope that the result will show that we struck the balance in the right direction. My Lords, the time has not come when I can make to your Lordships any statement of the policy of Her Majesty's present Government upon the various difficult questions that lie before us. We have only just entered Office, and we have only just at this moment had access to the information upon which our policy must be based. Before many days have elapsed, it will probably be my duty to make some statement of that kind. In the meantime, I hope I may say that, in circumstances probably more difficult than those in which any other Government has acceded to Office in recent

times, we may look to the kindly and considerate support of our countrymen. We believe that, in view of the state of public affairs, we shall not meet with any large number of politicians who will, of set purpose and desire, impede the progress of government. On the contrary, I am glad to say that I have received, from many moderate men who have no connection with our Party, an assurance that, during this interval, they will do their utmost to forward and smooth the progress of affairs, and enable us to carry on the Business of the country. I feel sure that, at all events, we shall enjoy the support of those out-of-doors who are outside Party strife—who desire that the Public Service should be carried on, and who wish that the interests of the Empire may not be neglected in consequence of the difficulty of arranging Parliamentary disputes and antagonisms; and whether our term of Office be long or short, I earnestly hope that our motives in approaching such a task will not be subject to misconception. Much has been said out-of-doors by some who are even mainly responsible for the position of the prospects of any Government which takes Office at the present time. I believe that distinguished men have talked of the certainty of our being swept off the face of the English constituencies from Devonshire to Cheshire. Well, my recommendation to these distinguished men is not to attempt to add to their many other claims to popular admiration any pretence to the title of prophets. There is no department of human affairs in which prophecy is more dangerous than politics. If they will look back on history, they will find that some of the Ministries which lived the longest were not those which took Office with the highest prospects of predominance or success. One of my earliest recollections of politics is the advent of Lord Palmerston's Government to power in 1855, during the time of the long frost, and I remember then that it was a popular saying that the frost would outlast the Government; but, with very little interval, Lord Palmerston was in Office for, I think, 10 years. I need not refer to the instances further back of Lord Liverpool in 1812, and of Mr. Pitt in 1784; but I deprecate all prophecies of this kind. I do not believe that it is in the power of any political organization, or of any public man, however clear-sighted, to look behind the veil which hides the Parliamentary future from our eyes. I do not think that it is our duty to take any such probabilities into account in the course we shall pursue. We have to devote our energies to performing our duty to our country and our Queen for the time during which we are in Office, without any reference to whether it is to be long or short; and in that course I am convinced we shall have the sympathy and support of our countrymen.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the noble Marquess began his observations by making a very graceful appeal to the House to give him that support which the Leader of the House has generally received from them. I cannot resist the opening which he has just given me for saying very shortly how deeply I feel the general and cordial support I have received from my Friends while holding the position of the Leader, and at the same time the indulgence and forbearance shown to me personally by those who sit opposite to me. My Lords, I should have been very sorry if it had been considered necessary for me to make any lengthened comment upon anything which has fallen from the noble Marquess to-day, and still more if that comment should have had to be of a contentious character. The noble Marquess has made something like an apology for having accepted the command of the Queen to form a Government. It appears to me that that apology is unnecessary. The noble Marquess has, I think, followed a perfectly Constitutional course. I should be the very last person to raise any objection to what he has done; because, if I remember rightly, on almost the very last occasion in which I spoke in this House, I deprecated the existing Government being embarrassed and weakened in their dealings with Foreign Powers, but I strongly urged on those opposed to us the propriety of turning us out if they were able and willing to do so. The noble Marquess only a few weeks ago declined to announce his policy unless he was in Office. He said the urgent necessity of the moment was not to provide a policy, but to change the Government, and to turn out rulers incompetent to deal with public affairs. This declaration was followed by a Vote of Censure of a vital character, proposed

and carried in the House of Commons. It appears to me, according to all the rules of Constitutional principles, the noble Marquess is perfectly entitled to the place he occupies, and that he need not apologize for accepting Office. The noble Marquess has alluded to one or two points which have induced him to do so. One was with regard to the necessity created by Mr. Gladstone's declaration that he would not form a Government. I must go into a little more detail than the noble Marquess on that subject. I think it was on the 11th of June that Mr. Gladstone was asked whether, in the case of the noble Marquess failing to form a Government, he would, with his Colleagues, be prepared to remain. He answered that the refusal or inability of Lord Salisbury would obviously change the situation. Upon that his resignation was accepted. The noble Marquess went down to Balmoral, and it was understood that he went, though not to kiss hands, to accept the duty of forming a Government. On the 13th a question was put to Mr. Gladstone by the Queen, at the instance of the noble Marquess, to which he has referred. Mr. Gladstone answered that no new circumstances had arisen since the noble Marquess was understood to announce publicly his readiness to take Office, and that acceptance of resignations was announced to Parliament yesterday. This precluded any reconsideration by the retiring Government. On the afternoon of the 22nd Sir Henry Ponsonby, whose activity, judgment, and tact in the difficult duty he had to discharge is generally recognized by the noble Marquess and ourselves, according to a note which Mr. Gladstone made at the time, stated that the Queen believed that the late Government did not wish to come back. Mr. Gladstone simply reminded him of his own previous reply, and to the statement he had made that the failure or refusal of Lord Salisbury to form a Ministry would alter the circumstances. He said he could not promise that in such a case matters would be perfectly smooth; but he did feel that in the position which he held it was his duty under such circumstances, as far as he was himself concerned, to make every effort to prevent Her Majesty being left without Advisers. As to the Queen's letter, I should like to go a little more into detail. On an inquiry from Sir Henry Ponsonby, acting under the commands of Her Majesty, Mr. Gladstone suggested that possibly a letter from the Queen to Lord Salisbury, testifying to the sincerity and loyalty of Mr. Gladstone, might re-assure the noble Marquess. The only difference which comes out in the correspondence has, I think, been fairly stated by the noble Marquess. Whereas he for a long time insisted upon specific pledges, Mr. Gladstone entirely refused to give specific pledges which he considered would compromise the liberty of the House of Commons; but in every way, and even with unusual expressions, he showed the cordiality and the sincerity of the determination of himself and his Friends not to throw anything like factious opposition in the way of the Government now forming. Mr. Gladstone certainly suggested that letter with the notion that it might re-assure the noble Marquess in regard to the sincerity of those declarations which he and his late Colleagues had made. That that letter was written is only an exemplification of what the noble Marquess has said, and what I confirm completely. I am not astonished at it, because there has been no exception in such cases from the course which the Queen pursued. That course has been, as regards both the outgoing and incoming Administrations, perfectly Constitutional, so far as I know. The noble Marquess appeals to my Friends not to occupy the position of prophets. I have not the slightest wish to do so. I am perfectly unaware of what the issue of the next General Election will be; but why he should impress on us the duty of not becoming prophets I do not know, seeing that he himself gives us a most clear prophecy, based on historical recollections and ingenious inferences, that he intends to retain his present position for the next nine or 10 years. I will not prophecy myself, but I leave to the noble Marquess all the pleasures and advantages which such self-confidence may inspire in his mind, and in that of his supporters.

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE.—MOTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It being understood that the Adjournment of the House will not interfere with the Judicial Business, I propose to move the Adjournment of the House until the

elections have taken place for the other House. I therefore propose that the House do adjourn until Monday week.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 25th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Third Reading*—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * [166]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [167], and *passed.*

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (REDISTRIBUTION) BILL.

MESSAGE FROM THE LORDS.

Message from *The Lords*—That they do not insist on their Amendments to the Bill to which this House has *disagreed.*

NEW WRITS.

For Lincoln County (Northern Division), *v.* Rowland Winn, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

For Kent (Western Division), *v.* Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household.

For Down County, *v.* Right honble. Arthur William Hill, commonly called Lord Arthur Hill, Controller of Her Majesty's Household.

For Wilts County (Southern Division), *v.* Right honble. William Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household.

For Devon County (Eastern Division), *v.* William Hood Walrond, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For Wilton Borough, *v.* the honble. Sidney Herbert, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For Bute County, *v.* Charles Dalrymple, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury.

For Eye Borough, *v.* Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire, Commissioner of the Admiralty.

The Marquess of Salisbury

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till *Monday* 6th July.—(*Mr. Akers-Douglas.*)

COMMITTEES.

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House.

House adjourned at half after Four o'clock till Monday 6th July.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 26th June, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * (155); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (156); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (157).
Second Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * (153).
Select Committee—Report—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * (114).

The Earl of SELBORNE — Chosen Speaker in the absence of the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners.

PRAYERS.

House adjourned during pleasure; and resumed by the Lord Chancellor.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

The LORD PRESIDENT acquainted the House that Her Majesty had been pleased to create the Right Honourable Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, a Peer of this Realm, by the title of Baron Halsbury of Halsbury in the county of Devon, and his Lordship, having retired to robe, was introduced in the usual manner.

House adjourned at half past Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 29*th June*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 30*th June*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Wednesday, 1*st July*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 2*nd July*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at half past Two o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 3*rd July*, 1885.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

MINISTRY OF THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE,

AS IT STOOD AT THEIR RESIGNATION OF OFFICE.

MINISTRY OF THE MOST NOBLE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY,

AS FORMED ON ACCEPTANCE OF OFFICE.

THE MINISTRY

Of the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

As it stood at their Resignation of Office in June, 1885.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister)	Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Earl of Selborne.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord President of the Council	Right Hon. Lord Carlingford.
Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings	Right Hon. Earl of Rosebery.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers.
Secretary of State, Home Department	Right Hon. Sir William V. Harcourt.
Secretary of State, Foreign Department	Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Right Hon. Earl of Derby.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington.
Secretary of State for India	Right Hon. Earl of Kimberley.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice President of the Committee of Council for Agriculture	Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.
President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain.
President of the Local Government Board	Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke. Bt.
Postmaster General	Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Field Marshal Commanding in Chief	H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.
Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education	Right Hon. A. J. Mundella.
Lords of the Treasury	C. C. Cotes, Esq. Herbert Gladstone, Esq. R. W. Duff, Esq.
Lords of the Admiralty.	Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, Admiral Lord Alcester, Rear Admiral Thomas Brandreth, Vice Admiral Sir William Hewett, William Sproston Caine, Esq., & George W. Rendel, Esq.
Joint Secretaries to the Treasury	Right Hon. Lord Richard Grosvenor. John Tomlinson Hibbert, Esq.
Secretary to the Admiralty	Sir Thomas Brassey.
Secretary to the Board of Trade	John Holms, Esq.
Secretary to the Local Government Board	George William Erskine Russell, Esq.
Under Secretary, Home Department	Henry Hartley Fowler, Esq.
Under Secretary, Foreign Department	Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.
Under Secretary for Colonies	Hon. A. Evelyn Ashley.
Under Secretary for War	Earl of Morley.
Under Secretary for India	J. Kynaston Cross, Esq.
Paymaster General	Right Hon. Lord Wolverton.
Surveyor General of Ordnance	Hon. Henry Robert Brand.
Financial Secretary to the War Department	Colonel Sir Arthur Divett Hayter, Bart.
Judge Advocate General	Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan.
Attorney General	Right Hon. Sir Henry James.
Solicitor General	Sir Farrer Herschell.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. John Blair Balfour.
Solicitor General	Alexander Asher, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. John Naish.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Henry Campbell-Bannerman.
Attorney General	Samuel Walker, Esq.
Solicitor General	The Macdermott.

QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward	Right Hon Earl Sydney.
Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Earl of Kenmare.
Master of the Horse	His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G.
Treasurer of the Household	Right Hon. Earl of Breadalbane.
Comptroller of the Household	Right Hon. Lord Kensington.
Vice Chamberlain of the Household	Right Hon. Lord Charles Bruce.
Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms	Right Hon. Lord Carrington.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Right Hon. Lord Monson.
Master of the Buckhounds	Right Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal	Lord Alfred H. Paget.
Mistress of the Robes	Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe.

THE MINISTRY

Of the Most Noble the Marquess of SALISBURY, K.G.,

As Formed on Acceptance of Office June-July, 1885.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Prime Minister)	The Most Noble The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.
Lord Chancellor of England	Right Hon. Lord Halsbury.
Lord Chancellor of Ireland	Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon.
Lord President of the Council	Right Hon. Viscount Cranbrook.
Lord Privy Seal	Right Hon. Earl of Harrowby.
First Lord of the Treasury	Right Hon. Earl of Iddesleigh, G.C.B.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart.
Secretary of State, Home Department	Right Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Right Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. William Henry Smith.
Secretary of State for India	Right Hon. Lord Randolph Churchill.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton.
President of the Board of Trade	His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G.
Postmaster General	Right Hon. Lord John Manners, G.C.B.
Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education	Right Hon. Edward Stanhope.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Field Marshal Commanding in Chief	H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice President of the Committee of Council on Agriculture	Right Hon. Henry Chaplin.
President of the Local Government Board	Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour.
First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings	Right Hon. David Robert Plunket.
Lords of the Treasury	Charles Dalrymple, Esq. Hon. Sidney Herbert. Colonel Walrond.
Lords of the Admiralty	Vice Admiral Hood, Vice Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins, Vice Admiral Brandreth, Captain Codrington, Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Esq.
Joint Secretaries to the Treasury	Aretas Akers-Douglas, Esq. Sir Henry Holland, Bart.
Secretary to the Admiralty	Charles Thompson Ritchie, Esq.
Secretary to the Board of Trade	Baron Henry de Worms.
Secretary to the Local Government Board	Right Hon. Earl Brownlow.
Under Secretary, Home Department	Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley, Esq.
Under Secretary, Foreign Department	Right Hon. Robert Bourke.
Under Secretary for Colonies	Right Hon. Earl of Dunraven.
Under Secretary for War	Right Hon. Viscount Bury.
Under Secretary for India	Right Hon. Lord Harris.
Paymaster General	Right Hon. Earl Beauchamp.
Surveyor General of Ordnance	Hon. Guy Cuthbert Dawnay.
Financial Secretary to the War Department	Hon. H. S. Northcote.
Judge Advocate General	Right Hon. William Thackeray Marriott, Q.C.
Attorney General	Sir Richard E. Webster, Q.C.
Solicitor General	John Eldon Gorst, Esq., Q.C.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	John Hay Athol Macdonald, Q.C.
Solicitor General	J. P. Bannerman-Robertson, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke.
Attorney General	Right Hon. Hugh Holmes, Q.C.
Solicitor General	John Monroe, Esq., Q.C.

QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward	Right Hon. Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe.
Lord Chamberlain	Right Hon. Earl of Lathom.
Master of the Horse	Right Hon. Earl of Bradford.
Treasurer of the Household	Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone.
Comptroller of the Household	Right Hon. Lord Arthur Hill.
Vice Chamberlain of the Household	Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham.
Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms	Right Hon. Earl of Coventry.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Right Hon. Viscount Barrington.
Master of the Buckhounds	Most Noble the Marquess of Waterford.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal	Lord Alfred H. Paget.
Mistress of the Robes	Her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 6th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—*Referred to Select Committee* — Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment (127).

Committee—Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (136); Water Provisional Orders * (137); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (149); Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.) * (80).

Committee—Report—Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * (141); Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * (142); Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * (143); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * (144); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (145); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (146); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * (152).

Third Reading—Yorkshire Registries * (133), and *passed.*

NEW PEERS.

The Right Honourable Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Baronet, G.C.B., having been created Viscount Saint Cyres of Newton Saint Cyres in the county of Devon, and Earl of Iddesleigh in the same county—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable Edward Gibson, Chancellor of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, having been created Baron Ashbourne of Ashbourne in the county of Meath—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Rowland Winn, Esquire, having been created Baron Saint Oswald of Nostell in the West Riding of the county of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 127.)

(*The Viscount Enfield.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day read for taking into consideration Standing Order No. 93. in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a petition or petitions of the Metropolitan Water Companies praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill.

LORD BRAMWELL, in moving that the said Standing Order be now considered, said, the Bill was really a Private Bill, and ought, therefore, to go before a Select Committee, in order that the Water Companies might be heard against it. If it were arranged that the Bill was to be referred to a Committee he should not trouble their Lordships. As the Bill was introduced in the other House, it affected all the Water Companies in the country; but in its present form it only applied to the Metropolis. Petitions could not be presented in time against the Bill, owing to the delay in ascertaining its real character. The Bill affected £30,000,000 of property, and contained proposals of a most unjustifiable character. It would, in fact, take away one-fifth or one-sixth of the income of the Metropolitan Water Companies. Their Lordships must, therefore, see that these Companies ought to be heard against it.

Moved, "That the said Standing Order be now considered."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, he could not agree to the noble and learned Lord's proposals. The Bill was essentially a Public Bill, and was decided so to be by an overwhelming majority—146 to 31—in the other House. He hoped, in the interests of 4,000,000 of ratepayers, that the Bill would be read a second time. If, after reading the Bill a second time, it should be the pleasure of the House to refer it to a Select Committee for consideration, but not for taking evidence, there would be no objection to that course.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that no doubt in the other House it was a Public Bill, as it then applied to the whole Kingdom; but it was certainly not so in its present form.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON) said, he could not agree with the view of the noble and learned Lord that the Bill would inflict gross injustice. It was because he believed it would have the contrary effect that he, on the part

of the Government, would support the second reading. He regarded the Bill as one of the fairest that could be framed. The Water Companies had been in the habit of assessing property in a fashion of their own. The Bill provided a fair and equitable method of assessment, such as was provided by the quinquennial assessment under the Metropolitan Valuation Act. If the mode of assessing property to the poor and other rates in the Metropolis was just, there could be no hardship in requiring the Water Companies to base their charges upon that assessment, as the Bill proposed.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he agreed with all the noble Duke had said. The Bill was undoubtedly as much a Public Bill as any measure in the world could be. Upon that ground, as well as upon the merits, he should support the second reading.

EARL BROWNLOW (SECRETARY to the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD) said, he also should support the second reading of the Bill; and urged the appointment of a Select Committee before which the Water Companies might be heard, by themselves or their agents, but not by counsel or witnesses.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS observed that the late Lord Chancellor had said there was not the slightest doubt that this was essentially a Public Bill. There were, however, other authorities in that House who held an opinion different from that of his noble and learned Friend, and those authorities were the Examiners of Bills. They held that by the change made in the House of Commons, which restricted the operation of the measure to the Metropolis, it became *ipso facto* a Private Bill, and ought to be treated accordingly. No doubt, the ratepayers of the Metropolis would be very glad to have cheap water; but there was a consideration even more important than the question of cheap water for the 4,000,000 of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. That consideration was whether they would be doing justice to the Companies in the matter of their property. All that the Companies had done was to exercise their legal rights, which their Lordships were now asked to take from them. He could not but think that the course suggested by his noble and learned Friend (Lord Bramwell) was the right course—that the Bill should become a Private Bill, and that the Water Companies should be allowed to appear by counsel before the Committee.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he must deny that the measure deprived the Companies of any of their legal rights. It would simply make law that which was virtually law already by the decision of their Lordships' House in the Dobbs case.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he was not prepared to accede to the appointment of a special Committee in this particular case. If their Lordships generally were of opinion that the Bill should pass the second reading, he should offer no opposition to that course. In his opinion, the Bill ought to be allowed to be proceeded with in the usual way.

LORD FITZGERALD said, there could be no doubt that this Bill was introduced in the House of Commons as a Public and not a Private Bill, its object being simply to alter in one particular the provisions of a Public Act which applied to the whole Kingdom. Under the Act of 1847, the water rate was to be levied upon the valuation; but, by a singular omission, no authority was created to determine what the valuation was to be. Accordingly, the Water Companies themselves became the valuators, and levied the rate upon the rateable value as they chose to fix it. It was provided that in case of dispute the matter might be referred to a magistrate; but what chance had an individual against one of these wealthy Companies? If their Lordships read the records of the decisions of the magistrates, they would find that, as there was no principle to guide the Justices, their rulings were eccentric in the highest degree.

LORD BRAMWELL, interposing, said, he did not know that. At all events, it was a subject which ought to be investigated by a Committee.

LORD FITZGERALD, resuming, said, that the decisions of the magistrates, acting without any guide given to them by the Act of Parliament, were irregular, often unjust, and eccentric. The present Bill was intended to operate for the public protection, and he was at a loss to understand on what ground it could be treated as a Private Bill. Mr.

Frederick Clifford, in his useful work, page 269, said—

"The rule that Bills affecting a particular locality are private Bills is departed from in the case of measures relating to the whole Metropolis (*i.e.*, the Metropolitan district). These are frequently dealt with as Public Bills, the large area, the number of parishes, the vast population, and the variety of interests concerned constituting them measures of public policy rather than of local interest."

Mr. Clifford went on in his work to show that on some occasions Bills affecting the Metropolitan district had been dealt with as Hybrid Bills; but never where the object was to declare the effect of a public statute. When the Bill now before the House was in Committee in the House of Commons, Mr. Coope, representing the Water Companies, brought forward a Motion precisely similar to that of the noble and learned Lord's; but it was rejected by an overwhelming majority, because the Bill was a Public and not a Private Bill.

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative.*

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to require the Metropolitan Water Companies to rate the occupiers of premises on their rateable instead of upon their annual value, subject to the quinquennial revision provided for by the Act passed in 1869. He asked their Lordships to read the Bill a second time on the clear understanding that it would be referred to a Select Committee of their Lordships upstairs —not to a Private nor to a Hybrid Committee, but to a Public Committee.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Viscount Enfield.*)

LORD BRAMWELL said, he must oppose the second reading of the Bill. He was not a shareholder in any Water Company, and he had no personal interest whatever in the matter; but he protested against the Water Companies being compelled to be bound by the rateable value, which in a large number of cases was notoriously far below the real net annual value of the property. [*Cries of* "No!"] He said peremptorily "Yes."

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly; and *referred* to a Select Committee.

Lord Fitzgerald

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—STATEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (PRIME MINISTER): My Lords, in moving the adjournment of the House, it may be convenient that I should state, as far as it is possible to do so, the condition of one or two important questions in which your Lordships take a great interest, and which affect considerably the foreign policy and position of this country. The first matter—a matter of the gravest importance, of course—is the negotiations which have been taking place for some time with the Court of Russia in respect to the Frontier of Afghanistan. In respect to this case, and in respect to others, I need not point out to you that our business is now not to consider or to comment upon the past; we find the threads as they have been left by our Predecessors; and it is our business to take up the policy where it has been left, and conduct it to such an issue as seems to us consistent with the public interest. It is not our business now to enter into any controversial questions which may formerly have been raised in respect to it; and still more your Lordships will observe the very material restriction on our action and on our statements, which arises from the fact that we have come into these matters right in the middle of them, and that we are finishing, or furnishing the end of that which others have begun. The consequence of that is that many pledges have been given; and the first duty of any Government, whether it is fresh or has lasted for a considerable time, or from whatever side of the House or Party in politics it is drawn—the first Business of any Government is to see that the pledges which the English Government, as the English Government, has given shall be observed. That is the dominant condition which overrides any other in the consideration of the negotiations which we have inherited; and it is the condition which for a certain space of time, until those pledges have been fulfilled, must materially and considerably limit our freedom of action. My Lords, that statement is eminently illustrated by this question of the Frontier of Afghan-

istan. The difference, or the chief difference, affects a certain portion of the Frontier, perhaps not very intimately known to your Lordships, which is called the Pass of Zulfikar. The importance of that Pass, be it great or small, is not a matter which comes before us for our consideration, because the dominant condition under which we deal with it is not the consideration of its importance or non-importance to England or Afghanistan; but it is the fact that England has promised to the Ameer that this Pass shall be included within the limits of Afghanistan, and from that promise so given it is not open to us to recede. It is of high and vital importance that we should establish in the eyes of all who trust us or depend upon us, not only in Asia but elsewhere, but especially in Asia, that the word of England once given will be sustained and adhered to. But I am bound to say that this promise given to the Ameer was only consequent upon another promise given by the Court of Russia that the Zulfikar Pass should be included within the territory of Afghanistan. But differences have arisen as to the precise application of this promise, and these differences are now the subject of negotiations. It is, perhaps, rather early for me to express an opinion as to the issue, or as to the mode in which those negotiations will pass along; but as far as I have had an opportunity of judging they are conducted by the Court of Russia, as they are undoubtedly conducted on our side, with an earnest desire to arrive at an amicable settlement; and I hope, therefore, that an amicable settlement may be anticipated. At the same time, in hoping that that will be the case, I must say that the negotiations have not gone far enough to enable me to speak in any positive manner. The lamentable domestic affliction which we all deplore has prevented the Minister for Foreign Affairs from pursuing the negotiations at this moment; and we must regret it all the more as M. de Giers has, in all the differences which have arisen between this country and Russia, been such a friend of peace that our sympathy is doubly due to him. My Lords, I would not, at the same time, ask you to attach too final or conclusive importance to these negotiations —whenever they are concluded. Without entering upon the question of the views which various potentates entertain, it is a matter known to all who have studied the subject, however slightly, that the whole condition of affairs in those countries is in a state of unstable equilibrium; and it is not in Treaties or Agreements, though they may be useful in their way, that we must trust for the defence of the precious interests which we have in those countries; and although we shall cultivate—and, I trust, successfully cultivate—the confidence and friendship of the Ameer of Afghanistan, it is not to the friendship of the Ameer of Afghanistan that we must trust for the protection of our interests. It is to preparations skilfully devised and vigorously and rapidly carried out for the defence of our Frontier at all points where it is weak; it is to the erection of bulwarks which shall not only defend the Frontier when it is attacked, but which shall stretch out far enough to prevent the tide of war rolling to its foot—it is to preparation of that kind which we trust; and, whatever may be the political changes in England, or whatever Party in the State may hold the predominance, I hope they will from this time forth never for an instant be abandoned or relaxed. The other matter which occupies the greatest share of public attention is, perhaps, one of the most complicated and entangled problems ever submitted to any Government to solve—the problem of the present position of Egypt. If I affected to have a formula which, like a spell, would solve all difficulties, your Lordships would justly mistrust the knowledge I have acquired of the conditions of that problem. The difficulties are enormous, and they are of many kinds, and what I am going to do now is rather to indicate to you the heads and chapters under which the difficulties may be arranged than to point out the precise nature of the remedies we propose to adopt. I take that course for the obvious reason that we must, before we resolve upon our definite course, take the counsels of all those who are best fitted by experience and knowledge to guide us in the matter. The most important consideration that should be before our minds is so to weigh our steps that once taken they should not be retraced; that our policy should be steady without oscillation; and if it fulfils those conditions the main essentials of a cure will

have been obtained, even although the results should not be rapidly arrived at. Now, the first of all the difficulties with which we have to deal is that we have a triumphant enemy on the Frontier. On the Frontier at Khartoum, on the Frontier at Suakin, we have an enemy, who, at all events, according to his own ideas—and that is the important thing—has been triumphant in the recent struggle. He has prevented us from attaining the objects that we had in view, and he has seen us retire from the ground which we occupied. It is idle to suppose that with the tenacity of purpose the Mahdi has already shown, strengthened by the fanaticism of the tribes who have devoted themselves with such splendid courage to his cause—it is idle to suppose that we can look forward to a passive or an indolent attitude on his part. We must, until we have conquered him, treat his strength as one of the dangers of Egypt, and therefore it is that the military question is more important than any other. The most momentous issue we have to decide is how we shall apply the Forces of Egypt, assisted, no doubt, in some measure by ourselves—and assisted, it may be, in other ways—so as to keep this tide of fanatic and sanguinary barbarism at a distance—how we shall be able to secure the Frontiers of Egypt, whatever they may be, so that the civilization we are anxious to leave behind us shall flourish without danger whenever the time shall come for our protecting hand to be withdrawn. My Lords, the difficulty does not rest there; the military difficulty is enormous, but the political difficulty connected with the Soudan is, perhaps, greater still. Vast territories which were under the Government of Egypt have ceased to be practically under its control—desolation has swept over them, and every vestige of progress and civilization has disappeared, and the population, in many cases, has been reduced to a miserable remnant. Yet we cannot abandon these Provinces entirely to their fate. The Soudan is a name, popularly given to districts of vast extent, differing very much from each other in their character and in their importance to Egypt. There is the question how much of the Soudan ought to remain under the actual Government of Egypt. There is the further question how much beyond that ought to be so far under the military control of Egypt that attack from the forces of the Desert shall no longer be feared. These questions have to be solved, and they must be solved before we can say we have placed Egypt in a position of security, or before we have discharged the debt which our past intervention and the effect which our actions have had upon that country has thrown upon us. My Lords, these are the two main problems connected with Egypt with which we have to deal; but they are exceeded in momentary importance by another, which very much occupied the attention of our Predecessors—I mean the financial question. Lord Northbrook—I do not see him in the House—went to Egypt last autumn and made an elaborate Report recommending certain measures. These measures had for their object the solution of the financial difficulty under which Egypt laboured. A Convention was afterwards concluded, which, whatever else may be said of it, would have relieved the Egyptian Government of some of its worst difficulties; I believe it would have enabled it to pay off its indemnities, and would have enabled it to prevent the appearance of a deficit which is now threatening it. But that Convention, although it has been concluded, has been prevented from coming into operation by diplomatic difficulties; and until those difficulties—and I hope they are in the way of solution—have been solved, the financial condition of Egypt is not less embarrassing, and not less a hindrance to all possible progress in that country, than it has been before. My Lords, finance is really the question of the first importance, and until that is settled nothing can be done. If those diplomatic difficulties cannot be removed, the financial deadlock must be put a stop to by measures of the severest economy; but one way or another nothing can be done until a satisfactory balance-sheet is established in Egypt. One difficulty is to keep the Frontier safe from the barbarous enemies who have won so many advantages at our expense. The next is to determine the political condition, and to fix the political relations of Egypt to the vast territories which have been the scenes of all these lamentable events. Behind and beyond all these matters, when they have been settled, and not till then, will arise the

very serious group of questions which belong to our International relations with other countries—questions which assuredly will require solution, but which do not press acutely for solution now. My Lords, I have stated these difficulties to your Lordships fully for the purpose of impressing upon you that a wise and circumspect policy in dealing with them requires that we should have time for obtaining the fullest advice from those who are best fitted to give it, and that we should obtain the advice in such a manner as may seem to us most necessary. It is impossible that we can restore Egypt to the condition in which she was before our troops landed unless we make up our minds to a somewhat lengthy process. There is really no alternative before us but steadily buckling to with a view of amending all the evils, or a considerable number of the evils which exist, by a cautious and circumspect policy. There is no alternative between that and taking a course which it seems to me would cover England with shame—that is, abandoning Egypt to her fate, and to all the anarchy and the chaos that would follow. I only wish to say one other word on this subject. Among the many evil conditions with which we have had to deal in Egypt we have had one conpensation; we have had to deal with a Khedive who, throughout the whole of this calamitous history, has shown himself loyal and steadfast to England. To him, therefore, we are bound by every consideration of honour. With respect to domestic matters, as it has been said that—"Happy is the nation that has no history;" for the same reason I hope that the Parliament of England may be happy during the next few weeks. I need not enlarge again upon the anomalous position in which we find ourselves, and the very peculiar circumstances under which we are conducting the Business of the country; but they seem to us to point to an avoidance of contentious subjects of legislation, the passing of necessary measures, and bringing the Session to a close as soon as we can. With respect to Ireland I will not say anything, because my noble Friend the Viceroy is here, and I hope he will say a few words upon the policy which the Government will recommend. With respect to other matters, I do not think there is any Bill of importance beyond the ordinary necessary Bills which, at all events in this House, it is desirable for us to insist upon, except the Bill brought in by my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Rosebery)—the Bill for the Secretaryship of Scotland. If the noble Earl is disposed to go on with that Bill, he will meet with all the assistance in our power, as we think it very desirable, if possible, to carry out legislation on that subject in the present year. With that exception, I think we shall best do our duty by passing the necessary measures only, and in thus bringing the Session to a close. With very great surprise I have seen it suggested by some people that there is a dark design on the part of Her Majesty's Government to push the Dissolution off as far as possible for the purpose of enjoying what some people are pleased to call the sweets of Office a few weeks longer. I leave it to the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) to say whether I did not, after the fall of the late Government, suggest a clause to him for the purpose of accelerating the Dissolution. I took into counsel the permanent officers of the Government in conjunction with the noble Lord as to the earliest time when we could have a Dissolution; and we came to the conclusion that November 17th, speaking roughly, was about the earliest date on which we could confidently expect the arrangements for the Dissolution to be complete. That was the day they furnished to me. It is prophesying a long time ahead; but I can assure your Lordships that no Party will be more desirous of bringing this anomalous condition of things to an end than we shall be, and no delaying of the Dissolution need be feared at our hands. I do not think there is anything else with which I need detain your Lordships, and I will therefore make way for my noble Friend.

Moved, "That the House do now adjourn."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND (The Earl of CARNARVON): My Lords, my noble Friend has desired that I should state to your Lordships the general position that Her Majesty's Government are prepared to occupy with regard to Irish affairs, and I hope to do so in comparatively few sentences. I need not tell your Lordships what everyone in this House knows, the nature of

events which has brought us to the present position. It will be perhaps sufficient if, by quoting a few figures, I show what the state of agrarian crime was a few years ago, what it has since been in the interval, and what it is at the present time. In 1878 agrarian crime in Ireland stood at 301 cases. In the following year there were 860, and in the three following years 1880, 1881, and 1882 the cases reached the enormous totals of 2,580, 4,439, and 3,433 respectively. In 1883, after the Crimes Act had passed, agrarian crimes fell to 870, and last year to 762. I ought, perhaps, to supplement that statement by saying that in 1884, I think, that there was no case of the worst form of agrarian crime. I think there was not one case of actual murder, and the calendars promise to be of a comparatively, if not singularly, light character. The substance, therefore, of the statement is that whereas crime rose in those three years to an enormous figure, it has since fallen to what I do not call an absolutely normal level, but to the same level, in fact below the level, of 1879. In these circumstances, the question has naturally arisen—what Her Majesty's Government are to do; and it is impossible to conceive a graver or a more serious matter on which to deliberate. Within a very short time—indeed, within a time to be numbered by weeks—the Crimes Act expires, and the question is what course should be taken? Three courses are possible. Either you may re-enact the Crimes Act in the whole, or you may re-enact it in part, or you may allow it to lapse altogether. I think very few persons would be disposed to advocate its re-enactment as a whole. Some of the clauses of that Act have never been put into operation at all, some are accepted by common consent as useless; some powers which it contains may be exercised equally well under the ordinary law. Some, again, are so exceptional that they can only properly be required and put in force in very exceptional times. Therefore, I dismiss the consideration of the re-enactment of the Crimes Act as a whole. The more serious and practical question is whether it shall be re-enacted in part. No one, I think, can deny that there are some provisions in that Act which have proved effective and are useful, such, for instance, as that for the change of venue; such, again, as the clauses dealing with special juries and the power of allowing a magisterial inquiry to be held although there is no accused person; or, again, the clauses with regard to intimidation. Many of those are powers which are not unconstitutional, and which are not opposed to any legal instincts. On the contrary, they have an analogy to existing laws; they are known to the Scotch law, were recommended by the Criminal Code legislation of 1879, and are actually embodied, if I mistake not, in the Bill brought in by the late Attorney General. But, my Lords, that seems to me to be hardly the point at this moment; because if you re-enact these clauses and these clauses alone, as many contend is expedient, such re-enactment, I hold, would be in the nature of exceptional or special legislation, and my own feeling is that unless in the last resource such special legislation is not desirable. One of two things must take place—either legislation of this nature must be permanent or it must be temporary. If it is permanent, then I think that the majority of this House will agree with me that it is right that it should be a universal and general enactment. If, on the other hand, it is to be temporary, then I, for one, can see no advantage gained. It is a mere stop-gap, and the moment it lapses the same difficulty which you have at this moment recurs, and you have to face exactly the same question. When that Act was passed three years ago the limit of three years was assigned for its operation. It was an Act much considered and much debated, and I cannot come to any other conclusion but that the Legislature, in assigning that limit of three years, thought that at the end of that time the effects designed would be produced and the Act might come to an end. To imagine any other conclusion would be stultifying Parliament. The results are those which I have described; crime has fallen, has reached an almost normal level, and has remained at that level during the last two years. The Act having produced, as all agree, its effect, and the three years having lapsed, it seems hard once more to call upon Parliament to re-enact it. I believe, for my own part, that special legislation of this sort is inexpedient. It is inexpedient while it is in operation,

because it must conjure up a sense of restlessness and irritation, and it is still more inexpedient when it has to be renewed at short intervals, and brings before the minds of the people of the country that they are to be kept under peculiar and exceptional coercion. Now, I have looked through a good many of the Acts that have been passed, I may say, during the last generation for Ireland; and I have been astonished to find that ever since the year 1847, with some very short intervals which are hardly worth mentioning, Ireland has lived under exceptional and coercive legislation. No sane man can admit that this is a satisfactory or a wholesome state of things. It does seem to me that it is very desirable, if possible, to extricate ourselves from this miserable habit, and to aim at some wholesome and better solution. But more than being undesirable, I hold that such legislation is practically impossible if it is to be continually and indefinitely re-enacted. I think it was Count Cavour who said that it was easy to govern in a state of siege. Without arguing upon that, I admit possibly the truth of it—I say it is true as far as this, that it may be easy to govern in a state of siege for a time, but to attempt to govern permanently is, I believe, utterly impossible. It may be said that this is a question of trust. No doubt, it is a question of trust; but trust begets trust, and it is, after all, the only foundation upon which we can hope to build up amity and concord between the two nations. I know of nothing more sad than to see how, instead of diminishing under the healing process of time, there has been a growth of ill-will between these two nations; and I think it is time to try how far we may appeal to better feelings. I, for my own part, believe that Ireland will justify the confidence which is shown her when this Act is allowed to lapse. My noble Friend has said that it is impossible for us to effect much legislation during the short remainder of the Session. The same remark applies to Ireland; yet I will say this—that though little comparatively can be done, something, I think, may be achieved; and if we meet with forbearance, and more than forbearance, with support in "another place," I am not without hopes that some reasonable measure in the direction of a Land Purchase Bill may be secured. I am not without hopes that some measure amending the Labourers Act, 1883, may also be secured. However that may be, as far as regards legislation, if I am asked further as to policy, I will speak generally in these terms. So far as the mere administration of the law is concerned, it is our hope and intention to administer the ordinary law firmly and effectually. So far as the larger field of government, which includes law, and more than law, is concerned, I hope we shall deal justly, and that we shall secure, perhaps, a somewhat better, wholesomer, and kindlier relation, I will not say merely between classes, creeds, or races, but between the rulers and the ruled; and, above all, it is my wish so to study as to understand those questions of discord which have torn these two nations apart. My Lords, Ireland has had a very stormy and disastrous history; faction, Party spirit, and misgovernment have left their enduring marks on the face of the people of the country. There have been so many failures that the wrecks of them lie strewn all about; but I cannot and will not lightly believe that the combination of good feeling to England and of good government to Ireland is a hopeless task. My Lords, I do not believe that, with honesty and single-mindedness of purpose on the one side, and with the willingness of the Irish people on the other, it is hopeless to look for some satisfactory solution of this terrible question. My Lords, these I believe to be the opinions and the views of my Colleagues. I can only say for myself that, in undertaking the task which has been laid upon me, I individually go to it with a perfectly free, open, and unprejudiced mind, to hear, to question, and, as far as may be, to understand. And just as I have seen in English Colonies across the sea a combination of English, Irish, and Scotch settlers bound together in loyal obedience to the law and the Crown, and contributing to the general prosperity of the country, so I cannot conceive that there is any irreconcilable bar here in their native home and in England to the unity and the amity of the two nations.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: In the absence, I am sorry to say, of my noble Friend the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who is not well, it devolves upon

me to make a few observations upon the two very important statements which we have just heard. And, first of all, before I touch on the remarks of the noble Marquess as to foreign affairs, I desire to say that I never for one moment believed in what I conceived to be the absurd rumour to which he has referred, that the noble Marquess had the slightest intention to postpone the Dissolution beyond the earliest convenient moment. With regard to the two very important questions of foreign affairs relating to Afghanistan and to Egypt, I wish to state that I concur generally in what the noble Marquess said as to the question of the Afghan Frontier; and although I, perhaps, looking to the opinion of experts, should not altogether attach no importance to the Zulfikar Pass, still I concur with the noble Marquess that the main point connected with it in the present negotiations rests on the fact that the Ameer has attached great importance to that Pass, that we received a promise, as we understood, from the Russian Government that certain positions in the Zulfikar Pass would be left to Afghanistan; and we informed the Ameer that that Pass should remain in his possession. I agree also that it is of the first importance that all the pledges and promises of this country should be fully and scrupulously observed. I have likewise great satisfaction in concurring in the general view of the noble Marquess as to Afghan affairs. When I sat on the other side of the House I stated that I entirely agreed with him that we must not in these affairs look merely to Treaties for our security and for the safety of India. Treaties record the agreements made between different countries, and have their obvious advantages; but at all times a nation is unwise in trusting to Treaties alone, and especially in a case of this kind where, as the noble Marquess pointed out, from the very nature of the Afghan nation, there exists a very loose condition of affairs which may change rapidly from time to time. And I certainly regard it as of the greatest moment, as the noble Marquess has intimated, that whatever Party should have to deal with this question, or whatever Government should be in Office in this country, we should firmly and steadily keep in view the placing of India in a thorough position of defence. If that is done, no matter what may take place, we shall be ready for events; and, in my opinion, events are more likely to take a peaceful turn if we are in a thorough state of defence. With regard to Egypt, as the noble Marquess truly said, a more difficult and more complicated diplomatic and also military problem was never under the consideration of a Government; and I say at once, if the noble Marquess, by the firm and careful treatment of the question which he has promised in language of the greatest moderation, can disentangle it from some of the extraordinary difficulties which surround it, I feel sure that all Parties, both in Parliament and in the country, will rejoice. The noble Marquess, alluding to the military part of the question, rather, as I think, overestimated the triumphant position of the Mahdi. According, at least, to the information which we had before we left Office, the Mahdi was not quite in so triumphant a position as the noble Marquess appeared to suppose. It is perfectly true, and lamentably true, that we failed in the great object of the Expedition for the relief of Khartoum and the heroic General Gordon; but, at the same time, it would be a misrepresentation, which I am sure no one in this House would wish to encourage, to represent that our Army had been unsuccessful, when, in point of fact, they invariably succeeded against their enemies in one gallant engagement after another; and I should strongly deprecate the erroneous idea gaining currency that the Mahdi had succeeded against our armed efforts, or that our troops had suffered any defeat.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I beg the noble Earl's pardon. What I wished to convey was that the Mahdi had been triumphant in his own belief, which, I think, is important.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I have not referred to the point by way of reproach to the noble Marquess; but I felt that it was only due to our troops, after all their services and all their endurance in that country, that there should be no misconception as to the result of their efforts. No doubt the retirement of our troops may have led the Mahdi to believe that within certain bounds he had been successful; but he has shown a very strong dread of our troops; a very high

respect for the power of the British arms has been established in that country; and I do not believe that he will soon be ready to confront our soldiers again. However that may be, it has yet to be seen whether the Mahdi can maintain his power. The noble Marquess viewed with some apprehension—and there may be some grounds for apprehension—the Mahdi's approach to Egypt. The invasion of Egypt by the Mahdi on a great scale has always seemed to us not the evil which was so much to be feared. What is most to be feared is the spread of the Mahdi's doctrines and his influence, which cannot be arrested by our troops. In that I recognize a real and serious danger; and I shall be glad to see any method by which it can be effectually removed. I apprehend that there is only one way of doing that—namely, by the establishment of a stable Government in Egypt, and one which has the confidence and respect of the population. Then the noble Marquess pointed out the enormous difficulty of fulfilling that task; yet that task has been undertaken by the Government of this country. We undertook to support the Khedive, of whom I was glad to hear the noble Marquess speak as he did in terms which were fully deserved, and terms which, if he will allow me to say so, were most judicious at the present moment. Unfortunately, our task in Egypt has been almost rendered impossible by the financial position of the country. The finances of Egypt have been in such confusion that it has been impossible to establish an equilibrium. The noble Marquess knows that our attempts to bring about a financial equilibrium have not met with that assistance and co-operation from other Powers which was desirable, and which, I think, we might have expected, especially as it is in the interest of all Europe that some stable condition of affairs should be established in Egypt. If the noble Marquess can succeed in an agreement with other Powers to bring about the financial solvency of Egypt, I shall not for one be sorry that he should have these matters in hand, and should try his abilities on this subject; and I trust that he will succeed. Having made these few observations on the Egyptian and Afghan questions, I now come to what is a question quite as grave and serious, and one which comes nearer home—I mean the subject which was referred to by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The noble Earl will not mistake me or think that I speak from Party feeling if I say that is a very unusual, if not an unprecedented, course that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should make a statement of policy in this House. I only remember one instance in which a Lord Lieutenant took such a part in this House—namely, the case when Lord Clarendon was attacked by Resolution. The position of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland is one of great peculiarity; and I am sure that the noble Earl will agree with me that it is desirable as much as possible that that he should be separated from Party politics. Having said that, I freely acknowledge the careful way in which the noble Earl approached the question. My noble Friend has taken what may be termed a broad view of the question of exceptional legislation for Ireland. He has looked at the matter generally, and has come to the conclusion that exceptional legislation is a great evil. I suppose that that is a fact which we are all ready to admit. There cannot be the slightest doubt that exceptional legislation is an evil. The noble Earl told us that in Ireland it has continued for a certain number of years; and there is no doubt that, in the opinion of every reasonable man, it is a misfortune that exceptional legislation should be required. The question remains—is the condition of Ireland or, is it not, such that we can safely dispense with legislation of this character? I do not think anyone will contradict me when I say that nothing could be more disagreeable to us, or less in accordance with our general political views, than to have recourse to this exceptional legislation, and we showed our reluctance when we came into Office, because at that time we found ourselves in a position not altogether unlike that in which the present Government now stands. We found exceptional legislation which was to expire in about 10 days, and found ourselves face to face with the question whether or not it should be renewed. We came to the conclusion—after, I must say, much doubt and discussion, but upon those broad grounds which we have heard from my noble Friend—that we would make the experiment of dispensing with exceptional legislation and

govern Ireland under the ordinary law. We were not, however, so sanguine as my noble Friend; and perhaps the reason was that some of us had had a little more experience than he has had of Irish affairs; but still we were in hope—and it is no breach of confidence to say that Mr. Forster had strong hopes—that it would be possible to govern Ireland in the ordinary manner. We were grievously disappointed. Every one knows what happened, and that the result of that experiment was disastrous. Everyone knows what attacks were made upon us, not, perhaps, without justification considering the results which followed. While I do not wish to say a word to add to the difficulties of the Government, or to embarrass my noble Friend the present Lord Lieutenant, I view with considerable apprehension the experiment about to be tried. My noble Friend has access to all the information that was before us. Of the Act now in force parts, no doubt, are plainly coercive in character. But there are provisions in it to which my noble Friend alluded, which ought scarcely to be characterized as coercive legislation. The question is whether Ireland has returned—I will not say to a normal condition; when was it in a normal condition?—but to such a tranquil condition that we can dispense with all exceptional legislation? My noble Friend says that no legislation would be satisfactory unless it were permanent in its character.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND explained that what he had said was that there were certain clauses in the Act which, if re-enacted, should be re-enacted as part of the general law.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: That has often been suggested, and it is a taking suggestion; but it is not sound reasoning. You may depend upon this—that if you assume that the state of affairs in Ireland is going to be precisely similar to the state of affairs in England, that upon all subjects and at all times you can apply the same rules in Ireland as in England, you show a complete and entire disregard of the history and circumstances of Ireland. This does not apply merely to coercive legislation. There is nothing I should desire more than that Ireland should be treated with the same justice, with the same favour if I may say so, as the rest of the United Kingdom. But there are peculiarities in Ireland which must be studied in that country and which require special treatment. I do not speak without consideration, because the matter was frequently brought under the consideration of the late Government; and I came to the conclusion, after mature reflection, that this is not a principle which you can apply. Having said thus much, I repeat that if the Government are satisfied, from information which they have at their command, that, looking to the condition of Ireland, looking to what has taken place during the last five years, looking to all such forecasts as men can make from their experience of the past—I say if looking to all these circumstances they deliberately come to the conclusion that they can take upon themselves the great and serious responsibility of governing Ireland without any exceptional legislation, it is not for us to challenge their decision. We abide by it and shall await the event. And far from desiring that we should reap any such advantage as we should derive from the expectations of my noble Friend being falsified, I can assure him that there is no man on either side of the House who will feel more complete and entire satisfaction than I shall if he is able during the next few months to govern Ireland successfully without exceptional legislation.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I do not rise for the purpose of making any serious reply to the three interesting and important speeches we have just heard. It would hardly be in Order to carry on this debate, as there is, in fact, no Question before the House. It is a custom of the House to allow the First Minister of the Crown and those who are responsible for great Departments to make what statements they please upon these occasions. Nor with respect to my noble Friend who has just spoken do I think that any serious comment is necessary. The situation is peculiar. The noble Marquess, speaking as Prime Minister, is necessarily confined to a general statement, and all that he said will meet with general approval on both sides, and that approval has been expressed by my noble Friend who has just sat down. One observation fell from my noble Friend, about which I

have some doubt, with regard to the influence of the Mahdi. The truth is we know nothing about it. We know nothing of the truth about the various reports which are brought in from time to time. There is hardly anything reliable about them. But I rather agree with the noble Marquess that although, so far as our soldiers are concerned, it is most true that the Arabs will take care how they meet them again in battle, yet, as regards the political situation, I am afraid there can be no doubt that a serious impetus has been given to that fanatical movement. But we may be sure of this—that fanatical influence meets with very serious check when there is military repulse. Now, my Lords, I have observed upon the somewhat anomalous position we are in with regard to our policy in Ireland. I listened very carefully to the speech of my noble Friend who has just sat down. I observed the caution which he gave to my noble Friend opposite, that it is not usual for the Lord Lieutenant to intervene in the debates of this House. That is a rule which it is most desirable to observe. At the same time I may point out that I did not look at the speech of my noble Friend as one of Party contention. It is surely within the discretion of the existing Government to determine whether the statement of policy with regard to Ireland should be made by the Prime Minister or the Lord Lieutenant. My noble Friend had a perfect right to speak, and he used that right in a spirit which no man can challenge. But I cannot help observing upon the anomalous position of the Leader of the Liberal Party in this House, who expresses serious doubts as to the possibility of doing without exceptional legislation when we have on the Conservative side a declaration that they mean to try the experiment, and figures are quoted to prove that they are safe in doing so. This is a transposition of parts which is very peculiar. I cannot help observing that this is the result of our political situation. My feeling is, this being the last of Ministerial explanations, that we have not yet had a fitting opportunity of discussing the political situation. The two Front Benches have had their say. But the independent Members of the House have had no opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the peculiarities of this political crisis; and I, for one, do not think that it would be expedient that the ordinary transactions of the Government should resume their place without this matter being seriously brought before the attention of the House. My Lords, there are many Members of this House, and many sections of it, who have watched this crisis with intense anxiety and interest, and we are not satisfied with the explanations given by either side. But this would not be a fitting opportunity for introducing matter of a contentious character. I have therefore resolved to give Notice that on Friday next I shall call attention to the circumstances attending the recent change of Administration, and the effect of that change upon the political prospects of the country.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

OBSERVATION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, that with regard to what had fallen from the noble Marquess opposite it was his intention to proceed with this Bill at the earliest possible moment.

LUNACY BILL.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE inquired whether the Government intended to proceed further with the Lunacy Bill?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, in reply, said, that there was every disposition on the part of Her Majesty's Government to proceed with the Bill, if the arrangements for Business in the House of Commons were such as to enable so complicated a measure to be passed this Session.

Motion *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 6th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS; Votes 15 to 42; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES; Votes 1 to 3, 5 to 9 *Resolutions* [June 4] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—London Livery Companies [210].
Second Reading—Local Loans (Sinking Funds) * [189].
Committee — Copyhold Enfranchisement [26] —R.P.; River Thames (No. 2) (*re-comm.*) * [92]—R.P.
Committee — Report — East India Loan (£10,000,000) [109]; Shannon Navigation (*re-comm.*) * [171].
Report — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders * [182]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 5) * [186]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * [201]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) * [198]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [168]; Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations) * [199].
Considered as amended—Third Reading—Metropolis Management Acts Amendment * [200], and *passed*.
Withdrawn — Cemeteries * [12]; Copyright (Works of Fine Art) * [84]; Rivers Purification * [190.]

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

For Brighton, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Q.C., Judge Advocate General.

For Chatham, *v.* John Eldon Gorst, esquire, Q.C., Solicitor General.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

The Right honble. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, baronet, *for* Gloucester County (Eastern Division).

The Right honble. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B., *for* Lancaster County (South Western Division).

The Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley, *for* Lancaster County (Northern Division).

The Right honble. William Henry Smith, *for* Westminster City.

The Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, *for* Woodstock Borough.

The Right honble. John James Robert Manners, commonly called Lord John Manners, *for* Leicester County (Northern Division).

The honble. Edward Stanhope, *for* Lincoln County (Mid Division).

The Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, *for* Middlesex.

The Right honble. David Robert Plunket, *for* Trinity College, Dublin.

The Right honble. Arthur James Balfour, *for* Hertford Borough.

The Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet, *for* Kent County (Mid Division).

Henry Chaplin, esquire, *for* Lincoln County (Mid Division).

The Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, *for* Kent County (Western Division).

Charles Dalrymple, esquire, *for* Bute County.

The Right honble. Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, *for* Wilts County (Southern Division).

Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire, *for* Eye Borough.

Richard Edward Webster, esquire, *for* Launceston Borough.

William Hood Walrond, esquire, *for* Devon County (Eastern Division).

The honble. Sidney Herbert, *for* Wilton Borough.

Hugh Holmes, esquire, *for* Trinity College, Dublin.

Edward Green, esquire, *for* Wakefield Borough.

John Curzon Moore Stevens, esquire, *for* Devon County (Northern Division).

MOTION.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (MR. BRADLAUGH).—RESOLUTION.

Mr. BRADLAUGH, one of the Members for Northampton, came to the Table to take the Oath.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Sir, the first duty which I have to perform is of so unpleasant a nature in itself that I hope that very fact will, in some measure, add force to the appeal which, in any case, I should have ventured to make for the indulgence and support of the House in the position which I now have the honour to occupy. Sir, I feel sure that that indulgence and that support are never denied where they are deserved; and for myself I will only venture to say that I will, at any rate, do my best to imitate, both on this occasion and always, that spirit of courtesy and consideration for the feelings of opponents, which so pre-eminently and so honourably distinguished Lord Iddesleigh during all the time he

performed the functions of Leader of the House and Leader of the Opposition. Sir, I will endeavour to sustain to the best of my humble power that dignity and those honoured traditions of this House which are dear, I believe, to all its Members. On this occasion I need not detain the House by reiterating arguments that are familiar to us all. On the two last occasions when Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself to this House, in February, 1884, this House, by large majorities, adopted the following Resolution, directing:—

"That Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of repeating the words of the Oath prescribed by the Statutes, 29 Vic., c. 19, and 31 & 32 Vic., c. 72."

And further—

"That the Serjeant-at-Arms do exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precints of the House, until he shall engage not further to disturb the proceedings of the House."—(3 *Hansard*, [284] 480.)

That, Sir, is the Resolution which it will be my duty to move on the present occasion. It was based on principles which have been repeatedly affirmed by the House of Commons in dealing with this subject. In the first place, it was based upon a feeling strongly entertained, and by no means entirely confined to this side of the House, that Mr. Bradlaugh ought not to be permitted to go through the form which, in the minds of those who entertain that feeling, is not in reality a taking of the Oath at all. Secondly, it was based upon a belief that it was necessary to guard this House against those repeated and unfortunate interruptions which have taken place in the conduct of its Business. As to the second point, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) admitted, in February, 1884, the reasonableness of the contention of my right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote) who then moved this Resolution. On the first point, the sole argument of the right hon. Gentleman was an argument for delay. He reminded the House that at that time the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James), who was then Attorney General, had instituted certain proceedings against Mr. Bradlaugh, which were still pending, and he invited the House to delay the expression of any opinion until the decision of the Courts had been given; but he admitted, Sir, that if that decision were adverse to Mr. Bradlaugh, that fact would immensely strengthen the position of his opponents. Well, Sir, that decision has now been given—it was given by the Court of Appeal in January last. Notice of appeal against that decision was given by Mr. Bradlaugh; but, so far as I am informed, no steps have been taken to prosecute that appeal, and therefore I may take it that we have before us what is, practically, the final decision of the Courts of Law on the subject. Now, Sir, what is that decision? It is that Mr. Bradlaugh is, by the law of England, a person incapable of taking an Oath; and, therefore, what you, Sir, are asked to do to-day, if you allow the Oath to be administered to Mr. Bradlaugh, is this—you are asked, and this House is asked, to go through what is nothing else than an illegal mockery absolutely without value as conferring upon Mr. Bradlaugh any right to exercise his functions as a Member of this House. What is the reason why Mr. Bradlaugh presents himself on this occasion? I gather that there are two reasons—the first is in consequence of the change of Government. I do not exactly follow his argument in that matter. The second is on account of the blocking of the second reading of the Oaths Bill, brought in by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood). That is a reason which I can understand. What it implies is this—it is an attempt by Mr. Bradlaugh, by presenting himself here to-day, to force the House to proceed with legislation precisely similar in its nature, but wider and more serious in scope, than that which, when supported by the full strength of the late Government, was signally defeated by the House of Commons. I will venture to hope that neither in this matter, nor in the matter of permitting the Oath to be administered to Mr. Bradlaugh, will this House stultify itself by reversing its previous decisions. I do not know whether the hon. and learned Member for Stockport is in his place; but if he is, I should very much like to ask the hon. and learned Member if it is his intention to proceed with the Amendment of which he has given Notice—[Mr. HOPWOOD: Hear, hear!]—and, if so, what is the precise meaning of that Amendment? Is the meaning

of that Amendment similar to the reason given by Mr. Bradlaugh in his letter to the Chair? Is it the intention of the hon. and learned Member to ask the House to express an opinion upon a Bill which is already on the Notice Paper of the House; or is it the fact, Sir, that the intention of the hon. and learned Member has a wider scope? Does he, in accordance with the terms of his Amendment, really ask this House to resolve generally—

"That the questions raised concerning promissory and other Oaths call for an early settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a constituency or its Member, and that this House, believing that legislation is necessary for its settlement, resolves that it be proceeded with as soon as possible?"

If that is a general assertion of opinion, I would humbly ask the hon. and learned Member, and any of those who may be disposed to support his Amendment, what peculiar value they can attach to such a Resolution? It will not enable them to attain their end; but, more than that, it is a Resolution which ought not to be proposed in the present condition of the House of Commons, because, Sir, what is the subject with which it deals? It is a subject of the highest importance. The Amendment of the hon. and learned Member is not confined to the right of a Member of either House of Parliament to substitute an Affirmation for an Oath. It raises the general question of the substitution by anyone, and at any time, of an Affirmation for an Oath at his own will. Well, this House will remember, when the question of the substitution of an Affirmation for an Oath by Members of the House of Commons was raised by the late Government, what a feeling that proposal excited throughout the country. I suppose the country has not been so deeply stirred by anything within the last five years as it was stirred by that proposal. That proposal was defeated in this House by a definite majority in a division—perhaps the largest that has taken place in the whole history of the present House of Commons; and, Sir, I would venture to ask is it reasonable, is it right, is it fair that, in the last weeks of an expiring Parliament, such a question as that should be thrown on the Table of this House? I maintain that it is a question of vast importance to this country. I assert it is a question that should be relegated to the constituencies, and to the new House of Commons which will before long replace us; and I ask the House on this occasion to adhere to its numerous former decisions, and not to reverse them by sanctioning principles against which it has strongly and firmly pronounced. Sir, I beg to move the Resolution which I now place in your hands.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That this House doth affirm the two Resolutions made upon the 11th of February 1884, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the statute 29 Vic. c. 12, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, and directing the Serjeant at Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Northampton will now withdraw.

[MR. BRADLAUGH withdrew below the Bar, where he remained standing.]

MR. HEALY: I rise to a point of Order. I wish to call attention to the fact that Mr. Bradlaugh has not left the House. It has always been the custom, as far as the Irish Members have been concerned, when they have been ordered to withdraw, to compel them to withdraw from the House. I beg to call your attention, Sir, to the fact that Mr. Bradlaugh has not withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no question of compelling the hon. Gentleman to withdraw. I directed the hon. Member to withdraw from the Table, and he has complied with the direction of the Chair. It was only in case of a refusal to withdraw, and a disturbance in the House arose, that a Member was compelled to leave the House.

MR. HEALY: Is it not a Rule of this House, when the conduct of a Member has been called in question, and the Member has been ordered to withdraw, that he is bound to leave the House? Do you, Sir, lay it down as a Rule in future that it is only when a Member has been ordered to withdraw, and he refuses to withdraw, or lest a disturbance should be created, that a Member is obliged to leave the House?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member is now referring to cases in which the Question before the House was the suspension, or the alleged misconduct, of certain Members. That

was a very different case. [*Cries of* "No!" *from the Irish Members.*]

MR. PARNELL: I wish, Sir, to call your attention to a precedent which occurred in 1877, when, on the Motion of the present Lord Iddesleigh, in reference to my conduct at a Sitting of the House, I was directed by the then Speaker to withdraw, just in the same way as you have now directed the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) to withdraw. On that occasion I was compelled not only to leave the House, but I was not permitted to go into any part of the House, even into any of the Galleries, until the Motion before the House was disposed of.

MR. SPEAKER: The case mentioned by the hon. Member is not a parallel case. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), by the courtesy of the House, has been permitted to remain in the House below the Bar, although he is not a full Member of the House, not having taken the Oath of the House. Under these circumstances, unless I am otherwise directed by the House, I think it is sufficient for the hon. Member to withdraw below the Bar while the case affecting him and the constituency he represents is being discussed.

MR. HOPWOOD, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

"To leave out from the word 'That' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, having informed Mr. Speaker of his intention to come to the Table to be sworn, this House is of opinion that the questions raised concerning promissory and other Oaths call for an early settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a constituency or its Member, and, believing that legislation is necessary for its settlement, resolves that it be proceeded with as soon as possible,'"

said, he must congratulate the House, in the first place, upon the conduct of the person concerned in the Motion before it, that person having chivalrously allowed the Members of the Government, who had vacated their seats on appointment to Office, precedence in coming up to the Table. He thought it right to call attention to an act of courtesy on the part of a man who had himself received but scant courtesy at the hands of the House. The manner in which Mr. Bradlaugh had fulfilled the pledges which he had given to the House in the past proved that the House could, without hesitation, accept his pledges now. Mr. Bradlaugh had undertaken, in face of the House and the public, that, if the Amendment should be carried, he would not intrude himself upon the attention of the House until it should have entered upon that course of legislation which, by agreeing to the Amendment, it would affirm its readiness to accept. The right hon. Gentleman opposite the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had asked him (Mr. Hopwood) to say what his object was. Well, his object was to promote the cause of religious and political freedom—["Oh, oh!"]—he could not congratulate the Leader of the House upon this, the first occasion when he appeared to marshal his forces, the question upon which he led them being one so greatly concerned with bigotry. ["Oh, oh!"] The question for which he (Mr. Hopwood) demanded a legislative settlement was one which might assume serious aspects, which were little thought of by those who had wantonly raised it. He (Mr. Hopwood) had undertaken to carry on this matter to a wider range than the interests of an individual, or the interests of constituencies. An issue was raised which might affect the administration of justice. The object of any legislation undertaken in the future should be, as it was, by the Bill he had brought forward, endeavoured to effect, to substitute the power to affirm in the place of an Oath in every case in which the obligation to take an Oath was imposed upon a man by law. As to the decision of the Court of Appeal, upon which the right hon. Gentleman took his stand, he would advert to some of the consequences that might flow from it. The Master of the Rolls, in delivering his judgment, said, with reference to Mr. Bradlaugh—

"I must declare my view that if a person were to sit and vote in the House of Commons after having gone through all the formalities, without having described to the House his state of mind, although the House of Commons had no cognizance of his state of mind, yet if afterwards it came to the knowledge of the Attorney General, by proof upon which he thought it right to act, that that person had so sat or voted in Parliament, having gone through all the formalities without having described his state of mind, if a jury should so find, I am of opinion that all these penalties would be incurred. This shows the severity of the Act of Parliament."

Now, how would the Act thus interpreted apply? Supposing a Member of the House, in familiar discourse, or under the temptation of a convivial moment, were to express himself in such a manner as to show his religious ideas to be loose, anybody would be entitled to challenge his Oath, and to insist that the Attorney General should be directed to prosecute him. In fact, there could be no limit to inquisitorial investigation on the Motion of persons stirred perhaps by a just conviction, or perhaps by narrow religious bigotry. According to the opinion of the learned Judge, if a juryman, upon whose verdict the life of an accused person depended, should, subsequently to the trial, appear to be wanting in religious belief, the question of the validity of his oath might be raised, and the verdict might be set aside. A question analogous was raised in connection with the disabilities of Quakers in 1833, where a Quaker, having been put on the jury, and as a juryman found a man guilty of a capital offence, the Judges decided that there had been a mistrial, and that the verdict must be set aside. A man who was a profligate, and whose language might shock everybody who came near him, might take the Oath in that House, and nobody could challenge him; but a man of irreproachable and blameless habit of life might come up to the Table in order to take the Oath, and if he had had the frankness to say that he entertained doubts as to the all-presiding Creator of the world, he might be marked out by a spiteful person as unfit to take the Oath. The unworthy might thus take the Oath and swear as much as he pleased, while the worthy might be prevented from doing so. [*Laughter.*] He did not envy Gentlemen opposite who laughed, and thought themselves so very superior to the hon. Member for Northampton. It should be noticed that the effect of the decision of the Judges to which he had referred might extend to courts martial, and that the evidence of soldiers might be invalidated, and the result set aside, on the ground that their religious belief was not such as to justify their taking the Oath. The Judges held that this religious belief must be a belief in a Deity who rewarded or punished. This definition would exclude Agnostics, Positivists, and others, many of whom believed in an all-pervading Presence, acting in accordance with general laws, but not interfering with special intervention; but believers in a God, who was really more a devil according to our notions—he alluded to the beliefs held by Natives in some of our dependencies—would be competent to swear, because they believed in the distribution of rewards and punishments by their Deity. In his view, Agnostics and Positivists were men perfectly capable of doing their duty to the State. The Judges had laid down the law, and the result was that a man who professed these opinions could not take the Oath; and if he did so, even with all the sanctions of the House, or even in obedience to a Resolution of the House, it was of no effect. That was the state to which their progress in legislation had reduced them, and he proposed to meet that by fresh legislation. As an example of how men, when they were withdrawn from these matters and considered dispassionately, arrived at the conclusion he was asking the House to arrive at, he would instance the action of the Cathedral Churches Commission, the Members of which, including a Bishop and two Members of the House of Lords, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) and the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple), had signed a recommendation suggesting the substitution of declarations in place of oaths on the assumption of office. Why should they not follow that good precedent? The hon. and learned Member concluded by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, having informed Mr. Speaker of his intention to come to the Table to be sworn, this House is of opinion that the questions raised concerning promissory and other Oaths call for an early settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a constituency or its Member, and, believing that legislation is necessary for its settlement, resolves that it be proceeded with as soon as possible,"—(*Mr. Hopwood,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, upon former occasions most of those who sit upon this side of the House, and I myself among them, have drawn a very broad distinction between their view of the question of principle involved in the exclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh from this House and the questions of order and policy raised by certain methods adopted by him for the purpose of giving effect to what he conceives to be his rights. We have taken—I myself have taken—the very strongest views of the question of principle, not only going with many who think that the action of the House with regard to Mr. Bradlaugh has been unconstitutional, but also being firmly convinced that it has been illegal. But, retaining that conviction, when that opinion has been distinctly contradicted by a majority of the House, we have had to consider what course we should take, as dutiful and loyal Members of the House, with regard to the proposals which have been made for preserving the order of its proceedings. Well, Sir, that is the nature of the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-day, and I at once admit that he is entirely justified by the precedent which he has quoted, and his conduct in following that precedent is further sustained, I do not scruple further to admit, by the recent proceedings of a Court of Law. Therefore, Sir, if I were to consider the question proposed by the right hon. Gentleman alone, and apart from the Amendment moved by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) upon his own responsibility, I do not hesitate to say that I, for one, having originally recorded my opinion of the principle involved in the proceedings, should not offer any opposition to a Motion intended to vindicate the order of the House; but at present I find myself in the position that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Stockport has pressed—I may say has forced—upon my attention a proposition which I will describe generally as amounting to this—that our first duty is to deal with this question by legislation, and by legislation to remove the grievance which exists. I give that general description of the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend, because it is in that sense that I find myself compelled to support his Amendment. I am bound to say, however, that I do not concur in all the terms of the Amendment, inasmuch as my hon. and learned Friend expressly carries the scope of it far beyond what I conceive to be the immediate, pressing, and urgent point; and there it is that I am at issue, as far as phrases are concerned, with my hon. and learned Friend, and as far as substance is concerned, with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right hon. Gentleman, availing himself, as I think technically he has every right to do, of the particular terms of this Amendment, has pointed out that its scope as it stands is very wide, and that it is hardly fair to expect the House, in the present condition of affairs, to give itself to considering the settlement of the whole question of promissory and other Oaths. That may be so; at any rate, I am not concerned to dispute that proposition; but what I have before me is this, and upon this point I take the strongest and clearest view—namely, the unsatisfied and Constitutional claim of the constituency of Northampton. Now, Sir, my point—I need not argue at any length, because it does not require that I should trespass long upon the time of the House, not even to the moderate extent to which my hon. and learned Friend has found it necessary to argue the general question—what I contend is this—that all along through the course of the present Parliament a grievous wrong has been done by the action of the House to the constituency of Northampton, and that the first duty of the House in the circumstances, without prejudice to the proposition—considered as a separate proposition of the right hon. Gentleman—the first duty of the House is to exert itself to make provision for the redress of that serious wrong. I may tell my hon. and learned Friend that if it so chanced—which I have no right to expect considering the result of former discussions—if it were so to chance that his Amendment were to become the Main Question, I should—unless some other Member performed that office—propose to narrow the scope of his Amendment by reducing the application of it to the case actually before us, and that would be done in this way. The Amendment proposes to deal with promissory and other Oaths, and I should

propose to substitute for "promissory and other Oaths," "Parliamentary Oaths." My hon. and learned Friend also proposes to affirm that the question calls for settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a single constituency; but I should propose to omit the words—"upon wider grounds than the interests of a single constituency." My object, in fact, would be to set up what I conceive to be the legitimate antithesis in this case to the determination of the right hon. Gentleman to adhere to and enforce the decision of the House that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to take his seat; because this I find myself compelled to admit—that our prior duty is to meet what I conceive to be the demand of our Constitution for allowing the case to be provided for which excludes a legitimately chosen Representative of the people from taking his seat and performing his duty upon the ground strictly of religious disability as a ground of qualification. I entirely object upon other grounds. I object upon every political and Constitutional ground—I would even, if this were the place to argue it, go further and say—upon every religious ground, I object entirely to drawing distinctions more or less in matters of religious opinion. What we have to decide is the principle of disqualification, and to set right the condition of the law as it is now established and the practice of this House as it has been asserted by the votes of the majority of the House. I propose that we should set aside the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman for the purpose of affirming that this calls for prompt, and, I should say, immediate settlement. I may be told that immediate settlement is easy to talk of, but hard to carry into effect. That is a matter with which at present I have nothing to do. The question now before me is this—whether I am to acquiesce in the continued assertion by new acts of this exclusion, or whether I am to assert, as the Amendment requires me to do, and in opposition to the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman to argue that the defect in the law ought at once to be removed which debars the constituency of Northampton from the exercise of its Constitutional rights, upon principles which I consider we have long ago adopted as the basis of our Parliamentary action. Sir, were the Amendment to be carried, and were it to become the substantive Question, and were it to be adopted as it now stands, or in an amended form by the House, the right hon. Gentleman would no doubt still have to consider what may be necessary for the order of the House. The right hon. Gentleman might still think it necessary to make a substantive Motion of that character, and I can only say that I should be disposed, in case of a substantive Motion to that effect, to act as I have acted before. I do not believe it would be the intention of any of my Friends to offer renewed opposition to the adoption of any Motion necessary for the order of the House. But what we do feel ourselves obliged to say—at least, what I desire to say for myself—is this: that I distinguish between the general expediency of reforming the whole system of Oaths and the extreme urgency of satisfying the Constitutional claim of a constituency; and I wish to assert, in voting in favour of the Amendment, that the satisfaction of that Constitutional claim is the first of the duties that now lie before us.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Mr. R. WEBSTER): Sir, I am painfully conscious of my utter want of experience in addressing this House, and therefore I trust that if, in the few observations I have to make, I am unwittingly guilty of some breach of the Rules of the House, I shall obtain not only the indulgence but the forbearance of hon. Members. I feel it especially hard that it becomes my duty, in the responsible position which I, for the first time, now fill, to follow the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone); but still I trust I can put some reasons before the House to induce it to come to the conclusion that the Amendment is not a proper Amendment to pass, even if it be taken in the more narrow sense in which the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian has asked us to take it. After the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, I unhesitatingly say that, in my judgment, this Amendment is nothing less than an attempt to introduce a Bradlaugh Relief Bill, inasmuch as he has said that his chief desire is to remove a wrong which has been done to the constituency of Northampton, and under which they have been suffering for four or five years; therefore, I can regard the proposal now made as nothing else

than a Bradlaugh Relief Bill. It has been stated by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) that the action of the House in regard to Mr. Bradlaugh has been illegal; I have nothing to do with the action of the House, as the House of Commons, I admit to the full that, within these walls, the Members of the House of Commons are perfectly competent to do what they will in regard to allowing a Member to take his seat; and when it is suggested that the action of those who have opposed Mr. Bradlaugh's attempt to take his seat has been illegal, I join issue, both in substance and in fact, with everyone who puts forward that proposition. I am most unwilling to weary the House by going over a story already ten times told; but inasmuch as the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) has stated that the House of Lords has reversed the decision of the Court of Appeal, I think it only right that I should respectfully endeavour to inform the House how the matter exactly stands. The House will remember that the first claim made by Mr. Bradlaugh was a claim to affirm, and the House, in its judgment, thought fit to allow him to affirm, in order that he might raise the question whether he could legally do so. He did affirm, and the question was raised in the action of "Clarke *v.* Bradlaugh." The decision of the Court of Appeal, which was that Mr. Bradlaugh was not a person who was entitled to affirm, having regard to the provisions of the Act of 1866, was in no way reversed by the House of Lords, and the subsequent reversal by the House of Lords of the judgment in this case turned entirely on a technical point—namely, that a common informer was not a person entitled to sue for the penalty in a case such as this. The decision that Mr. Bradlaugh was not a person entitled to affirm was left untouched. I protest, therefore, against the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) endeavouring to bolster up his argument by a reference to the proceedings in the House of Lords. Now, Sir, what was the next step. Mr. Bradlaugh then claimed to be sworn. It is not necessary that I should go through the whole of the proceedings during which Mr. Bradlaugh claimed to be sworn; the end of it was that on the 11th of February, 1884, he attempted to be sworn. The House of Commons might have admitted him to be sworn if it had thought fit to express an opinion to that effect; but the law of the land declares that Mr. Bradlaugh is not a person who can take an Oath, and I ask hon. Members, before they proceed to vote on this Amendment, and before they negative the Resolution of my right hon. Friend, to bear in mind what the finding of a jury of Mr. Bradlaugh's countrymen was—namely, that on the 11th of February, 1884, Mr. Bradlaugh

> "had no belief in a Supreme Being, and was a person on whose conscience an Oath had no binding effect."

Having regard to that finding of the jury, and this having been the law as it stood during the existence of this Parliament, and as it stands now, I would humbly submit that it would be a great disgrace to the House of Commons if it were to allow Mr. Bradlaugh to go through the form of taking an Oath as long as that decision stands. I read with great interest at the time the speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James) when he introduced the Affirmation Bill; but I rather think he was mistaken in some of the statements he then made. He seemed to hold the opinion that a person who was not fit to take the Oath could come to the Table and be sworn, and that there were no means afterwards of questioning his right to take the Oath. Fortunately, Sir, for this country that is not the state of the law, for we have it now established, as the law of the land, and it is a very old law, that a person who has no belief in a Supreme Being, and on whose conscience an Oath has no binding effect, cannot, apart from the Statute, take an Oath at all. The House will remember that when the hon. and learned Member for Taunton (Sir Henry James) made his statement, and urged it as the true view of the position, he was at once controverted by one whose legal guidance we now miss on this side of the House, but who is now, I am thankful to say, guardian of the Queen's conscience. The present Lord Chancellor, then the Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard), pointed out that whatever the House might do, or was entitled to do, nothing could prevent the Attorney General from taking proceed-

ings against Mr. Bradlaugh if he sat in the House and it should turn out that he was not a fit and proper person to take the Oath, owing to his having no belief in a Supreme Being. It certainly does seem to me that on this matter the House of Commons ought not now to change its mind. I should have thought that we had already had enough of vacillation; I should have thought that we had had enough of change of view. Of course, if the House has done anything wrong, or done anything illegal, by all means, even although it is on its death-bed, let it repent; but I ask the House to consider whether any wrong has been done. I maintain that the law of England, as it at present stands, is such that Mr. Bradlaugh is not a person who can take the Oath, or can properly affirm, and it is upon that ground that I say the Bill which the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) recommends the House to pass would be nothing but a Bradlaugh Relief Bill. I have now to say a few words on the case which has been put by the Mover of the Amendment, apart from the question of Mr. Bradlaugh, and I would submit to those who are going to vote for the Amendment that the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) has not made out the slightest case for any general amendment of the law. I do not wonder that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) thought fit to limit the terms of the Amendment, because it is a strange thing that an Amendment should be introduced at this stage of the life of the House of Commons, which goes far beyond the two Bills which have already been rejected—the Affirmation Bill which the Duke of Argyll introduced into the House of Lords in 1882, and the Bill recently introduced by the late Attorney General (Sir Henry James), both of which Bills only applied to Parliamentary Oaths in regard to Members of the House of Commons. I do protest most strongly against the suggestion that there is any ground for any change of the law in the matter of Atheists. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) spoke of this as being a question of religious and political freedom, and I was very sorry to hear the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) also say that it was a matter of religious freedom. It is nothing of the kind. Mr. Bradlaugh's demand is not made as a question of religion, and I do not think that Mr. Bradlaugh himself would desire that his claim should be put forward as one in the interests of religion. You may call it a Constitutional question if you like, or a political question if you like; but I protest against it being called a claim in the interests of religion. Let us consider for a moment how the matter stands. Permission has been given to people to affirm in Courts of Law instead of being required to take an oath; but the relief given to witnesses in the matter of Oaths and Affirmations was not in the interests of Atheism but in the interests of justice. As far back as the Common Law Procedure Act, 1854, and since the date of that Act, there have been several Statutes passed which are well known to hon. Gentlemen opposite, which give these privileges; but it was not for the purpose of giving any extra privileges to Atheists, but in the interests of justice, so that evidence which might be given should be forthcoming. That I have accurately stated the motive which led to the passing of these Acts is evidenced by the Preamble attached to most of them; and I may mention that the Evidence Act of 1869 recites that the interests of justice would be promoted by the removal of the existing restrictions. for this reason the restrictions were removed; and, that being so, I submit that that case is wholly inapplicable to the presence of Atheists in the House of Commons for the purpose of legislation. There is no class of persons whom the Amendment would assist, or whom the Amendment as altered by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) would assist, except Atheists. All persons who have a conscientious objection on religious grounds to taking an oath have ample protection by the present law. ["No!"] I say that if hon. Members will only look through the Acts of Parliament they will find there is sufficient protection at the present time, and protection is only required for those who are willing to affirm because they have a religious objection to the taking of an oath, while those for whom such legislation as is shadowed forth in the Amendment is intended are persons in the position of Mr. Bradlaugh, who do not believe in

any Supreme Being at all. I have only one word more to add. I submit that this is not a question for the House of Commons alone; it is a question for the country at large. I do not deny that Mr. Bradlaugh has behaved well, notwithstanding the manner in which he has been treated; but I have nothing to do with the personal part of the question. For five years the constituency of Northampton has suffered from the disability to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred; and it cannot do that constituency much harm if for three or four months more they are not fully represented in the House of Commons. ["Oh, oh!"] I trust that those who support the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) on the principles enunciated by him will have the courage to say so fairly and openly to the constituencies, for I do believe that England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland still contain God-fearing people, and that they are in the great majority. I sincerely hope that it will be put forward in the interests of proper legislation in this House that those who support this Amendment desire that Atheists may be introduced, and that persons may be allowed to take their seats in the House who have no religious belief of any sort or kind. I will only say, in conclusion, that whether the Amendment be regarded on the narrow ground which has been put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), or on the wider ground put by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), a large majority of this House will negative it, and support the original Resolution moved by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, that, if there were no other reason for his occupying the attention of the House for a few moments, a sufficient one would be found in his desire to express the feeling with which, he was sure, the Members of the House welcomed the appearance of the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Webster) as an efficient recruit. While congratulating him on the proof he had given of the experience which he would bring to the Councils of the Empire, there were one or two observations which fell from him, especially in the latter portion of his speech, which he desired to challenge, as they ought not to be allowed to pass by without notice. The House was not discussing the question whether Mr. Bradlaugh should, or should not, be allowed to take the Oath, or the penalties which would accrue if he should take the Oath; but they had to deal with the proposition which his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Hopwood) had submitted to the House. He was astonished to hear the Attorney General state that this was not a religious question. If it was not a religious question, might he ask what sort of question it was? [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: An irreligious question.] The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) said that it was an "irreligious" question. He thought that there must be two sides to every question, and that the irreligious was simply the converse of the religious question. When he recollected the tone in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland denounced the Members of the late Administration personally for their want of religion in attempting to support a Bill which would have allowed a person in the position of Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat—when, too, he remembered how in every town and in every village the Liberal Party had been attacked for their want of religion in supporting Mr. Bradlaugh, it seemed strange now that the Law Officer of the Crown should tell them the question was not a religious one. He was glad his hon. and learned Friend had broken away from the thralls of the argument which had before been used in dealing with this question. He asked—"What do you want this Motion for?" He said—"You have never legislated in the cause of religion; you have legislated in the cause of justice." But that was the very reason why they wished to support the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport. What caused the Acts to be passed allowing persons to affirm who conscientiously refused to take the Oath? It was not because there should be a particular relief given to a particular person; but it was in the interests of justice—that every suitor's case should be properly stated before a Court of Law. In the same manner, this Amendment was not proposed in the interests of Mr. Bradlaugh; it was brought forward in the interests of the constitu-

encies; and as they legislated in former times so they should legislate now. He contended, therefore, that this legislation was needed in order to remove a disability which prevented persons affirming, and which prevented constituencies being represented by those Members who desired to affirm, rather than take the Oath. He trusted the Amendment would receive a large share of support from those who sat upon the Opposition side of the House.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he was not surprised at the tone of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Mr. Webster). Although the hon. and learned Gentleman said this was not a religious question, he subsequently told the House that all the religion was on his own side of the House, and all the anti-religion on the Opposition side. Moreover, he (Mr. Labouchere) remembered reading a short time ago that the present Prime Minister told the people of Wales that "all infidels are Liberals." And that appeared to be the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite. But he was surprised that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, with his great legal acumen, should have so entirely failed to grasp what was the subject of discussion in the House. The hon. and learned Gentleman did not seem to have understood what was the meaning of the Amendment. A Motion was made by the right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the House was not discussing the Motion—they were discussing the Amendment. They were not suggesting at the present moment that Mr. Bradlaugh should take the Oath. What his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Hopwood) had done was to bring forward a conciliatory proposal; not asking that the Resolution declaring that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be allowed to go to the Table should not be put, but instead that the House should affirm that it was desirable, as soon as possible, that a Bill enabling Mr. Bradlaugh or anyone else to affirm should be passed. Therefore, the question was not one of Mr. Bradlaugh's taking the Oath; but a question of legislation, with the object of enabling Members who wished so to do to affirm. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer alleged that the question of Mr. Bradlaugh's fitness to take the Oath had been already settled by the Courts of Law; that Mr. Bradlaugh had the right to appeal; but that he had not appealed; and, therefore, that, as he did not mean to appeal, consequently the matter was practically settled. But what were the facts? Why, Mr. Bradlaugh had the right to take 12 months before appealing; but, instead of doing that, he had already given an undertaking to the Treasury that he would appeal; therefore, he had taken steps to appeal, and the question could not be decided until it had been brought before the highest legal tribunal of the country. He confessed that he hesitated, when his hon. and learned Friend showed him his Amendment, whether to vote for it or not; because it seemed to him to recognize the right of the House of Commons to prevent Mr. Bradlaugh going to the Table and taking the Oath if he so desired. He thought it would be admitted that Mr. Bradlaugh had always acted in a conciliatory manner to the House, and had always sought to put himself in harmony, as it were, with the House. Naturally, from Mr. Bradlaugh's point of view, if he regarded the Oath as hon. Gentlemen opposite said he did, as an unmeaning and unnecessary form, it must be a matter of indifference to him whether he took the Oath or not. But Mr. Bradlaugh always wished not to take the Oath, but to affirm, and he was ready to do so on the present occasion if the House would permit him. Therefore, he (Mr. Labouchere) thought the House ought fairly to meet Mr. Bradlaugh and the constituency of Northampton in a conciliatory spirit on its side and pass this Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) said that it might, perhaps, be necessary to pass some sort of Resolution after the Amendment had been carried, if it were carried, in the interest of the good order of the House. He (Mr. Labouchere) was authorized to say, on behalf of Mr. Bradlaugh, that that Gentleman was ready to acknowledge that if the Bill referred to in the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Hopwood) was proceeded with, and an attempt made to carry it through during the present Session, or if facilities were given to take a vote upon it, he would not come up to the Table until a deci-

sion had been taken by the House. The right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer had expressed great surprise that Mr. Bradlaugh should trouble the peace of what he called a moribund Parliament; but he (Mr. Labouchere) should like to know who had been troubling the peace of this moribund Parliament? Why was Mr. Bradlaugh, who had been elected four times by the constituency of Northampton to represent them in Parliament, not to be allowed to come to the Table and take the Oath and fulfil his duty to his constituents, when they saw 12 Gentlemen or so, only elected within the last few days, coming up and taking the Oath to fulfil what they were pleased to call their duties to the country? Such a course of treatment on the part of the House was monstrous. He saw opposite the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), who was asleep, he believed. Did he (Mr. Labouchere) oppose him when he came up to the Table to take the Oath? No; and yet he asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the right hon. Gentleman had written the most sceptical book on religion or anti-religion since the time of Hume. He (Mr. Labouchere) read his book with great interest, and he believed himself that in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Oath was an unmeaning form. The House, however, allowed him to come to the Table and swear. He (Mr. Labouchere) accepted it, and the House accepted it; and if Mr. Bradlaugh was prepared to go to the Table and swear, the House had no right to step in between him and his constituents and his conscience. If this Amendment were not passed he would certainly divide the House on the Main Question, as he had always asserted that Mr. Bradlaugh had a right to go to the Table, and that neither the House nor Mr. Speaker had the right to prevent him taking his place as a duly elected Member of the House.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, before giving his vote, he should like to know how the House stood in this matter. He had always opposed the taking of the Oath by Mr. Bradlaugh on religious grounds, because Mr. Bradlaugh had said he had no belief in a Supreme Being. On the other hand, he (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had always felt that it was a great hardship that any class of elected Member should be excluded from the House because, while they were willing to affirm, they would not take the Oath. In the legal speeches just made there had been no statement of the law as regarded Parliamentary Oaths. The law by which individuals were prevented from taking their seats was quite distinct from the law which governed proceedings in Courts of Law. Separatists and Quakers were permitted to make Affirmations in the House; but, in order to avail himself of the privilege, a man must declare himself to be a Separatist or a Quaker. All who preferred to affirm ought to have the opportunity of doing so. He had always supported the principle of the Amendment; but many hon. Members were shocked by arguments that had been used in support of it. He was not prepared to hand over the House to those who did not believe in God, for they were not bound by any religious sanction to obey the law in any respect. Therefore, the difficulty which he felt would not be wholly removed by the Amendment. He must protest, if it were for the last time, against the lectures delivered by Mr. Bradlaugh, and the literature with which he was identified, and he would say that such lectures and literature ought to disable a man from sitting in a Christian Assembly. He would vote for the Amendment; but with a firm intention of preventing, as far as he could, Mr. Bradlaugh from presenting himself at the Table of the House and insulting the God in whom they believed, by pretending to take an Oath which he considered was void of religious sanction.

MR. STORER said, that, in his view of the matter, both the Amendment proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) and the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) were neither more nor less than attempts to trail a red herring across the scent. But whatever attempts were made to hoodwink the country, or whatever salves were applied to their own consciences, the fact would still remain, and could not be got over, that a vote given for the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport would have the same effect as a vote in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh taking the Oath and his seat in that House. Hon. Members

who supported it might consider it a sort of salve to their consciences; but the original Motion was, after all, the thing which the country would consider.

MR. COURTNEY said, the judgment of the Court of Appeal made it most desirable that the House should undertake legislation with the view of deciding the matter. The judgment laid down, for the first time, what was certainly not appreciated by the House, that the question of eligibility to take the Oath at the Table did not depend at all upon the formalities required by the House. That Court decided that no person could validly take an Oath who was not a believer in a Supreme Being in such a way and in such a sense that that Being operated on his mind in taking an Oath as giving sanction to it. If, therefore, Mr. Bradlaugh, or anyone holding his opinions, were allowed to go through the form, or did go through the form of taking the Oath, either in the present or at the commencement of the next Parliament, that would not conclude the matter; for, after all that had been done, the Attorney General, upon information laid before him, might take proceedings, and if he convinced a jury that the hon. Member had no such belief as enabled him to invoke the sanction of the Supreme Being, a penalty would be given against the Member, and he would vacate his seat in the House. It had been said that Mr. Bradlaugh had been too frank in avowing his opinions; but this judgment of the Court of Appeal utterly upset the delusion that this made any difference. Then it was said the question would be solved when a new Parliament assembled, because Mr. Bradlaugh, if returned, as he probably would be, would take the Oath before the House was completed. But the judgment of the Court dissipated the delusion that this would make any difference. By that decision, if information was laid before him, the Attorney General would proceed against the hon Member in the Court of Law, and might again get a jury to declare that he was incapable of taking the Oath on account of his want of belief in a Supreme Being. The Attorney General would also, by this decision of the jury, recover damages against the hon. Member. This was a question which would not only affect Mr. Bradlaugh, the same course might be taken against other hon. Members. The borough of Liskeard was once represented by Mr. Gibbon, who would have been subjected to the same disabilities as Mr. Bradlaugh; and, for aught he (Mr. Courtney) knew, there might be other Members of the House in the same position—that is, exposed to the scandal of having the question of their religious belief submitted to a common jury. Was it not, therefore, urgent that this matter should be settled in this Parliament on broad principles of justice, so as to prevent the possibility of the scandal of silent Oaths being taken by Members who did not believe in them, or of investigations before common juries as to personal beliefs? It was said, notwithstanding the judgment of the Court, the decision still rested with Parliament. That was so; but the judgment of the Court was good common sense, and by the action of the law the hon. Member was debarred from taking the Oath. The situation was one which should appeal to serious Members who wished to prevent the repetition of the scandal of public inquiry in the future into the religious opinions of Members who had been returned to that House.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he had no intention, when he came down to the House, of intervening in this debate, nor did he mean to do so, except so far as was rendered necessary by personal allusions which some speakers had directed to him. He went further, and said it was not with a view of contradicting in the face of the House the accusation made against him by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) that he now rose. If this House only were made a party to it, he should have treated the accusation with contempt; but he reflected with dismay that, in consequence of what had fallen from the hon. Member, he should be inundated with letters on the subject from every part of the country. Therefore, not merely on his own account, but still more out of pity to his unfortunate private secretary, he felt bound to take the earliest occasion of giving a public contradiction to the more than insinuations that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman. The hon.

Gentleman informed an astonished House that he had read the book to which he alluded. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) was quite certain that anybody who had ever glanced at the contents of the book would be convinced, firstly, that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton had not read it; and, secondly, that if he had read it, he was perfectly incapable of understanding its contents. In order to clear up the hon. Member's mind on the subject, and to save any hon. Gentleman opposite from the severe and arduous labour of looking through the volume, should their curiosity be excited by what had passed, he might assure them that, in so far as that book dealt with religion at all, it had no other motive whatever in view than to support religion, and not to destroy it. He trusted that this contradiction would be taken not only as conclusive by the House, but as saving others from the trouble of writing to him on the subject; himself, the trouble of receiving such communications; and the Post Office, the trouble and expense that would be incurred in forwarding them to him.

MR. WALTER said, it had been his misfortune, on one or two occasions, to trouble the House on this disagreeable subject; and, as this was certainly the last occasion on which he should have the opportunity of speaking upon the question, he hoped the House would allow him to say a few words, chiefly for the purpose of bringing to the notice of the Constitutional Authorities of the House the opinion of an eminent statesman upon this matter delivered many years ago. He (Mr. Walter) was one of those who had invariably opposed the taking of the Oath by Mr. Bradlaugh; but he had coupled his objection with the declaration that, inasmuch as he conceived him to be an individual unable to take the Oath on account of his religious opinions, he nevertheless felt that, as an elected Member of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh ought to be allowed to enter the House by way of Affirmation, unless valid objection could be raised to that mode of testifying his allegiance to the Crown. He considered that the whole object of the Oath of Allegiance was to give a security, more or less valid according to the character of the giver, to the Sovereign of the country; and that, except for that purpose, it was of no use whatever, nor had any right to be imposed. He did not think that anybody in that House would contend that the solemn ceremony which a Member performed at the Table in kissing the Testament was intended in any way to define his religious belief, and for this reason—that it was quite clear that the Oath might be taken by a Deist, by a Unitarian, and by an Orthodox Christian. But the point at the bottom of the whole controversy was—is the Oath necessary or not to secure the Crown with regard to the allegiance of the person who takes the Oath? He could give the authority of a very eminent person upon the subject—a statesman whose opinion would be taken as of the very highest order, not only by hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, by also by hon. Members on the Treasury Bench. He meant Mr. Fox. In a remarkable speech, which Mr. Fox delivered on peace with France in the year 1800, an objection was raised to peace being declared, on the ground that Napoleon Bonaparte had violated the Oath of Allegiance which he had taken to the Constitution. But Mr. Fox said—

> "Sir, I am not one of those who think that any such Oaths ought ever to be exacted. They are seldom or ever of any effect, and I am not for sporting with a thing so sacred as an Oath. I think it would be good to lay aside all such Oaths."—(*Parl. Hist.* [34] 1386.)

Then he went on to explain what he meant by saying that there was no necessity for imposing the sanction of an Oath, where the law without any such Oath was quite sufficient to vindicate itself. Suppose a person went to the Table of the House to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Queen, how would that person be punished if he broke the Oath? Not for perjury, but for treason, which was followed by a very much more severe punishment. He (Mr. Walter) contended, therefore, that they had no reason, on the ground of security to the Crown, for imposing an Oath at all. He might be asked why a person should be required to affirm. He took it that making an Affirmation simply compelled a person to make a statement acknowledging his responsibility to the law of the land; and if that person broke the Affirmation, he would be subject to all the pains and penalties of the law of treason.

MR. HICKS said, he wished to know whether, if the Motion of the right hon.

Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer was negatived, it would be in the power of any Member of the House again to raise the question, or whether the power of the House would be gone, and Mr. Bradlaugh be able to come to the Table in defiance of the general opinion of the House?

MR. SPEAKER said, that if the Motion should not be carried, the Amendment would become the substantive Motion, and the hon. Member would be at liberty to move an Amendment to it in any direction he thought might be desirable.

MR. HEALY said, that one of the points raised by the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) was worthy of the attention of the Government. As the matter now stood, at present, in the ruck of a General Election, Mr. Bradlaugh might be elected, and might again present himself at the Table to be sworn, and the Clerk at the Table would then have no power to exclude him. It was now declared by the Court of Law that even if Mr. Bradlaugh were permitted by the Clerk to take the Oath, he would be proceeded against by the Attorney General for penalties, and it might be found that he had no testifying capacity. He (Mr. Healy) would submit to the right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Resolution might be amended by words of this character—

"And that the Clerk at the Table be informed that no person who has been by this House, or by law, declared incapable of taking an Oath, and who may present himself to be sworn during the next two years, shall be allowed to take the Oath except by leave of the House."

[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] It appeared to him (Mr. Healy) that if the Clerk at the Table at the time were not seized with the fact that the House laid a burthen upon him, he would, of course, not feel himself bound to look into the previous record of any Gentleman who presented himself at the Table, and the position of the Clerk would be a very unenviable one. To the Members of the Liberal Party, who seemed to think that the course he recommended was an objectionable one, it would be, from their point of view, a course of extreme mercy to Mr. Bradlaugh; because, if the present Government had a majority in the next Parliament, as he (Mr. Healy) hoped they would have, the next Government would be bound to enforce the law by asking their Attorney General to proceed for penalties against Mr. Bradlaugh; whereas if the Clerk at the Table were made aware that Mr. Bradlaugh was not to be received by him pursuant to the Resolution, of course Mr. Bradlaugh would be saved the trouble of presenting himself, and taking the Oath, and of being proceeded against. If they passed the words he suggested, they would be giving a bold advertisement to the constituency of Northampton that, if it elected Mr. Bradlaugh, it would elect him at its peril, and would have no reason to complain when it knew that. The hon. Gentleman, if elected, would be unable to proceed with his business. If the Clerk said that the Order was merely a Sessional one, the House would know how to deal with the Clerk.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I hope the House will forgive me if I offer a few words in reply to the observations of my hon. Friend the Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter). I hope the House will forgive one of its oldest Members recalling to its attention the importance of the matter with which we are now dealing. The State of England consists of a Sovereign and of two Houses of Parliament. The Sovereign and each of those Estates is bound by an Oath appropriate to their position. If one of the Estates were to annul or virtually to abrogate its Oath, it would separate itself from the State. Were this House virtually to annul its Oath, it would become a Convention, such as have existed in revolutionary times. I am afraid that some hon. Members, while considering the details of legislation with respect to these Constitutional Oaths, and the various proposals for relaxation of them, may have forgotten the relaxations that have been made, but all made with a view of preserving the existence of the Oath affecting itself, as representing the bond of union which connects this Estate of the Realm with the other two Estates. If you raise the question of abolishing these Oaths, or any of them, you will be plunged into Constitutional questions of the gravest and most intricate nature. As for an Oath being a religious matter in this nation of England and its Sister Nations, you have used Oaths for ages upon ages. The nation of England has used Oaths always as a religious con-

firmation, required from those who profess to speak the truth, not only with respect to matters past and matters present, but with respect to matters future. I therefore lament that there should be any objection to the proposal of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), which re-affirms, in accordance with the antecedents of Parliament and of this House, a direct acknowledgment that these Parliamentary Oaths have always afforded proof that this House constitutes one of the Estates of the Realm, and that it is not a mere Convention.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH), in reply, said, he would make two observations upon the point raised by the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). The first was this — that throughout the whole course of this matter the House had never proceeded except by Sessional Order; it had dealt with the matter as it arose by an Order lasting the period of the Session, and he was anxious only to ask the House to affirm and adhere to that position. In the second place, although it was a point on which he could express no authoritative opinion, it occurred to him that it would not be possible for any such Resolution passed by this House of Commons to bind a future House of Commons.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 263; Noes 219: Majority 44.—(Div. List, No. 208.)

Main Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, it was impossible for him, as one of the Representatives of Northampton, to recognize the right of that House to prevent a Member whom his constituency considered fully qualified from coming to the Table and taking the Oath. He should, therefore, challenge a division upon the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman opposite.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise to say that the case has now arrived which I anticipated when I formerly addressed the House, and that I do not propose to join with anyone in questioning the sense of the House in a second division. It is a completely foregone conclusion, and I must admit that it is, through from, as I think, erroneous premises and antecedents, a legitimate and necessary conclusion, for which there are numerous precedents. I therefore do do not feel justified in taking any part in any further division on the subject, for the same result has been arrived at over and over again.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that after hearing the views just expressed by the right hon. Gentleman—and as he presumed there would be a very small division—he would not put the House to the trouble of dividing.

MR. WILLIS said, that, whatever course might be taken by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), whether he continued to support his own view or not, he (Mr. Willis) protested against the illegal action of the House —[*Laughter, and cries of* "Order!"]— in allowing the Chancellor of the Exchequer to interpose between Mr. Bradlaugh and his taking the Oath; and as he regarded that action as a violation of the invariable practice of the House, he should oppose the Motion and go into the Lobby against it, whether few hon. Members or many supported him.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolved, That this House doth affirm the two Resolutions made upon the 11th of February 1884, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the statute 29 Vic. c. 19, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, and directing the Serjeant at Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House.

Mr. BRADLAUGH thereupon advanced to the Table, upon which,

Mr. SPEAKER directed him to withdraw.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I am here, Sir, in obedience to the mandate of my constituents. I submit to your direction to withdraw; but I shall appeal from the judgment of the House to the judgment of the constituencies against the injustice done.

And the hon. MEMBER then withdrew.

QUESTIONS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL AND THE KHEDIVE.

MR. M'COAN gave Notice that, tomorrow, he would ask the Secretary of State for India, Whether the following

extracts from a report in *The Times* of December 19, 1883, of a speech delivered by him at Edinburgh on the previous day are substantially accurate—

"I furnished him (Mr. Gladstone) with documents . . . . proving that the Khedive Tewfik was the author of the massacres of Alexandria, when many British subjects were slaughtered, that he plotted those massacres for the purpose of ruining Arabi and of precipitating European intervention. He betrayed his country and his people to the foreigner, and verily he shall have his reward. . . . This is the man—did I say man? He is not a man; this is the being whom your Army and Navy supported against Arabi Pasha and the Egyptian people. This is the being to gratify whose frightful instincts, whose lyings, lusts, and vileness Alexandria was bombarded and Tel-el-Kebir was fought. . . . . The Khedive Tewfik, the conspirator against his father, the robber of his family, the banisher of his brother, the dealer in human flesh and blood, the betrayer of his allies, of his Ministers, of his country, the man of magic and of sorcery. . . : . I advocate in the first place a clear conception of the unutterably hopeless task in which Mr. Gladstone has engaged you—that of imposing by force of arms upon a foreign people a Ruler whom they despise and reject, a Government which they loathe and abhor, a foul despotism on a nation longing to be free, a usurious and crushing debt on a land which has every capacity for being wealthy and great. I advocate a frank confession of our gigantic error, an honest endeavour to retrace our steps now while we may. . . . . I advocate in the first place the expulsion, bag and baggage, of the Khedive Tewfik, with all his Turks and his Circassians, his Zaptiehs and his Mudirs, his Bimbashis and Yusbashis, his Kaimakams and his Pashas. . . . I advocate the recall of the exiles from Ceylon, the resuscitation of the National Party, the formation of a genuine popular Government, at the head of which shall be placed the Prince, either Native or European, as you will, who shall be in deed and in truth, constitutional, enlightened, and just. I advocate a great re-arrangement and reduction of the Egyptian National Debt, and a clear sweep of the debts of the victimized, the bankrupt, and the ruined Fellaheen. I advocate the placing of Egypt under the guarantee and guardianship of united Europe, so that no one single Power shall be able to exercise there superior influence to another, so that collective authority shall restrain individual ambition. . . . All I say is, just try it; for of this be certain, that no Government, however unconstitutional, can be worse than, or can approach in iniquity and worthlessness, that of Tewfik and his hideous crew;"

and, if so, whether he still adheres to this estimate of the character and conduct of Tewfik Pasha, and will now support such an Egyptian policy as he then recommended to the electors of Mid Lothian?

Mr. M'Coan

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): Perhaps I may be allowed to say that, to save the authorities of the House the expense of having the long and portentous extracts read by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. M'Coan) printed in the Minutes of the House, I will inform the hon. Member at once that they are perfectly accurate, and that I have no explanation whatever to give him.

RUSSIA—OFFENSIVE SPEECHES.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any communication has been received from the Russian Government, in regard to the recent published statement of Lord Randolph Churchill, that Russia

"has tricked us, deceived us, lied to us, as only a Russian can,"

or in regard to the recent public statement of the Marquess of Salisbury as to the impossibility of our making a trustworthy agreement with Russia, which was couched in the following commercial illustration:—

"If a man does not keep his promise in commercial matters, if he does it intentionally, you say he is a swindler; if he fails to keep his promise, because he cannot help it, you say he is a bankrupt. But whether swindler or bankrupt you are very careful in trusting him next time."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): No, Sir. I ought to add, though, that my noble Friend beside me (Lord Randolph Churchill) informs me that the quotation of his statements is not accurate. I must also not be taken to admit that the quotation from Lord Salisbury's speech is accurate either.

MR. PICTON: On the same subject of the speeches referred to by my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere), may I ask, whether Her Majesty's Government purpose to tender any explanation or apology to Russia regarding them?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir.

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT.

MR. VILLIERS STUART asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Her Majesty's Government propose to give effect this Session to the recommendations of the Select Committee on the Labourers' (Ireland)

Act, as the late Government had announced its intention of doing previously to the recent crisis?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Yes, Sir; it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to legislate on this subject, and to adopt, perhaps, with a few trifling Amendments, the Bill which has already been before the House.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL.

MR. HENEAGE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is his intention of bringing in a Supplementary Estimate for the Salary of the Lord Privy Seal; and, whether he will undertake not to bring it on without due notice to the House?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR also asked, whether this post was not one which it had been previously proposed to abolish; and, whether, when the Resolution for that officer's salary was proposed in Committee of Supply in 1881, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had not opposed it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I am really not acquainted with the facts referred to by the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). The Office of Lord Privy Seal is an honorary appointment so far as Departmental duties in the Office are concerned. I am very glad that the hon. Member for Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) has asked a Question on this subject, because it enables me to clear up a most unjust misunderstanding that appears to exist with regard to my noble Friend (Lord Harrowby). Lord Harrowby is not in very strong health, and yet the Prime Minister was extremely anxious to secure to the Cabinet the advantages of his long political and Parliamentary experience, not merely as a Member of a former Government, but also as having represented for many years the important constituency of Liverpool. Lord Salisbury, therefore, offered Lord Harrowby this Office, which my noble Friend has accepted without any salary at all.

PARLIAMENT—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

MR. HENEAGE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the advice which Mr. Disraeli tendered to Her Majesty in April 1868, that every effort should be made with a view that a direct appeal should be made to the new constituencies at the earliest possible date, and which advice he communicated to the House of Commons on the 4th of May 1868; and, whether the present Prime Minister has considered it to be his duty, having regard to the special circumstances under which he has accepted office, to tender to Her Majesty similar advice?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): When I saw this Question on the Paper I thought it had reference to a state of affairs precisely the opposite of that which now exists; and that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Heneage) had in his mind the possibility of the late Government retaining Office after the vote of the House, in consequence of which they resigned. The parallel in that case would have been far more exact with the circumstances that occurred in 1868 than with any which exist at the present moment. But, although I do not agree in the premises of the hon. Gentleman, I entirely agree in his conclusions. At the instance of Lord Salisbury himself, provisions were inserted in the Redistribution Bill, which has now become law, to secure an early Dissolution and the election of a new Parliament. It is the intention and desire of Her Majesty's Government that these provisions should take effect as soon as possible.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN—THE "PROTOCOLE DE DESINTERESSEMENT."

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Ministers adhere to the protocole de désintéressement which was signed by Her Majesty's Ambassador and by the Representatives of the Great Continental Powers at Constantinople with regard to Egypt, and to the assurances given in this House by the Head of the late Government, that the occupation of Egypt would be but temporary; and, whether any change is contemplated with regard to the evacuation of Dongola, and to the cessation of active military operations against the Mahdi?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I think the first part of the Question of

the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Labouchere) is founded on a misapprehension of the objects and meaning of the Protocol to which the hon. Member refers. I understand that that document was signed in contemplation of the concerted action of the Powers, which had been proposed for the settlement of the affairs of Egypt, and it expressly referred to any arrangement that might be brought about as the result of such concerted action. The proposal was abandoned, and, consequently, the Protocol based upon it fell to the ground. With regard to the assurances given to this House by the Head of the late Government, they were very numerous, and we should have to compare and collate them with great care before deciding which of them, if any, we could adopt. The hon. Member is, perhaps, already aware that Dongola was evacuated yesterday; and I may add that my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) will, as soon as possible, lay upon the Table of the House a despatch to Lord Wolseley which will explain the action of Her Majesty's Government with regard to military affairs.

INDIA—BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

MR. BAXTER asked the Secretary of State for India, Whether the Bengal Tenancy Bill has received the assent of the Secretary of State in Council?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): The Government of India were informed by my Predecessor, in a despatch dated the 23rd June last, that the Bengal Tenancy Act would be left to its operation. The despatch conveying this intimation will be included in a collection of Papers relating to the subject, now being prepared for presentation.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—JUDICIAL RENTS—ESTATE OF CAPTAIN DOUGLAS, CO. LONGFORD.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that a large number of tenants on the estate of Captain Douglas, in the county of Longford, applied to the Land Court about two years ago to have judicial rents fixed for their holdings, and whether thereupon the landlord told them, through his agent, that if they persisted in that course he would charge them a high price for the privilege of turbary; whether he did in fact last year demand higher prices, as high a price in some instances as ten shillings a perch for bog which the tenants had themselves reclaimed, and which up to that time they had had for one shilling a perch; whether he maintains the same demand this year, and has taken legal proceedings against some of the tenants for cutting the turf without paying him the price demanded; and, whether the Government can take any steps to secure to the tenants their customary rights, as well as those conferred by the Land Act?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): About 56 of the tenants on the estate of Captain Douglas, in the county of Longford, have had judicial rents fixed; and nothing transpired to lead the Land Commissioners to suppose that any threat had been held out to these tenants in consequence of their application. Beyond this, I have no information as to the relations between Captain Douglas and his tenants, and the Government have no power of interference in such matters as that referred to in the Question.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—LOAN OF £250,000 FROM IRISH CHURCH FUND.

COLONEL NOLAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he would allow the Fund set aside for Piers and Harbours in Ireland, out of the Irish Church Fund, to be credited with the interest accruing on the unexpended portion?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND): Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will allow me to answer. If the Commission will bring this subject formally under the notice of Her Majesty's Government, it shall receive careful consideration. I would wish to point out to the hon. and gallant Member that, as was stated in answer to a Question last year, legislation would be necessary to give effect to the suggestion if adopted.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether

he will give immediate facilities for the consideration of the Parliamentery Elections (Medical Relief) Bill; and what is the attitude of the Government respecting it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): The attitude of the Government respecting that Bill is this—that, in our opinion, the subject is one that should be dealt with, and I will include the matter in the statement which it is my intention to make to-morrow. I desire to give Notice that to-morrow I propose to make a statement as to our intentions respecting the Business of the Session, and to move the following Resolution:—

"That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other Business; and that for the remainder of the Session, including this day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government Orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday."

I shall make a full statement as to the use the Government would intend to make of these facilities, if the House should grant them. I shall merely say now that, if the Motion be adopted, our proposal will be that the first Business taken to-morrow should be the Grant to Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice in Committee of Supply, and also the Civil Service Estimates. I think it would be for the convenience of the House, as it would be for the convenience of the Department, that the Navy Estimates should be taken on Wednesday. I hope also to make arrangements for making my Financial Statement on Thursday.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS asked whether the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill could be made a second Order of the Day for to-morrow, Progress being reported at a sufficiently early hour to admit of its being proceeded with?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he could not give the undertaking asked for by the hon. Member; but he would deal with the matter to-morrow.

MR. GLADSTONE: After what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), it may be for his convenience and the convenience of the House that I should indicate to him certain subjects on which I think great anxiety is felt, and in regard to which it may be necessary that we should have full information as to the intentions of the Government, in order to judge of the course we ought to take in regard to the Motion of which he has just given Notice, asking for precedence for Government Orders. I do not now say anything in regard to the Budget, as to which he has already given us an engagement for Thursday.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: That depends on the adoption of the Motion for precedence.

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, then, a contingent engagement. I think there will be a general disposition to concur in the desire of the Government to bring the Session to a close as early as possible by the despatch of the necessary Business; but I understand, by the intimation given to-day, that legislation is not to be entirely dispensed with. Now, one Bill, in regard to which I shall look with great anxiety for the declaration of the Government, is the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill, which is a measure of extreme urgency. Another measure, which I intended to mention, is one to which my hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) has alluded—the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill, because I think it is quite plain that the judgment of the House ought to be taken on that matter. A third measure is of an urgency much greater than would at first sight appear—the Welsh Intermediate Education Bill. The Welsh have been proverbial for their patience in all matters, and the consequence has been that very little attention has at any time—I do not speak of one Government or another—been given to Welsh demands through the Legislature. These are Bills of very great importance. There is another Bill in which very considerable interest is felt by those who ought to be best informed with regard to it, and on which my right hon. Friend the late Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) will desire to have an opportunity of pressing his views upon the House—I mean the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. Of

course, there are other matters relating to Irish policy and foreign policy; but to these I do not think it necessary to make any allusion now, and I simply give the present Notice hoping that it may be rather useful than otherwise.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am not at present prepared to discuss the question under consideration. But I desire generally to say, in order to avoid any misapprehension, that the Notice I have given is with the full idea that the Government will not undertake anything that can be really called contentious legislation, and that some of the subjects to which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) has referred do appear to me to partake of that character.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he wished to point out that the Motion of the right hon. Baronet would interfere with his (Mr. Hubbard's) Motion in regard to the incidence of the Income Tax; and if the right hon. Baronet absorbed the time of private Members, there would be no chance of obtaining the judgment of the House upon his Motion. His Motion was of great importance to the community at large, and——

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is not in Order in discussing his Motion.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD bowed to the ruling of the Chair. He did not wish to place any objection in the way of the Resolution.

MR. GLADSTONE: I should have stated that I think the right hon. Baronet is quite right in proposing to proceed at once with the Grant to the Princess Beatrice which, through accidental circumstances, has been delayed.

MR. MACFARLANE: Does the right hon. Baronet consider the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill a contentious one?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: To-morrow.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Sir, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer moves, to-morrow, the Motion of which he has given Notice, taking the time of the House for Government Business, I shall move the following Amendment:—

"That this House, not having confidence in the present responsible Advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House."

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £16,021, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that understanding that this was a Vote for the Land Commission, he would venture to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House on a matter which he considered to be of some importance—namely, the enfranchisement of copyholds. Owing partly to promise of further legislation, the number of enfranchisements had been decreasing down to the present day. They had fallen from about 1,000 a-year to about 200 a-year. The present Vote included the Office which was instituted in regard to the enfranchisement of copyholds, and the sum taken for that purpose from the taxpayers of the country was £5,000 annually; so that for the enfranchisement of copyhold land the taxpayers of the country had to bear a very considerable burden. He would, therefore, appeal to the right hon. Gentleman to give facilities for the passing of the Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill. It would not be in Order to refer at any length to that measure; but he might be allowed to say that the Bill was at that moment upon the Order Book, and that it stood in a very favourable position. Indeed, as a matter of fact, its position was more favourable now than it had ever occupied before, seeing that it had advanced one stage further than it had reached last year. The Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill had now got into Committee. It was a non-contentious measure; it had received the approval of the Land Commissioners of England, and of the Incorporated Law Society, and it was supported by Members on both sides of the House. Its object was to reduce the burdens borne by the people, and to contribute towards the freedom of land. It certainly could not be regarded as a contentious Bill in any sense, because it had, in its various stages, received great support from both sides of the House. He would earnestly

appeal to the Government to accept the measure, and not to sanction any obstruction to its becoming law.

MR. PELL also desired to add his appeal to the Government to give facilities for the discussion of the measure. The whole subject had already been very fully considered. The Bill was a non-political one, and it had reached a point at which the half-past 12 o'clock Rule did not apply. He thought the Government might favourably consider the matter.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) said, he could only say that his attention had not been particularly called to this subject before; but, looking at the Notice Paper, it seemed to him that the Bill stood in an exceptionally favourable position, seeing that those who were interested in it could proceed with it after half-past 12 o'clock. Under those circumstances, he thought it was rather hard that the Government should be asked to give facilities for the discussion of a Bill, so favourably placed, at the expense of other Business.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD wished to remind the right hon. Baronet that the appeal was made on behalf of the taxpayers of the country, who had an interest in the passing of the Bill.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £361,254, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would like to say one or two words upon this Vote, especially in regard to the workhouse schools. That was a question which was generally brought every year before the Committee, and there was a very satisfactory statement made upon it last year by the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The right hon. Gentleman stated on that occasion that in the year 1883 there were 200 schools which had been given up as workhouse schools, and from which the children had been transferred to the ordinary schools of the various parishes. In 1884 that number was increased to 385, and he understood that there were 10 cases still under consideration. He wished to put a question on the subject to his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), whom he did not for the moment see in his place; but he had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman would be there before the discussion closed. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he was able to give the Committee any information with reference to the extension of the system; and whether, up to the present time, the number of schools which had been given up as workhouse schools, and from which the children had been transferred to the local schools, had increased since last year? The number last year showed an increase of 185 over that in 1883; and he wanted to know from his right hon. Friend whether he was in favour of this principle, and whether he was inclined to do all in his power to extend it as far as possible? He knew that there were some exceedingly well-managed schools, several of which were in peculiar circumstances, and in a different position from others. In his own county (West Sussex) there was a school which was absolutely and entirely distinct from the workhouse itself, and in which the children were not mixed up with the other paupers. His sole object in bringing the matter before the Committee was to provide, if possible, that these unfortunate children should have every opportunity afforded them of getting free from the taint of pauperism, and that they should be able hereafter to go out into the world without that stain upon them. He desired that they should never learn what it was to have been in that painful position, and that they should be able to earn a livelihood in the best way they could without being looked upon as having been brought up in workhouse schools. As to the boarding-out question, there had been an important meeting held recently in the immediate neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament—namely, in the Jerusalem Chamber, Viscount Cranbrook presided; and he had read the speech of that noble Viscount very carefully. It certainly pointed out most clearly the advantages of the boarding-out system. Last year the right hon. Gentleman who was then President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said that while he was in favour, to a certain extent, of the boarding-out system he did not like to press it too far. But the opinions expressed at the meeting held

the other day in the Jerusalem Chamber were in favour of pressing the system, provided it was carried out under proper supervision. He believed that the number of children who were boarded out last year was 835; and he should like to know if there had been any increase in that number, and whether the system was spreading and taking root more deeply than it had done before? There was another question he wished to put to his right hon. Friend, and it had reference to the extension of the cottage system, which had been so advantageously tried in Chelsea, Kensington, and Birmingham, and he also believed in one of the Unions of South Wales. In all those places he understood that the system had been found to work well. The children were placed out, without any stain of pauperism upon them, in comfortable lodgings where they were well cared for, had everything provided for them, and where they received an excellent education. One thing, however, he should like to know was, what was the cost? His great desire was that those children should be prevented from ever returning to pauperism; and it was because he believed that all those plans had worked advantageously that he desired to press the propriety of extending them upon the attention of the Local Government Board. It was because he believed that this Vote afforded a favourable opportunity for an expression of opinion on this all-important subject that he had brought the subject forward; and he ventured to hope the right hon. Gentleman, although young in Office at present, would be able to make some satisfactory statement to the Committee. He had no doubt that the views he had expressed would be corroborated by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), who had always taken great interest in the subject.

Mr. CROPPER wished, before the right hon. Gentleman rose to reply, to put another question upon the same subject. He desired to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that it was desirable, in the inspection of workhouse schools, to do away with the practice of having them examined by gentlemen appointed specially for the purpose of workhouse school examination? He had, on previous occasions, strongly urged that those schools should be placed under the ordinary Government inspection of schools, and many hon. Gentlemen who had watched the different kinds of inspection that went on agreed with him. Those who had looked at the question of the inspection of workhouse schools would be aware that a great deal of advantage which was always made manifest in the inspection of National and Board Schools was altogether wanting in regard to workhouse schools. He believed it was felt to be an evil by the Inspectors themselves that they should always be confined to the inspection of pauper children, and that it had a tendency to lower the standard of education, and the vigour with which the schools were conducted. He was strongly of opinion that the inspection in regard to workhouse schools should be of precisely the same character as that which was carried out in reference to outside schools. The present system was not only injurious to the Inspectors themselves, but also disadvantageous to the children. What they all wanted was to get rid of what was commonly called the "taint of pauperism." Short of placing the children in schools that were altogether outside the walls of the workhouse, he thought there could be nothing better than bringing into them those Inspectors who were engaged in the examination of the outside schools; and his own opinion was that it was desirable the workhouse schools should be inspected by the ordinary Government Inspectors either on the same day or the day after the other schools were visited. He believed that the view he had expressed met with entire concurrence from the gentlemen who now held the honourable position of School Inspectors. He had had the honour of being present at the meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, and he was able to corroborate everything the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had said as to what took place on that occasion. The opinion expressed was altogether in favour of the boarding out of those children in England. The most expensive way of bringing up children was to continue them in the schools that were now kept up at great expense by the rates in many of the large centres of the country. It was said that the expense of each child amounted to from £35 to £38 per annum, and Viscount

Cranbrook added that in some cases he had known the expense run up to £80; while, on the other hand, a child could be comfortably boarded out for £12 a-year. Therefore, a great advantage would accrue to the ratepayers if a general system of boarding out like that which was practised in Scotland were adopted. Then, again, the advantages to the children themselves would be far greater; they would learn better when separated from the pauper taint that hung around them. Their knowledge of the world would be necessarily increased, and they would be better able, ultimately, to enter into the ordinary avocations of life than children who were brought up in the workhouse schools. One lady visitor who knew a great deal about district schools said that she could trace three generations of pauperism in the children who were now attending those schools. Nothing could be more grievous, when all of them desired to improve every class of the people, than to find that by the systems they adopted, ostensibly for the purposes of education, they were perpetuating the very evils they were so anxious to get rid of. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he was of opinion that it was desirable to assimilate the inspection of workhouse schools to that of the ordinary Government schools outside? He also wished to know whether there was any intention of adding a lady Inspector in the interests of the female pauper children. If such an appointment were made, a lady placed in that position would be able to visit the schools all over the country, and see that the female children in the workhouses had all the advantages provided for them which they were entitled to.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had called attention again this year, as on previous occasions, to the question of the education of pauper children in schools associated with the workhouses. His hon. and gallant Friend felt—and he thought the Committee, in discussing the question, would also feel—that great advantage was attained by separating as far as possible the pauper children from pauper surroundings. He could assure his hon. and gallant Friend that, as far as the Government were concerned, the Local Government Board were with him, and thoroughly concurred with the general spirit of his suggestion. It must, however, be recollected that in many instances Boards of Guardians had spent very large sums of money out of the rates in providing expensive and costly schools, and it could not be expected that they would always acquiesce in throwing this money away. Moreover, it must be remembered that some, at all events, of the advantages which would be obtained by educating pauper children in the public elementary schools would be lost unless proper arrangements were made for their supervision out of school hours, and for withdrawing them from their pauper surroundings. Therefore, if the Guardians were called upon to provide for the education of those children outside the limits of the workhouse, and to dismiss the workhouse schoolmaster, they must provide an efficient substitute for the existing supervision. Unless such arrangements could be made, he was afraid that the system of educating pauper children in the public elementary schools would do more harm than good. His hon. and gallant Friend, and hon. Members generally, would be glad to learn that the system of educating pauper children outside the limits of the workhouse was on the increase. There was an increase last year, and that increase was still going on. He had an impression that his hon. and gallant Friend had not stated the figures correctly. He believed that the number of cases in which the system had been applied last year was 235; and there were 10 cases then under consideration. The number of cases had since increased, and the schools to which the system had been applied now numbered 260. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Cropper) had alluded to the question of the inspection of pauper schools. The hon. Member appeared to think that not only did pauper children suffer from being educated in pauper schools, but that the Inspectors of pauper schools suffered from having the sphere of their operations limited to schools of that kind. He was not sure that that was so. The Local Government Board took

care that the rules and regulations laid down by the Board of Education in regard to their Inspectors were carried out in regard to those schools; and the hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) would find that, so short a time ago as 1884, a Committee inquired into this question, and reported distinctly and categorically against having the inspection of the two classes of schools performed and carried out by the same Inspectors. Moreover, the Boards of Guardians objected to being placed under another Department. They were already subjected to two Departments for certain purposes, and they objected to be placed under a third; and he did not think that any object would be gained by mixing up together in the same category different classes of schools. The hon. Member for Kendal asked whether it was the intention of the Government to appoint lady Inspectors. For his own part, he was far from entertaining any objection, either in practice or theory, to the appointment of lady Inspectors. In fact, he thought that for certain purposes lady Inspectors would be more efficient than Inspectors of the opposite sex. In connection with that subject, however, he had to consider the kind of work required to be done; because if the work were of such a nature that it would require arduous and continuous labour, and travelling in all seasons and all times of the year, his objection to the appointment of ladies to discharge the duties of Inspectors of Schools would depend on their special physical capacity rather than on their intellectual or moral qualifications. He would now turn to the question of boarding out. Allusion had been made by both of the speakers who had preceded him to the conference which was held recently in the Jerusalem Chamber. He could assure both hon. Gentlemen and the Committee that he shared with his Predecessor in Office the strong sympathy which existed in regard to the boarding out of pauper children. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had quoted his Predecessor in Office as saying that they had nearly approached already the limits to which a system of boarding out could be advantageously carried. As far as he (Mr. Balfour) was aware, he did not think that that was the opinion of the right hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke); though, as the right hon. Gentleman was not present, he did not like to commit himself definitely on the point. As far as he (Mr. Balfour) was concerned, he should view with great pleasure any extension of the system as far as it could be efficiently carried forward. His hon. and gallant Friend spoke of the difficulty of finding suitable abodes for the children intended to be boarded out. He thought that fact, combined with the necessity of finding a committee of supervision over the children when they were boarded out, represented the two chief elements in the consideration of the question. As long as proper homes could be found, and they could rely on a committee for superintending the children when boarded out, so long they would be safe in extending the system; but otherwise it might become more injurious than beneficial. To turn to the statistics of the subject. Whereas, in 1883, the number of children boarded out was between 600 and 700, in July the right hon. Gentleman who preceded him in Office had informed the House the number was 835, and now he (Mr. Balfour) was able to state that it amounted to no less than 1,134. Therefore the Committee would perceive that the number was not only increasing, but that the ratio of increase was in itself increasing, and, therefore, afforded a good augury for the future development of the system. The only other point noticed by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex was the extension of the cottage system. He believed that that system had succeeded very well, both in the case of Birmingham and Chelsea. The chief objection to it was that it was a more expensive system than the ordinary one. His hon. and gallant Friend appeared to think that children were removed from the taint of pauperism if they were removed from contact with other children. That was not, however, the case. The cottage system was merely a workhouse for children, erected on a different plan to other workhouses. So far as education was concerned, it did not differ essentially from other workhouses; and, seeing that the children remained in contact with other pauper children, it could not be said that the system possessed the particular advantage ascribed to it by his hon. and gallant Friend. He thought

he had now answered all questions which had been put to him.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £10,725, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, England.

DR. FARQUHARSON wished, before the Vote passed, to put a question to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in reference to lunacy inspection. He had tried to obtain the information he was about to ask privately, but had not yet succeeded in getting it. There were six Commissioners of Lunacy, and, although not absolutely stated in the Votes, it was well known that three of them were medical men, and three of them lawyers. He could quite understand the medical part of the Commission of Lunacy, and he could appreciate the advantage of having lunatics inspected by medical men, who would more readily be able to see whether a patient was mad or not than any other person, and who would act accordingly. But he found that the three Medical Commissioners were accompanied by three Legal Commissioners, and that they appeared to hunt in couples. What he wished to know was what precise functions were performed by the lawyers, who would naturally know nothing of the subjects they were appointed to investigate, and who could not be chosen on account of the knowledge they possessed, or because they had made insanity a special study? Those appointments could have nothing to do with any special complicated legal question which might spring up in respect of the administration of the law, because such matters were referred afterwards to the Masters in Lunacy who sat in certain centres. Were those lawyers placed on the Commission in order to check any irregularities on the part of the doctors? Was there any danger of the doctors hanging together and keeping patients in confinement who were not mad? If that were so, the object of appointing Legal Commissioners would be intelligible enough. In Scotland, as his hon. Friend the Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple), who he was glad to see enjoying a seat upon the Treasury Bench, well knew, nothing of the sort occurred, although there were no Legal Commissioners, and it was only doctors who went round doing the work of inspection. Of course, there were Legal Boards before whom the Medical Commissioners could place any question of difficulty connected with law. A good deal had been said of late about the administration of the Lunacy Laws. He confessed that he did not share the fears which had been growing up in the public mind as to the administration of those laws; but he thought, at the same time, that the best way of allaying such fears would be by having a better system of examination and inspection by the Lunacy Commission. He found that in England three Medical Inspectors inspected 140 asylums containing 15,000 lunatics, whereas in Scotland two Commissioners inspected 6,500. What he should like to see was that the three Legal Commissioners should be got rid of altogether, and that in their place three Medical Commissioners should be appointed, raising the number of Medical Commissioners to six. He would even like to see the number increased to eight, and then those medical men might go round to some extent together. He did not propose to move any reduction of the Vote on the present occasion, although he, perhaps, might do so on another occasion when more notice could be given of his intention. He would only add that he awaited with some curiosity the information which the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to supply as to the special advantage of having three lawyers associated with the Medical Commissioners in the work of inspection.

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Member who had just spoken had called attention to the fact that there were 140 lunatic asylums in this country containing 15,000 patients, and that six Commissioners were appointed to inspect them. He would be glad to learn how many visits had been paid to those asylums in the course of the year? In the first place, did all the Inspectors go about together, or did they make their visits in levies of three?

DR. FARQUHARSON: No; they visit in couples.

MR. MOLLOY said, he should like to know, then, how many visits were paid to each asylum in the course of a year? In the second place, he would like to know whether those visitors possessed any special knowledge in connection with private lunatic asylums, and he would further like to know how many visits of

inspection were paid to private lunatic asylums in the course of the year? There was another point upon which he also desired information. He wanted to know whether, when an asylum was intended to be inspected, any notice of the visit was given to the proprietor of the asylum, or whether the proprietor had any means of becoming acquainted beforehand with the intention of the Commissioners to visit his institution? He put this question because, at the present moment, there existed some doubt upon the matter. He should be sorry to make an accusation against the proprietor of any lunatic asylum in this country; but there could be no doubt that measures had constantly been taken to prepare for the visits of the Commissioners. All the private lunatic asylums were required to be certified, and he believed that it was an undoubted fact that a few days before the Inspectors arrived measures were taken by the proprietors of a private lunatic asylum to put the patients into a proper state for receiving the visit of inspection, and patients who a few days before were in a perfectly good state of health were often found, on the arrival of the Visiting Commissioners, to be in a dangerous state of lunacy. He was sorry to make a statement of that nature, but there were instances in which those facts had been certified. And they knew very well from what had occurred in the past that there was abundant evidence to show that the private lunatic asylums of the country had been conducted in a manner that was not beneficial to the patients. One proof of the assertion that the same advantageous treatment was not provided in a private asylum as in a public institution would be found in the statistics of the death rate in the public and private asylums. He did not wish to trouble the Committee with the figures, because they were given last year; but the only conclusion to be drawn from them and from other figures was certainly a most painful one—namely, that it was clearly to the advantage of the proprietor of a private lunatic asylum, if he studied his own interests, to keep a patient as long as he could. If they would compare the statistics of public asylums with those of private asylums it would be found that a much larger number of cures were effected in the former than in the latter. In a public asylum those in charge of the institution had no pecuniary interest in the detention of the patients; and, therefore, they were free from all temptation to retard their progress towards recovery. Then, again, the public asylums were subjected to a strong public opinion. Those who went to them were, to a large extent, visited by their friends; and they were sent there, not for the purpose of getting rid of them, but for the purpose of securing that they should obtain such medical treatment as would best conduce towards their recovery. It would be found in the public asylums that there was a thorough public inspection, not only by the Lunacy Commissioners, but an inspection which resulted from public opinion being brought to bear upon them. Owing to those important considerations, and to the further fact that the persons in charge of the public asylums had no possible interest in retaining an unfortunate patient for any length of time, it would be found that a very large number of cures were effected, and that there was a very favourable state of circumstances in regard to the death rates, if they compared the death rates in a public asylum with those in a private asylum, where there were interests which did not exist in the public asylum for the purpose of securing the payment of the money charged for the detention of the patients. In some cases it was known that as large a sum as £1,000 a-year had been paid, when probably the actual cost did not amount to £150 a-year. He was, therefore, entitled to say that there was a strong temptation, even in the case of a conscientious proprietor, to keep the patients in a state of lunacy, and not allow them to be perfectly cured. So far as the inspection which took place in those private asylums was concerned, he had stated before, and he would state it again, that it amounted to an absolute farce. No doubt, the Inspectors went down; but probably two or three days before they went to a private asylum the proprietor became perfectly well aware that the inspection was about to take place. He would take the case of a patient who was only partially insane, and capable of making a rational complaint of the treatment applied to him. It was quite clear that in such cases the proprietors could, and that they really

did, as a matter of fact, prepare the patients for the visit about to be made to them. Then, again, preparation to a large extent was made for the inspection by improving the surroundings of the institution by placing out flowers and providing amusements for the inmates. An inspection under such circumstances amounted to nothing, and was absolutely useless. The Inspectors were formally supposed to go down as the enemies of those proprietors, in order to criticize the treatment, and to discover the actual state of the patients. They now went down in a sort of perfunctory manner as Government officials receiving large salaries. They went down with very little knowledge of the habits of the persons they had to inspect, and certainly in many cases they could have no special knowledge on the subject of lunacy at all. Most of the appointments were made from political motives, and influence on the part of those with whom the appointments rested, and the previous training of some of the Inspectors rendered it impossible for them to have made the question of lunacy a special study. Their own Reports, published annually, he believed were Reports which showed the utter inefficiency of the present system of inspection; and the articles in those Reports proved—and, indeed, had been admitted by the late Government to prove—that the whole system of inspection in regard to lunatic asylums was nothing more than a simple farce. They were promised last year that a Bill would be introduced for the purpose of dealing with those private lunatic asylums. He did not know what the stage of that Bill was; but he hoped that it was the intention of the present Government to take steps for going on with it. He trusted, at any rate in the next Parliament, they would be prepared to give effect to the intentions of the late Government, and to pass a strong and adequate measure for bringing those private asylums under the full force of public opinion in a similar manner to the public asylums of the country.

MR. HIBBERT said, that before his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board answered the questions which had been put to him, he should like to know whether it was intended to proceed with the Lunacy Bill which was introduced into the other House by the late Lord Tenterden? He believed that the Bill had received great consideration in the House of Lords, and, in the course of that consideration, various and desirable Amendments had been made. His right hon. Friend must be aware that there was a strong feeling in the country in favour of the amendment of the Lunacy Laws; and he, therefore, trusted that if it were possible the Government would see their way to carrying through the Bill which had been introduced. It was not a contentious Bill and not a Party Bill, but a measure which both sides of the House concurred in desiring to carry through. He, therefore, hoped that, considering the strong feeling entertained throughout the country on the subject, not a day would be lost in pushing it forward, and that, if possible, it would be passed into law during the present Session.

MR. D. GRANT said, he concurred with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that many of the conditions under which private lunatic asylums were now conducted distinctly required improvement. The initial difficulty still remained, and it was this—that under the existing law two medical men had power to incarcerate an individual under conditions which had been proved in more than one case to be entirely wrong. He might allude to the case of Mrs. Weldon, which had so often been brought before the public; and he thought he had a right to ask that in any Bill which dealt with the question power should not be given to any two medical men under any condition whatever to imprison a British subject in the manner in which that power was now exercised. He thought that in any future legislation there should be this additional provision—that before any person could be put in a private lunatic asylum he should be brought into open Court and his insanity thoroughly demonstrated. If that were done many of the evils which now existed would at once cease of themselves. He was afraid it was a fact that in many instances it had been proved that private lunatic asylums were in reality mere prison houses put into operation for the distinct purpose of carrying out private malice or private gain. No doubt, many of them were conducted properly and legitimately; but there were others which assumed a very different complexion, and it ought

to be the duty of the Government to provide that such institutions should no longer be capable of being carried on. No one ought to be confined in a private asylum unless he was first taken before a magistrate.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) expressed a hope that the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) would not think that because the observations he was about to make on this subject were few, he was not fully alive, and that the Government were not fully alive, to the importance of the question; a question that was not now for the first time brought before the House. He referred especially to the point which the hon. Member had himself urged with so much force, the necessity of an investigation and inspection of private asylums. This must be manifest to anyone who had considered the subject. He was not prepared to admit, as far as his information went, that when a Lunacy Commissioner was about to inspect a private lunatic asylum he gave notice of his intention.

MR. MOLLOY said, he had not said that the Commissioners had done so; but it was almost invariably a fact that the date of the inspection became known beforehand.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he was informed that even that was not the case, although, perhaps, the intended visit might become known in some cases. So far as his own individual opinion was concerned—and he believed it was shared by many hon. Members on that side of the House—he entirely agreed with the hon. Member that the inspection of a private lunatic asylum should be a sudden inspection, which should not be known beforehand by the Directors of the asylums. If the hon. Member desired, he would have much pleasure in bringing this point under consideration of the proper authorities. The opinion, however, must only be regarded as his own personal opinion, and as one largely shared by hon. Members on that side of the House. As regarded the detention of patients in private lunatic asylums longer than they ought to be detained on the ground of the pecuniary interest of the proprietors of the asylums in which they were confined, that question had been gone into at some length before a Committee which sat some years ago, of which the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) was a Member. As far as he remembered, the assertions then made were not altogether corroborated by the evidence given before the Committee. At the same time, there could be no question that in the case of private asylums patients had been detained longer than they ought to have been detained. He was not aware whether that point was dealt with in the Lunacy Bill to which the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Hibbert) had referred, but he felt that it was one which deserved consideration; and if that Bill was to be continued, and it was felt necessary or desirable to introduce a clause into it upon that matter in order to check the abuse complained of, he was quite satisfied that it would be introduced. At the same time, the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) must know that there was very great difficulty in dealing with that case, and that there was a very strong opinion among many persons that the best way of meeting it was not by putting an end to those private asylums, which could not be done without the payment of a considerable amount of money in the way of compensation, but by attaching to the public asylums wards in which private paying patients might be placed. He believed that that would be found to be the best way of meeting this question. As regarded the observations of the hon. Member for Marylebone (Mr. D. Grant), there could be no doubt that there had lately been a strong feeling in the country that the mode of incarcerating persons who were alleged to be lunatics was not satisfactory; and he believed that that matter was, to a certain extent, dealt with by the Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the late Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Selborne). There were various questions arising in respect of it as to which opinion was not altogether united. There was a general feeling that the mode of incarceration was not satisfactory. But as to whether cases should at once be brought before the magistrates there was a considerable difference of opinion. It would, he thought, be found in the evidence given before the Committee, and by a debate in "another place," that the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had shown untiring zeal in the matter, and who possessed, perhaps,

more experience upon it than any other person in this country was strongly of opinion that it was not desirable to bring every case at once before a magistrate. It was pointed out that it would be dangerous to delay the detention of dangerous lunatics by bringing them before a Court. The difficulty was in giving immediate notice and getting a Commissioner at once to go and examine the case. Again, if it were made necessary to take every lunatic at once before a magistrate, many persons who belonged to the middle and upper classes would feel inclined not to bring cases of lunacy before the public at all, but to deal with them in their own houses, thereby lessening the chances of their recovery. Those were cases which must receive consideration by the Committee to which he had referred. In regard to the number of Commissioners, it was true that there were six paid Commissioners; but there were 10 Commissioners in all. No doubt three of them were lawyers, and personally he would be glad to support the interests of a Profession to which he had the honour to belong with all his heart; but he had no special reasons to allege for Legal as distinguished from Medical Commissioners. At the same time, he would observe that lawyers had sat upon the Commission as far back as the Statute 8 & 9 *Vict.*, c. 100, and that there were cases constantly arising in which a knowledge of the law was essential. He was informed that legal questions were constantly brought before the Legal Commissioners, and that in many instances it was necessary that those questions of law should be dealt with at once, and without the unnecessary delay which would take place if a case were required to be referred by the Medical Commissioners to a Legal Department of the State. Another answer to the complaint in regard to the appointments of Legal Commissioners was that their presence on the Commission tended to lessen any doubt which might arise in the public mind that anything illegal might be going on as to the treatment of lunatics. His observations in reply to the speeches which had been made upon the subject were necessarily somewhat short; but he trusted that it would not be inferred, in consequence, that he entertained any doubt as to the importance of the subject.

MR. BIGGAR said, he thought there was much force in the suggestion of the hon. Baronet, that the best way of getting rid of private lunatic asylums would be to attach private wards to the public asylums. He had recently visited a large and important lunatic asylum in this country, and he had had a conversation with the Medical Inspector of the institution, who had pointed out to him that one great difficulty which had to be met was the necessity of raising money by loan for the purpose of dealing with the question of buildings. The cost fell upon the local rates, and in many instances there was no power of raising money for purposes of that sort. At the same time he admitted that that was a difficulty which ought to be got over. The gentleman to whom he referred was the Medical Superintendent of the asylum, and he was informed by that gentleman that one great cause of confirmed lunacy was the adoption of the silent system, or a system of imprisonment in which the lunatics were kept entirely away from companionship. That gentleman told him that that was one of the most pregnant causes of confirmed lunacy in the cases which had come under his notice. He (Mr. Biggar) therefore hoped that the Government, in dealing with the matter, would not omit to consider that point; and he would add that the gentleman from whom he received his information was altogether impartial, and had no private or political reason for expressing that opinion. The asylum he had visited was in Lancashire, and he must say that everybody connected with the institution — both officials and patients—seemed to him to be exceedingly good-natured. The lunatics worked in batches in the gardens attached to the asylum without any form of restraint; the gates of the establishment were wide open, and there was nothing in the shape of personal restraint experienced by these unhappy people. The whole treatment of them was altogether different from what he had witnessed some years ago in a private lunatic asylum in London, where the patients or their friends paid very highly for their board and the treatment they received. In that case the patients had access only to a garden a quarter of an acre in extent, and they were worse off, as far as the liberty of their action

was concerned, than pauper lunatics living at the expense of the ratepayers. He certainly thought that the subject was one of very great importance, and that the Government, if they really intended to do anything in the matter, should do so as speedily as possible. He had not the slightest doubt that the treatment of lunatics in many cases was highly improper, and that they were confined in places which were entirely unfit for their detention. Unless the asylums were large establishments, and thoroughly well organized and superintended, it was impossible for the patients to get the treatment they required, and the companionship which was necessary to give them a prospect of recovery.

MR. MOLLOY said, he had listened with some satisfaction to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland), and especially to that part of the hon. Gentleman's speech in which he gave the Committee reason to believe that the Government intended to give their best support to the Bill which was now before Parliament. He believed that that measure had received the support of both Parties in the House of Lords; and he trusted that, if possible, it would be passed into law in the course of the present Session.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, he had only one word to say as to the views of his own Department in reference to the Lunacy Bill introduced by the late Lord Chancellor (Earl Cairns). He believed he was justified in stating that the Department was favourable to that part of the measure which went in the direction of gradually extinguishing asylums kept for private gain. He was of opinion that many of the points which had been raised in the course of the discussion would be among those with which legislation would probably have to deal. He would not say more at present in regard to a subject which was likely to come more formally before the House before the Session closed.

MR. MOLLOY said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would give his attention to this matter.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the subject should be fully considered.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. Biggar

(4.) £44,333, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

(5.) £9,200, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

(6.) £31,997, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

MR. MOLLOY said, he had on a former occasion asked the authorities a question relating to the position of the Patent Office; and he would be glad to find that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry de Worms) was now in a position to give the information asked for. The amount of the Vote was £45,997; but he understood that the receipts of the Office were very largely in excess of any payments which appeared on the Estimate, and he asked what was the amount of the profits of the Office? His object was, of course, to bring about a reduction of the amount of patent fees, which were still very heavy, and continued to operate injuriously in respect of the inventive powers of mechanics. It was on that ground that he asked the hon. Gentleman for this information.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) said, the total estimated receipts from patents in the year ending on the 31st of March, 1886, was £79,400, or £9,900 less than in the previous financial year. That was arrived at as follows:—First, there was a loss upon fees paid under the Act of 1852—that was to say, the fees paid in the year 1884 in respect of applications made in 1883, which payments ceased about July 1884; that loss amounted to £14,900. Secondly, there was a loss of £26,400 due to deferred payment upon fees of £100, owing to the substitution of annual payments, spread over a term of years for payment of £100 in a lump sum; those two amounts made a total loss of £41,300, and after deducting from that £31,400 for increased receipts in 1885-6 from various sources under the new Act there remained the net estimated loss of £9,900 referred to. Against the receipts there was, of course, to be placed the expenditure of the Department, and the Committee would observe that there was an increase of 20 in the number of Assistant Examiners (Indexing and Abridging Clerks), and a corresponding increase in the amount of salaries for the staff required. It had been esti-

mated that there would be about 9,000 applications; but the number actually received was 17,110; hence the increased examining staff and the increased amount of the Estimate. Again, owing to the greater amount of work done in the Office, it had been found necessary to increase the number of Lower Division Clerks by 12; and, further, it had been necessary to employ a large number of shorthand writers to record the ruling of the Judges in cases which were brought before the Courts of Law.

MR. MOLLOY said, he gathered from the statement of the hon. Gentleman that there was no profit on the working of the Patent Office.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE: There is no profit at all; on the contrary, an estimated loss of £9,900 for the present financial year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £17,774, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had no intention of discussing this Vote. But he would submit for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government whether it would not be easy, and whether it was not desirable, to abolish the Office of Paymaster General? He believed it would be easy to contrive a totally different system under which much of the unnecessary work and much of the unnecessary expenditure due to the system which now obtained in the Paymaster General's Office might be got rid of; but as this was a subject with respect to which he had given no Notice, and which would probably come upon the present Financial Secretary somewhat suddenly, he would not pursue it then, although, if he had a seat in that House next year, it would be his duty to state his views upon it more fully.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he was glad that the hon. Member had called attention to this subject, because it would be satisfactory to him to hear that it had received some consideration at the hands of the late Government; that a Committee had been appointed, of which the present Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) was Chairman; and that a Report had been presented by them and recommendations made, which, as he was informed, were to the effect that this Department should be largely reduced. As the Committee would be aware, two classes of payments were made, effective and non-effective; and certainly, with regard to the effective class, without going fully into the matter, he believed that the proposed change would lessen the work of the Department, and effect in the end a very considerable saving to the country. He did not think he could properly say more than that at the present time.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £6,747, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, upon this Vote he wished to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the question of loans for harbours. The Committee on which he had the honour to preside had made certain recommendations on this subject; those recommendations, as he knew, had received the attention of the late Government, and he would like to know how far the present Government were prepared to carry out the pledges which their Predecessors had given on the subject in that House? He pointed out that one of the strongest recommendations of the Committee was that the duty of deciding on the policy of harbours to be constructed by means of loans of public money should be taken out of the hands of the Public Works Loan Commissioners and given to a Department of the Government. Now, in reply to a Question put by him at an earlier period of the Session to the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), the right hon. Gentleman informed him that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to carry that recommendation into effect. He (Mr. Marjoribanks) wished to know whether anything had been done with regard to that recommendation of the Committee — whether the hon. Gentleman who represented the Deparment had found since he had assumed Office that any steps had been taken to carry out the pledge given to him by the late President of the Board of Trade; and, if not, what was the intention of Her Majesty's Government with regard to this question? Then there was another point to which he desired to call the attention of the Committee. As hon. Members would be aware, a Treasury Minute had been

issued reducing the interest on loans by one-half per cent on satisfactory collateral security being given; and although he could not say that was all that they expected or all they wished, it was, at any rate, a step in the right direction. He would be glad to know whether Her Majesty's Government intended to carry out the decision of their Predecessors; did they intend to give effect to the Treasury Minute which had been issued? Then he would ask the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury how far the Treasury Minute referred to would apply to loans recently granted? As an illustration of the point, he would refer to a small fishing port of his own constituency. Last year the Local Authorities obtained a loan of £25,000; they gave as collateral security the borough rates; and this was the first instance in which such security had been given for such loans by any town or borough. Now, the question he wished to have answered was this—"A part only of the money having been advanced, will the Treasury Minute apply to the whole loan, or to that portion of it which has been issued?" If some arrangement were not made by which this small place would get the benefit of the reduction of interest, he said it would be a very hard case, and one which it would be very difficult to justify to the community. Another recommendation of the Committee was that Harbour Boards having debts should be enabled to apply to the Public Works Loan Commissioners for loans on favourable terms to consolidate their debt, and get the benefit of the low rate of interest charged for harbour loans. He asked the hon. Baronet whether that subject had received any consideration at the Treasury? He was aware that he could hardly, perhaps, expect a very full answer from the hon. Baronet opposite; yet the subject had been so long before the House, and it was one that should have been so fully considered by the Department, that he could not but think the Committee were entitled to receive from the hon. Baronet a statement of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to it.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, he rose to call the attention of the Committee to the correspondence which had taken place between the Education Department and the Treasury on a subject put forward by a deputation which he had had the honour of introducing, on the 11th of July, 1884, to the Vice President of the Committee of Council. He referred to the subject of loans advanced to school boards by the Public Loan Commissioners, the charges in connection with which in many localities were a most serious burden on the people, and in particular localities constituted a hindrance to public education. As far back as August last year, the Vice President said, in a letter to the Secretary to the Treasury, that he was satisfied that nothing caused more discontent, or more effectually retarded the work of school boards, than the large rates required to meet the annual charge for school buildings; that this discontent was greatly aggravated by the fact that the rate of interest which was originally fixed by the Elementary Education Acts of 1870 and 1873 had been materially increased by the Act of 1879, and that the expectations held out in 1870 that the rate would not exceed 3*d.* in the pound had been disappointed. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that it was not for the Education Department to determine which of the remedies suggested by the various Memorialists should be adopted, but that he was strongly of opinion that something should be done to restore the school boards to the position which they occupied before the Act of 1879 was passed, and he trusted that the Lords of the Treasury would see their way to adopt that view. The towns which felt most acutely this severe strain on their resources were especially those of rapid growth, or those largely inhabited by the industrial classes — Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Dewsbury, Hedworth, Monkton, and Jarrow, Middlesborough, Ipswich, Swansea, Aston, and the borough of Gateshead, which he had the honour to represent. Those towns, with some others, had memorialized the Department for an alteration of the charges now made upon school boards in respect of loans. With the exception of Dewsbury, all the boards were unanimous in asking for a reduction of the rate of interest, so that it might never exceed the rate fixed by the Elementary Education Act of 1870, Section 57, and the Elementary Education Act of 1876, Section 10—namely, 3½ per cent. They also asked for permission to repay all loans by way of

annuity—that was to say, by equal annual instalments, including principal and interest, and for an extension of the period of repayment. Now, this matter having been for some time before the Treasury, the late Secretary to that Department (Mr. Hibbert), in the early part of the year, addressed a letter to the late Vice President of the Council on Education, stating the terms on which new loans might be issued, and the grounds on which he thought that some slight concessions might be granted to the towns, many of which were poor, and where the demands for public education, so far from diminishing, were likely, during ensuing years, largely to increase. He regretted that the hon. Gentleman the late Financial Secretary was not at that moment in his place, that he might in his presence take exception to the letter he had written. But the hon. Gentleman seemed to think that by far the greater portion of the money advanced for school buildings since the passing of the Act of 1870 was advanced at a lower rate of interest, and that the more onerous terms prescribed under the Act of 1879 applied, in the main, to the moderate amount required to meet the demand resulting from the increase of population. The hon. Gentleman stated that the loans advanced for educational purposes in Great Britain by the Public Loan Commissioners, from the passing of the Education Act to the 31st of March, 1880, amounted to £12,369,000; while in the interval between the 31st of March, 1880, and the 31st of March, 1884, a further sum of only £3,185,000 had been advanced for the like purposes, and that it was evident that the enhanced rates imposed by this Minute of 1879 applied only to a small proportion of the loans under the Education Act, and that the charge on the school boards generally had not been increased to any great degree by the action of those enhanced rates. But why did that appear to be so? The true reason was that so many school boards had gone into the public market, and instead of borrowing from the Public Works Loan Commissioners they had borrowed from private sources. It appeared, and he was assured by competent authorities with whom he had consulted on this subject that between the months of September, 1879, and September, 1883, £4,340,000 had been raised by the school boards of the country, with the consent of the Education Department, for the erection of buildings; that in some places the education rate amounted to 1*s.*, and even to 1*s.* 2*d.* and 1*s.* 3*d.* in the pound, and that a very considerable portion of the charge was due to the rate of interest rather than to the specific character of the teaching and apparatus connected with it. Certainly he thought that a case had been made out for further assistance from the State in these cases, unless as he trusted it was not the intention or desire of the Government, by starving public education, to render it unpopular. Now, the recommendation which the Treasury made to the Education Commissioners was that, subject to the Public Works Loan Commissioners increasing the rate of interest, if the price of money became higher that it was, the rate for loans repayable in 35 years should be 3½ per cent; for loans repayable in 40 years 3¾ per cent; and for those extending over a period of 50 years 4 per cent; and they further recommended that the Public Works Commissioners should accept repayment of loans up to 30 years in the form of a fixed annuity when such loans were required for new schools. But he wished to impress upon the Secretary to the Treasury that the desire of the school boards was to restore these loans to the position they were in before the passing of the Public Works Loans Act of 1879. That Act did not necessarily provide that interest should be charged at a higher rate than 3½ per cent, and it appeared to him that the action of the Treasury and of the Public Works Loans Commissioners was somewhat in the direction of overriding the intention of Parliament. He had a Motion upon that subject; but in the position of the House he did not think it expedient to call attention to it on the present occasion. However, he believed that a fair case had been made out for the consideration of the Government; and he trusted that this question, in which a great deal of interest was felt, would meet with a satisfactory settlement at their hands.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he much regretted the temporary absence of the late Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hibbert), because he knew that the hon. Gentleman specially desired

to answer the objection that he believed would be made to the action of the late Government in respect of the rate of interest on loans for educational purposes charged by the Public Works Loan Commissioners. With regard to the points raised by the hon. Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks), the hon. Member asked that the duty of deciding upon the question as to what harbours should be constructed should be taken from the Public Works Loan Commissioners and given to a Department of the Government. But if the decision as to the site of any proposed works were to rest with the Board of Trade he should be wrong in saying that the Treasury would not always have a large influence in directing the action of that Department on this question. However able the Board might be to judge of the propriety of making a harbour at any place, the Treasury had to look at the question from the financial point of view. But he could assure the hon. Member that the point should be considered in order to see how far his views could be met. On that point, however, he was, of course, unable at the moment to say more. With regard to the rate of interest on loans, to which the hon. Member had called attention, he thought the Department which he had the honour to represent intended, and felt themselves bound, to adhere to the Minute of the 18th of June to which the hon. Gentleman had referred. It appeared that the Public Works Loans Act had worked very well up to a certain point; but there could be no questioning the fact that a great rush had been, or shortly would be, made on the Public Works Loan Commissioners, and while that had been made in one direction, another very powerful movement was being made in the direction of making the Treasury reduce the rate of interest. It was, under those circumstances, the duty of the Treasury to see that the country did not suffer between those two pressures; and, therefore, for the present, he was obliged to say that the Treasury must adhere to the Minute. With respect to the observations of the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James), he was very far, and the Government was very far, from underrating the importance of the question referred to, and which was creating great interest throughout the country. There was no doubt that the school board rate did excite very uncomfortable feelings in the minds of people, tending to lighten their pockets; but he was bound to say, in answer to the hon. Member, that the Treasury, at all events for the present, must adhere to the Minute.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he wished to be clearly understood. He had not dreamed for a moment that the Department of the Government alluded to should have the power to grant loans. He urged that the decision as to the absolute policy of making a harbour at a particular place, for fishing purposes or for the good of the country generally, should not be in the power of the Public Works Loan Commissioners, because they were a body of gentlemen unacquainted with the particular requirements of the country in that respect. It was simply on the question of policy that he wished the Government would step in, the question of security being left to the Commissioners.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, that, as far as his own opinion went, he imagined that the position indicated by the hon. Gentleman would be a fair one. He was only anxious to point out that there must always be in these cases many important points to be considered and conclusions arrived at from a financial point of view.

MR. STEVENSON said, he and his hon. Friends on the Committee had strongly recommended that the selection of particular harbours to receive loans should rest with the Board of Trade, and that the Public Works Loan Commissioners should be restricted to the consideration of the question as to whether the security offered was sufficient. He also wished to impress upon the attention of the noble Duke the President of the Board of Trade another recommendation which was made by the Committee; that recommendation relating to the extinction of debt on finished works. Where a harbour had been constructed, and its benefit and advantage to the trade of the district clearly ascertained, the debt incurred by the construction ought to be reduced or extinguished as rapidly as possible; and the Committee recommended that loans should be granted to harbour authorities with this object

in view. In the case of a maritime country like this, the cheapening of their harbours were very essential. This was no question of Party policy or Party advantage, but one in which the community generally was interested; and if it was necessary he advised the Board of Trade, in the annual Bill for providing funds for public loans, to obtain an alteration of the law to enable loans to be granted for the purpose he (Mr. Stevenson) had stated.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £15,288, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

(10.) £34,887, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

(11.) £422,097, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

(12.) £16,852, to complete the sum for the Woods, Forests, &c. Office.

MR. RANKIN asked whether it was within the functions of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to supply information with regard to the extent of woods and forests in the country? An interesting debate took place not long ago in reference to woods and forests; but the extent of woods and forests in the country did not seem to be known to anyone. As far as he knew, no Return had been made of the extent of woods and forests; and he should like to know whether it would come within the functions of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to supply the information?

MR. ACKERS asked whether it was the intention of the present Government to appoint the Committee which was moved for some time ago by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) to inquire into the advisability of establishing a school of forestry in this country?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, it seemed a very reasonable and proper suggestion, or recommendation, that a Return should be made of the extent of woods and forests in the country, and he would inquire whether such a Return could be furnished? So far no steps had been taken towards the appointment of a Committee concerning Schools of Forestry; but he had no hesitation in saying that the matter would receive careful consideration—he thought he might go so far as to say favourable consideration. He had seen the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Londen (Sir John Lubbock) upon the point, and from what the hon. Baronet had said he had no doubt of the importance of the question. It was possible, he (Sir Henry Holland) thought, that the school might be connected with the School of Engineers at Cooper's Hill, though he did not wish to tie himself down to that view. The matter should receive consideration.

Vote *agreed to.*

(13.) £35,529, to complete the sum for the Works and Public Buildings Office.

(14.) £40,000, Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

(15.) £25,000, to complete the sum for Secret Service.

(16.) £4,800, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and other Offices, Scotland.

(17.) £18,095, to complete the sum for the Fishery Board, Scotland.

MR. R. W. DUFF said, that before the Vote was passed he should like to ask his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) a few questions. His first question had reference to the cruisers employed by the Fishery Board. Those vessels had been condemned by the Fishery Board, and also by the Trawling Commission in their Report; and he recently communicated with his hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Sir Thomas Brassey) upon the subject, and had received from him an assurance to the effect that the Admiralty were arranging for suitable cruisers to take the place of those now used, and it was hoped that in a short time the arrangements would be completed. The present cruisers were quite obsolete, and therefore he trusted the Government would carry out the intention of their Predecessors to provide more suitable vessels. Then he wished to ask his hon. Friend what the intentions of the Government were with regard to the Bill which had been introduced in "another place," and which was founded upon the recommendations of the Trawling Commission? He be-

lieved that Bill had been read a second time in the other House; and as a great deal of feeling existed in Scotland on the subject of the Bill, he trusted the Government would be able to go on with the measure. It was important that the questions involved should be settled as soon as possible, and that additional powers should be given to the Fishery Board to carry out the recommendations of the Trawling Commission. There were in existence some obsolete statutes on the subject of herring barrels. There were certain regulations as to preventing the use of iron hoops for the barrels; but it was proposed by the Bill to which he had already referred to give power to the Fishery Board to make any regulations they thought right with regard to the herring barrels. This might seem a small question, but it was one to which a considerable amount of attention was given by the fish curers in the North, and he hoped it would not escape the attention of the Government. Then, in a recently issued Report, the Fishery Board called the attention of the Home Secretary to the subject which had been touched upon by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks) — namely, the question of harbour loans. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) had said that these loans would be facilitated if collateral security could be given. Mr. Sheriff Guthrie Smith, a member of the Fishery Board, had sketched out a plan by which the fishermen's houses could be offered as security. and this plan he (Mr. Duff) commended to the consideration of the Government. He was glad to see that the expenditure for scientific investigation had proved so beneficial. Last year the late Government gave an additional sum of £1,500, and he hoped the present Government would do whatever they could to carry on those scientific investigations which had been productive of so much good to the fishermen. He had no further remark to make; but he should like to have some assurance that these matters, particularly the matter of the cruisers, would not be overlooked by the Government.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, that with regard to the cruisers engaged in the service of the Fishery Board, he thought it was scarcely probable that there would be any sudden reversal of the policy of their Predecessors. The matter was not strictly in the jurisdiction of his Department. It rather concerned the Admiralty; but he was in a position to say that what had been recommended by the Fishery Board, and what the late Admiralty contemplated doing, would most probably be carried out by those who now had the care of such matters. The hon. Gentleman asked what was the intended fate of the Fisheries Bill now before the House of Lords. He (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) was, in speaking of this Bill, in the same difficulty as he was just now in speaking of another Bill; but he thought he might go so far as to say that a Bill founded upon the recommendations of a Commission which enjoyed so much respect as the Trawling Commission would naturally be given a very favourable place in the consideration of the Government. Of course, it was difficult to say much with regard to a Bill which was not before the House of Commons; but he thought he was in a position to say that the Fisheries Bill was not, at all events, in an abandoned condition. As to the proposed alteration of the regulations as to branding herring barrels, and the security for harbour loans, those matters were engaging the attention of the Government; and he might say that no great difference of opinion had yet developed itself upon them. He rejoiced that the hon. Gentleman should applaud what had been done with regard to scientific investigation. There was no doubt that demands on behalf of scientific investigation in this matter required to be regarded with a good deal of vigilance. Proposals were apt to grow at a somewhat alarming rate. At the same time, it had been found possible to grant the lump sum which appeared in the Estimates; and the Fishery Board had found the means of devising such an appropriation as seemed to them not to fall very far short of realizing the object with which this scientific investigation was set on foot.

Vote *agreed to.*

(18.) £4,469, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

(19.) £4,893, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.

(20.) £24,959, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.

(21.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,460, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."

MR. MOLLOY thought it was understood that no Irish Estimates would be taken that night.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) said, he was not aware of the understanding.

MR. MOLLOY said, that, on principle, the Irish Members must divide the Committee upon the Vote, as they had done annually for the last five years. They could not agree with the Vote on account of matters which were now within the public knowledge. The conduct of the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer) in regard to various matters had frequently been the subject of debate in the House; it was sufficient to compel the Irish Members to enter their protest against a Vote being taken for his Household. There was only one matter coming under the Vote which he (Mr. Molloy) wished to mention specially. He noticed an item of £50 set down "for insignia and banners of the Order of St. Patrick." He would like to know in respect of whom the sum was to be paid?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said, it could not be expected of him to enter into a discussion of the late Lord Lieutenant's conduct—it would be out of place in him to do so. The item of £50 to which the hon. Gentleman had alluded was charged in respect of the creation of two new Knights of St. Patrick.

MR. MOLLOY asked who were the two Knights for whom this money had been paid. Why did they not pay it themselves? Surely the gentlemen should pay the expenses of the honours conferred upon them.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said, that he ought to have explained that these Knights did pay fees amounting to £300. Those fees came into the Exchequer, though they did not appear in this Vote.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 89; Noes 19: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 209.)

(22.) £32,382, to complete the sum for the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Offices.

MR. BIGGAR said, the Estimate was considerably larger this year than last. Was there any special reason for it? Personally, he could not imagine what the reason was.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said, there was an increase in the Estimate to the extent of £326. There was a slight increase in salaries, and there were three new items in the Estimate—namely, a gratuity to the Chief Clerk of £100, a gratuity of £40 to the Assistant Clerk, and a gratuity of £80 to the Travelling Inspector.

Vote *agreed to*.

(23.) £1,552, to complete the sum for the Charitable Donations and Bequests Office, Ireland.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £119,978, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board in Ireland, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

MR. PARNELL suggested that this and the succeeding Vote should be postponed to another evening. These Votes had come on very unexpectedly, owing to the great progress which had been made that night.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he had no doubt that these Votes had come on hon. Members with surprise, and therefore he could not offer any opposition to their postponement.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Sir William Hart Dyke) whether there was any reason for the great delay which had taken place in the Return, for which he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) moved for a short time ago, showing the dietary scale in the different workhouses in Ireland? It was granted by the last Government as an unopposed Return, and sufficient

time had now elapsed for its production. Possibly the right hon. Gentleman could state the reason of the delay.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY promised to make inquiries in the matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY asked leave, as a matter of form, to withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £36,111, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Public Works in Ireland."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(24.) £4,756, to complete the sum for the Record Office, Ireland.

(25.) £11,126, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Ireland.

(26.) £15,804, to complete the sum for the Valuation and Boundary Survey, Ireland.

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

(27.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £152,245, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad."

MR. LABOUCHERE observed that there was a charge of £5,000 for the salary of the Agent in Egypt, and that there was a further charge of £2,000 for allowances. Hon. Members had been given to understand that another gentleman was going to Egypt. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not in the least complain that that gentleman should have been appointed to the office; but he wished to know something about the salaries to be paid. Sir Evelyn Baring was the Agent at present in Egypt; and he would like to know whether Sir Evelyn Baring was to receive £7,000 per annum after his departure from Egypt, and whether the gentleman who was to replace him was also to receive his expenses whilst in the country? "Expenses" was a very pleasant word, but it was perfectly well known that a Minister abroad practically received a salary in the payment of his expenses. He did not desire to raise the question of the advisability of sending a particular gentleman to Egypt. What he wanted was information as to what was intended from the financial point of view.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BOURKE) said, he understood the hon. Gentleman to ask whether it was intended to pay a salary to the gentleman to be sent to Egypt.

MR. LABOUCHERE: What I desire to know is, whether the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring will be continued, and whether the new salary is to be an extra one?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, that Sir Evelyn Baring was coming home on leave, and no steps had been taken to appoint his successor. For aught that he (Mr. Bourke) knew, Sir Evelyn Baring might return to Egypt and continue to draw the same salary as hitherto. As to the gentleman who might be sent on a special Mission, his salary had not been determined upon by the Secretary of State. He did not think the Committee would take it for granted that that question should come before them during the present Session.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought the question ought to come before the Committee during the present Session. The right hon. Gentleman was aware that their Agents received allowances in addition to salary. In this particular case they were told that the Agent received £7,000 per annum, that he was going away, and that he would enjoy his salary during his absence, that while he was away a gentleman also with a large salary was to be sent to replace him. They were told that the extra salary was not to come before the House during the present year. He thought that was something strong. Surely £7,000 a-year was sufficient for them to pay their Representative in Egypt. It seemed, however, very likely that they would be called upon to pay double that amount. He would like it to be clearly understood whether they were to have an opportunity of raising any objection to an increase of the payment during the present year.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, he had not said that Sir Evelyn Baring was coming away

from Egypt in the sense which the hon. Gentleman appeared to have in mind. With respect to the salary of any other gentleman who might be sent to Egypt, the hon. Gentleman would have an ample opportunity of giving an opinion on the subject when the proper time came.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked when, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, the proper time would come —would it be before the end of the present Session? The Votes in Classes III. and IV. had been skipped over, and the Government were now attempting to take the Votes in Class V., which raised many grave diplomatic questions. Was it intended that the House should have an opportunity of discussing this subject before they separated, because, although they might have very considerable regard for individual Members, the Government was only an irresponsible Government—they were but an ornamental Government——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to use such language.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would try to keep himself within the Rules of Debate. What he contended was that, whatever the Government might be, this Parliament was likely, within a few weeks, to separate and not to meet again. It was, therefore, very necessary that hon. Members should know what course would be followed in regard to the point raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). The Committee desired an opportunity of discussing matters which would arise on these diplomatic and other Votes.

MR. HIBBERT said, he thought he ought to explain why Classes III. and IV. had been omitted and Class V. taken. It was owing to an arrangement entered into during the discussion of the Estimates last year. A certain order was then decided upon, and it had been deemed desirable that the Votes should follow in succession the same routine this year as last year. When they had taken Class I. this year, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had drawn his (Mr. Hibbert's) attention to the conversation which had taken place on the subject last year, and had asked whether several of the classes should not be deferred. Upon that he (Mr. Hibbert) had put down Classes II. and V., and the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland), who was now filling the place that he had filled in the late Government, was simply carrying out his arrangement.

MR. ONSLOW said, there was an item of expenditure that perhaps his right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) would explain, or which, if he could not, perhaps some hon. Member belonging to the Opposition would explain. On page 421 of the Estimates he saw an item of £10,300 for Unforeseen Services. That was a very large item. He assumed that it included the Earl of Northbrook's Mission to Egypt. The item as put down gave them very little information. It was a most important item in connection with the Diplomatic Service; and if it were the case, as he imagined, that the expenses of the Earl of Northbrook's Mission were included, it was, he thought, due to the House and the country that the whole of that nobleman's Report should be made public. The whole of that Report had not been published, and he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. Bourke) whether he had considered the point? This was a legitimate question to raise; and certainly he, for one—he thought in common with nearly all who sat on the Benches behind the Government—was of opinion that before they had a discussion on Egyptian matters they ought to have the full text of the Earl of Northbrook's Report before them. He would ask how it was that only a partial and not a complete Report had been submitted to the House? The country was asked to vote a large sum for these Unforeseen Services, and in voting it it had a right to expect from the Government a *quid pro quo*—it was entitled to ask for full information respecting the Vote and the results achieved by it. For a large sum of money to be expended on sending a Minister abroad to report on certain matters for the benefit of the country, and, on the return of that Minister, to publish not the whole but only a part of his Report, was not treating the country nor the House with the respect due to them.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that in his opinion it was very unfair to badger the present Government about Estimates over the preparation of which they had not presided, and as to which

they could not be held responsible in any sense or way. The Government had been obliged to take up the figures of their Predecessors and make the most of them. It was not fair to challenge them with not having altered items and not having done certain things with regard to items as to which they had not had time to obtain information. He quite agreed with the hon. Gentleman near him that the Government could not be held responsible for Estimates they did not themselves prepare. On the face of the Estimates, however, there were one or two things upon which it was only reasonable that the Committee should expect some amount of information. The first item of this kind was one upon which there had been an increase of a considerable amount. On looking through the details, on page 419 of the Estimates, he found "Mexico £300" figuring as a new item. There were sundry items put down to Mexico this year which did not appear last year. Then on page 421, if he remembered rightly, there was an item of £1,400 or so for special services in Corea; what did that mean? Then, £1,600 had been spent in connection with the Afghan Boundary Commission. That sum of £1,600 was very moderate indeed; but in some Indian Papers, or Papers relating to India, which had come under his hand, he had seen an item of £120,000 put down in connection with the same service. He should like to ask the Government what had really been the cost of the Afghan Boundary Commission, or what was it to be, and how was it to be described? Was it a fair proportion to ask India to pay—this £120,000? Was the British Exchequer to bear no more than £1,600; and if that was the way the expense was to be distributed, why was that proportion adopted? How could this arrangement be considered fair to India—to the poor unfortunate inhabitants of that country, who were in no way responsible for the expenditure? He wished for information on these three points—what was the position of diplomatic affairs with Mexico; what was the Special Mission to Corea; and why was only £1,600 charged against the Imperial funds for the Afghan Boundary Commission, while so large a sum as £120,000 was to be abstracted from the pockets of the taxpayers of India?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, his hon. Friend (Mr. A. O'Connor) had started a most astounding theory—namely, that when one set of Ministers prepared Estimates and another set brought them in, the House of Commons was to fall between two stools, and was not to examine or discuss those Estimates. The hon. Member (Mr. A. Connor), however, had not adhered very strictly to his own theory, because, having laid down the doctrine that one set of Ministers were not responsible for the Estimates prepared by another set of Ministers who had immediately preceded them in Office, and that therefore the Government were "not to be badgered," he had gone on to complain of certain items being vague, and to request explanations in a manner that he (Mr. Labouchere) had thought very sensible. The Estimates were far too high, whether brought in by Liberals or Conservatives. He had frequently made complaints on this score, and had done his best to get the Estimates reduced, with perfect indifference as to what Party was in power. He had now to take very strong exception to this item "Unforeseen Services." He thought the House of Commons, who supplied the money, had a right to know what were the particular expenses of particular services. To put down £10,300 for these "Unforeseen Services" was not legitimate. He did not know who was responsible for the manner in which the items were put down; but, at any rate, he would ask the Government to state what these Unforeseen Missions and Services were?

MR. ONSLOW said, it had been decided that the whole of the expenses of the Afghan Boundary Commission proper should be borne by the Revenues of India. The £1,600 charged upon the Imperial Funds was merely for the payment of Mr. Condie Stephen and the secretary who accompanied Sir Peter Lumsden. The remainder of the cost of the Commission was charged upon India, against which he had protested on a former occasion. Seeing that such important items as this were included in the Vote, he certainly thought they were passing the Estimates somewhat too rapidly. Perhaps some hon. Member on the other side of the House would be able to explain what the £10,300 for "Unforeseen Services" represented. It might be for the Earl of Northbrook's

Mission, or it might be for something else.

MR. H. H. FOWLER considered that the original question raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had not been satisfactorily answered. He (Mr. Fowler) thought they ought to have a distinct statement from the Government as to this Vote of £7,000 for Sir Evelyn Baring. They were given to understand that the Government were going to supersede him. ["No, no!"] Well, that Sir Evelyn Baring was about to "come home on leave." What the House of Commons wanted to know was this—supposing another hon. or right hon. Gentleman was sent out to Egypt to do the work of Sir Evelyn Baring, and that Sir Evelyn Baring was to come home on leave, was the country to pay the salaries of two Agents at the same time? They had no objection to the Government superseding Sir Evelyn Baring, and putting in his place someone in whom they had confidence; but they did object to two gentlemen being retained at the same time to do the work of one, and to a double salary being paid.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, he had not the smallest objection to giving whatever information he had in his power to give to the hon. Gentleman or the House. He must say, however, that he found himself very much in the position of a cuckoo in another bird's nest, as the House would understand. He thought the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. H. H. Fowler) unreasonable; and he (Mr. Bourke) was surprised at the attitude the hon. Member had assumed, seeing that he had so lately held an official position himself. The hon. Member had, on mere newspaper reports, made a statement with respect to Sir Evelyn Baring, from which he (Mr. Bourke) entirely dissented. Her Majesty's Government had taken no judgment or decision with respect to the position of Sir Evelyn Baring so far as he knew. He should be much surprised to hear that Sir Evelyn Baring's position had been altered, and he was surprised to hear the hon. Member (Mr. H. H. Fowler) put to the Government the question he had put. All the Committee had to do was to consider the salaries of officers already appointed. So far as he knew, there had been no appointment of anyone to supersede Sir Evelyn Baring. The House, he was sure, would easily understand the position of affairs. It would, he was sure, see that the position he took was a reasonable one, when he said that all that they had to do was to criticize as much as they pleased the appointment and salaries of officers already in the service of the Crown. As he had said, to the best of his knowledge there had been no one appointed to supersede Sir Evelyn Baring; therefore he declared it to be premature to discuss the salary of such a person. He had no observation to make in regard to the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring, which was the only question which could be raised on the present Vote. He did not know that Sir Evelyn's position was going to be altered, and he would say nothing whatever on that question.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would move the reduction of the Vote by £7,000—the amount for their special Agent in Egypt, together with special allowances. Although the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) told them he could give no information as to Sir Evelyn Baring having been superseded, they must go, to a certain extent, on public report. The right hon. Gentleman could not say that no other agent was going to Egypt; and there could be no doubt that the Committee would be voting the Estimate under a misapprehension if they were to suppose that Sir Evelyn Baring's salary was the only one which would be given to an Agent in Egypt. The Committee assumed that some other salary would be paid to a gentleman representing England in Egypt—that some other Agent would be sent out, and that some other salary would consequently have to be paid. As the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did not say that that would be the case, he (Mr. Labouchere) would ask the Committee to divide against this £7,000. Not that he objected to it if the salary were not increased, but because he believed that before long there would be another salary of a similar kind to pay. When that salary was proposed for payment would be the time for them to decide what amount should be paid to Agents in Egypt.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member move to reduce the Vote?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Yes; by £7,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £145,245, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expenses of Her Majesty's Embassies and Missions Abroad." —(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, that the Amendment practically amounted to one for the reduction of the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring for services already partly performed. It was the Secretary to the Treasury of the late Government who had prepared the Estimate now under discussion, conferring the salary upon their own Agent. It was true that another Secretary to the Treasury was now in Office; but he had merely adopted the Estimate prepared by his Predecessor. If any change in the nature of an addition for Agents in Egypt were made that addition would take the form of a Supplementary Estimate, which would have to be submitted to the House. At the present moment they were dealing with the salary of Sir Evelyn Baring for services already rendered, which was moved for by the late Government in that House, and simply adopted by the present Government on the recommendation of their Predecessors. The Vote was to pay a gentleman who had done his work, and in no way applied to any change which would take place in the future in the Estimate.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would give an answer to a question he had addressed to him—that he would tell them whether, before Parliament was prorogued, there would be another opportunity afforded for the discussion of this Vote?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS) said, he wished to point out that if any other appointment was made with a salary attached to it a Supplementary Estimate would be required.

MR. LABOUCHERE wished to say, with all due respect to the noble Lord, that he believed he was in error, or under a misapprehension. It was true that if a salary were attached to a second appointment a Supplementary Estimate would have to be asked for; but if the Mission was a special one, the money would be asked for after, and not before, that Mission was sent out. That was why he was raising the question at the present moment. If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bourke) would assure the Committee that on a Supplementary Estimate they would have an opportunity of discussing any expenditure on the part of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the appointment of a second Agent to be sent out to Egypt before the Prorogation, he would withdraw his Motion to reduce the Vote. His object in now raising the question was to find out whether there was to be an increase in the Vote or not.

MR. HIBBERT said, he would explain the reason why this item for Special Missions was inserted in the Estimates this year. In previous years, in respect of unexpected Missions, expenditure of this nature had been provided for in Supplementary Estimates; and it had been thought desirable that instead of taking Supplementary Estimates for these amounts they should be provided for in the future in the Estimates of the year. It had been thought that that system would be found to work advantageously in the interests of economy. Though £21,000 was spent on Special Missions last year, this year only £10,000 would be asked for—a much less sum, although one rather over the expenditure of previous years. He wished to say, whilst he was on his feet, that if the hon. Gentleman persisted in his Motion to reduce the Vote, he (Mr. Hibbert), as a Member of the late Government, should be compelled to vote against him. He did not see how he would be justified in taking any other course.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had put a question to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs which seemed a very fair one, and one deserving an answer. The hon. Member proposed a reduction of the Vote, but was willing to forbear pressing his proposal to a division provided Her Majesty's Government would give a pledge to the Committee that if they employed Sir Henry Drummond Wolff or any other new Agent in Egypt during the present financial year they would present a Supplementary Estimate to the House before the close of the Session.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS said, he thought the Committee would be amused at the great anxiety of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) on the point now at issue, and at the hostility displayed by him to allowing the Government to have power to send a Special Mission to Egypt without the House being first consulted and having control over it. It appeared to him (Sir Whittaker Ellis) that looking at the rather frequent Missions that Her Majesty's late Government had been accustomed to send to Egypt, and at the fact that those Missions had never been inquired into—for instance, that the hon. Member for Northampton had never insisted on knowing how much the Earl of Dufferin's Mission was to cost, or how much was to be expended on the Earl of Northbrook's Mission, both of which were sent out whilst Sir Evelyn Baring was in Egypt, and which there could be no doubt had been very expensive—it was astonishing that the hon. Member should so suddenly become alive to the dire danger in which this country would be plunged by Her Majesty's Government having it in their power to send a Mission to Egypt extraneous to that of Sir Evelyn Baring, their usual Representative in that country. It was more astonishing still that a Member of the late Government (Mr. H. H. Fowler) should be more anxious than even the hon. Member for Northampton to be assured that no expenditure would be incurred except that which had been or could be explained to his satisfaction. The hon. Member for Northampton exhorted the Committee to accept the figures which were set down in this Estimate now before them as the ultimate, and that there should be no others. He (Sir Whittaker Ellis) was of opinion that if the Vote was to be criticized there were other questions upon which criticism should be raised, independent of Unforeseen Missions and Services. Not only would money have to be spent on Unforseen Missions, but a great deal, he was afraid, would have to be expended on Missions, the necessity for which was only too apparent in consequence of the policy pursued by the late Administration. But, so much for that. The money now asked for for Unforeseen Missions had been spent, and the Committee was only called on now to vote the amount. He was afraid that nothing the hon. Member for Northampton could say or do was likely now to save the country the expenditure of this £10,300. But he would go a little further than that. He saw in this Estimate "General Gordon's Special Mission to Egypt £5,000." [An hon. MEMBER: Last year.] Yes; that was for 1884-5, he took it. But he would suggest that some further information should be given to the Committee on this point — that Her Majesty's Government should state whether there was any other item in the Estimate relating to General Gordon's Mission, and whether this was the only one to be put forward as the cost of the Mission. This legacy from the late Government to the present was about as humiliating as anything could possibly be; and if the hon. Member for Northampton had insisted that before the Vote was passed the Committee should know what the late Government had spent on General Gordon's disastrous undertaking—an undertaking which he (Sir Whittaker Ellis) had no doubt the late Government were proud of, but which he was sure the country very much regretted—the hon. Member would have had fair ground for saying that the present Estimates did not portray to the country the real charges and expenses which it would have to pay. There could be very little doubt that if this matter were gone into it would be found that this Estimate was, to a very large and serious extent, misleading; at any rate, that the financial statement on this subject was misleading at the present moment. He (Sir Whittaker Ellis) could not see why or on what grounds hon. Members opposite could take exception to the voting of money to defray the expenses of transactions to which they themselves had been a party—to meet liabilities incurred by the late Government which the present Ministry had merely taken over from their Predecessors. He trusted the Committee would not allow the Business of the country to be delayed by the discussion of matters which were foregone conclusions, and over which, practically, the Committee had no control.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that, of course, the hon. Member must be aware that, so far as any discussion of the appointment of Sir H. Drummond Wolff was concerned, such a discussion at that mo-

ment would be premature. Her Majesty's Government had this question still under their consideration. It was, of course, probable that Sir H. Drummond Wolff would be appointed to go on a Mission to Egypt; but the precise nature of that Mission, and the circumstances under which the right hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) would undertake it, were still under consideration. It was impossible for him to say, therefore, what sum of money might be required for the expenses of that Mission. If the sum were a small one, and merely the ordinary expenses of a special unpaid Mission, he apprehended that it might be brought forward in the ordinary Estimates without any Supplementary Estimate at all being presented. But if the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and other hon. Members, desired to discuss the policy of the appointment of Sir H. Drummond Wolff to a Special Mission in Egypt, that was another matter. Such a question would be a matter of considerable importance; and, of course, it was one for which Her Majesty's Government would have to give facilities for discussion, if those facilities were desired.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS would like to ask a question—namely, whether it was likely that there would be a large charge on the country in regard to this Mission? If, as the right hon. Gentleman said, there would be no notable supplementary charge——

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER had not said that. He had stated that it was not settled.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that it was not yet settled whether or not Sir H. Drummond Wolff would be sent on the Mission.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had not said so.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that, at all events, if the right hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) did go, there would be a notable charge, for he understood the right hon. Gentleman had given up Office in order to go on this Mission. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, he would not go into that; but did he understand that if the sum was a notable sum Her Majesty's Government would put it into a Supplementary Estimate?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, of course, if it was a large sum for a Special Mission, it would be brought forward in the form of a Supplementary Estimate.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would say what he considered a notable sum? [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, he supposed it might mean anything between £20,000 and 20,000 pence.

MR. HENDERSON called the attention of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) to the case of the loss of the *Mary Marks*, a barque from Liverpool, and in connection with which the owners had a *bonâ fide* claim against the Spanish Government. The facts of the case had never been denied; but up to the present the late Government had altogether failed to get any satisfaction from the Spanish Government. He mentioned the matter now with a view to directing the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the case, that he might bring it to a satisfactory conclusion.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, that the matter should receive his earnest attention. He knew that complaints which were very well founded were often made to the Spanish Government, and he knew also that the Foreign Office had very great difficulty in getting satisfaction from the Spanish Government. This particular claim had not been brought under his notice since he had been in Office; but he would inquire into it, and, if possible, make a representation to the Spanish Government.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought it was only fair that he should ask the Representatives of the late Government if they could tell him what was the meaning of the charge of £1,400 for a Special Mission to Teheran?

MR. HIBBERT said, the noble Lord the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was not in the House, and this was not a matter with which he (Mr. Hibbert) was cognizant.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(28.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £131,495, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come

in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expense of the Consular Establishments Abroad, and for other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote."

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD regretted very much that the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) was not in his place, so that he could give them some explanation upon a matter of much importance which he desired to bring before the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman the present Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) might have some cognizance of the facts from his having held the same Office previously, and might now be able to say whether he approved of the state of things of which he (Mr. Arnold) complained. He had a Motion on the Paper to reduce this Estimate by the small sum of £30 on account of the Consul General of Bagdad. [*Laughter.*] This was no laughing matter. It was a matter of great importance. It happened that the Consul General at Bagdad was the presiding officer over a port, the export and import trade of which amounted in value to £1,000,000. This country had not a Consul General at Bagdad, because the present officer was paid by the Indian Government; and his object in moving the reduction of the Vote was to transfer the charge for the Consul General of Bagdad from the Indian Department to the British Department. His desire was that Her Majesty's Government should be represented by a Consular Agent at Bagdad, and not by a Consul paid and controlled by the India Office. What was the result of the existing state of things? It was this that—they had not received a single Report from the Consul General of Bagdad since 1879. That was owing to the fact that that officer was controlled by the India Office, and not by the Foreign Office, and the general result of the system was indifference to the great commercial interests of this country. He very much regretted the absence of the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), who might have been able to give some information on this point. It appeared from his last Report, dated 1879, that the Consul General of Bagdad then recommended it as desirable that steam communication should be carried further up the Tigris, which would have had the effect of largely increasing their trade with that part of the world. Since that Report, however, no further communication had been received from the Consul General. He was anxious to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, therefore, an expression of opinion as to whether he considered it was a good system under which those Consuls were paid by the Indian Government instead of by the English Government, and whether he did not agree with him that it was the cause of the decline of their trade with that part of the world? This was in principle a very important matter, and he should be exceedingly glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that he disapproved of this system. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £30.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £131,465, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expense of the Consular Establishments Abroad, and for other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, he was very much obliged to the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) for the remarks he had made on this subject, because it was a very important subject. He recognized the importance of the Reports received from their Consular officers, so much depending on the efficiency of their Consular staff abroad in regard to pushing forward their foreign trade. He had always been strongly in favour of appointing Consuls wherever there was any prospect of establishing or pushing forward British trade abroad, and he agreed with his hon. Friend that those objects were very much facilitated by the Reports from their Consuls abroad. The Consular Service had been very much improved of late years, and he was quite sure that that House would not object to increasing the number of their Consuls or increasing their salaries, so long as they saw as the result the prospect of increasing the foreign trade of the country. It was a favourite doctrine of Mr. Cobden's that such Consular Services were of the greatest value to this country. With respect to the question which the hon. Member had brought under

the notice of the Committee, all he could say was that he had looked carefully into the matter, and he would certainly have a despatch written to the Consul General at Bagdad with a view of finding out why it was that no Reports had come from him for the last six years. He would also ask the Consul General, with respect to his last despatch, to point out how the further development of their trade in that part of the world could best be achieved.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was not prepared to go so far as to say that the cost of those Consuls should be transferred from the Indian Government to the British taxpayer. He denied that such a course would lead to greater efficiency, because, as a rule, the administration of the Indian Government was very much more efficiently carried out than that of this country.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, the hon. Member had a little misunderstood him. He had no doubt that the officials appointed by the Indian Government were very efficient. He had no doubt that they excelled for their diplomatic capacity; but, as in this particular case, they failed in their commercial capacity. After the satisfactory statement of the right hon. Gentleman he begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR moved to reduce the Vote by £600, in respect of an item which he thought the Government would hardly attempt to justify, seeing that the office no longer existed. It was the charge for a Consul at Khartoum. There was no Consul at Khartoum, at least he believed there was not, and there was not likely to be one during the present financial year. Therefore, he desired to move the reduction.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £130,895, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for the Expense of the Consular Establishments Abroad, and for other Expenditure chargeable on the Consular Vote."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, that in the absence of anyone on the other side of the House to justify the Vote he must ask the hon. Member to forbear for the present. He was unable to give any explanation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked that he did not want any explanation—he wanted to reduce the Vote.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, he did not put it forward as a fact; but the probability was that there might be some arrears of salary due to somebody who had acted as Consul at Khartoum.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: That would not be charged in the estimated expenditure for the present financial year.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE said, it might come in the present financial year. That was the only explanation that he could give.

MR. MOLLOY desired to point out that there could be no arrears of salary. The late Consul at Khartoum was Mr. Frank Power, a distinguished young Irishman, who was now dead unfortunately. All that matter was now settled by a very small grant which had been made to Mr. Power's sisters of an annuity of £50 each. So that that matter was closed, and there was no explanation. He did not know if his hon. Friend thought they ought to go to a division; but this Vote was certainly one which had been put down for an office which did not exist. There was no possible explanation of it.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE pointed out that if there was nobody to be paid with this money it would be paid back again into the Treasury.

MR. HIBBERT said, that there was some explanation of this matter. At the time the Estimates were prepared by the late Government there was a Consul who was still alive at Khartoum. There might still be something due to his relatives, so that the Vote might be allowed to stand, and if the whole amount was not required it would be paid back again into the Treasury.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had effected his purpose by drawing attention to the matter, and asked leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(29.) £8,272, to complete the sum for the Slave Trade Services.

(30.) £2,025, to complete the sum for the Suez Canal (British Directors).

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought this was another question upon which they should have some information before Parliament closed. He would not press the general question at present; but there was a special question in which he was interested. What he wanted to ask was something in reference to the position of Sir Rivers Wilson. It would be remembered that Sir Rivers Wilson accepted a paid office in a private Company in the City, and they on that side of the House thought that a public servant in receipt of his official salary should not be allowed to engage in private enterprizes for gain, and he was obliged to resign. The other day his eye had come across the name of Sir Rivers Wilson as one of the Directors of some private Company—he thought an Assurance Company; and he wished to know whether it was proper that a public servant like Sir Rivers Wilson should be allowed to hold such a position?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not see why a person connected with the Government should not be a Trustee of a Company. The duty of a Trustee was to look after the funds, and to do his best to prevent robbery. He believed it was the custom that gentlemen on taking office should not cease to be responsible for money that might have been collected in their names; and, under the circumstances, he thought it rather hard that if the gentleman in question were Trustee of a Company he should not continue to be so.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he certainly thought the Committee were entitled to receive some assurance from Her Majesty's Government on this subject, and he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would take an opportunity of looking into the matter. He admitted that there was something to be said on both sides of the question.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he could not decide without further information whether the Trusteeship of Sir Rivers Wilson was consistent with the office he held, though he had no reason to suppose that it was not. If the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) would give him the Papers he would look to see what the duties of the Trustees were; but he was not prepared to express any opinion on the subject without reference to them.

Vote *agreed to.*

(31.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £21,566, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, in aid of Colonial Local Revenue, and for the Salaries and Allowances of Governors, &c., and for other Charges connected with the Colonies, including Expenses incurred under 'The Pacific Islanders Protection Act, 1875.'"

MR. BRODRICK said, there was one question connected with this Vote that he would ask the hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury. The late Government, some months ago, had advertised for the establishment of telegraphic communication with the West Coast of Africa; and he would be glad to hear whether any decision had been come to on this subject? The communication would undoubtedly be of great value to the commercial interests of the country; and he would also ask the hon. Baronet whether it would, on completion, remain in British hands, and not in the hands of any Foreign Government?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he could inform the hon. Member that the subject was then receiving very careful consideration from Her Majesty's Government. It had also been carefully considered by the late Government, and two Companies had tendered on the forms of application sent out by them. The late Government had considered the question from the point of view of the commercial interests of the country; and on the same ground it, of course, became a matter for the present Administration to deal with. The Papers were then before the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and not only were Her Majesty's Government fully alive to the importance of the question, but they were also alive to the importance of having the line in English hands.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there appeared on this Estimate a charge of £200 for the minister of Trinity Chapel, Quebec, and also, under the head of Nova Scotia, a charge of £551 for missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, including widows

of clergy who were in the service in June 1834. No doubt it was a good and excellent thing that there should be missionaries in Nova Scotia, and perhaps, as some hon. Members suggested, in Northampton; but why should the taxpayers of this country be asked to pay £200 a-year for a clergyman at Quebec and £500 for missionaries and widows of missionaries in Nova Scotia? No doubt the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would be able to give a full explanation of those charges, and state the reason why the Committee were called upon to pay them.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Colonel STANLEY) said, that this, as the Committee would be aware, was an expiring charge. It was part of the general arrangement made between the Colony and the Mother Country in following out the changes made in 1832 and 1833. It was then agreed that payments to clergymen and missionaries should be made by this country, and they had been since that time, of course, repeated annually. The Committee would observe that the charge for missionaries and widows of missionaries in Nova Scotia was £300 less this year than it was last year, and it would doubtless not be long before it disappeared from the Estimates.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he saw no reason to believe that the persons who received this money were alive. It was 50 years since the charge was first made, and widows, as a rule, did not live 50 years longer than their husbands. Certainly, it did not seem to him probable that anybody in the service in June, 1834, could be, 51 years afterwards, alive and drawing their pensions. The hon. Baronet the Secretary to the Treasury was new to the Office, and might not, of course, be in possession of all the facts of the case; but he would like to ask him whether it had been ascertained to be true that those persons were still alive and receiving this money for services done 50 years ago?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, that he had no doubt that the vouchers for those charges came before the Comptroller and Auditor General; but as the hon. Gentleman had directed his attention to a particular point in connection with them he would inquire into the matter, and should be happy to inform the hon. Gentleman of the result.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that the Report of the Queensland Commission into the labour traffic of the Western Pacific Islands had disclosed a deplorable state of things to which he trusted the attention of Her Majesty's Government would be directed. Her Majesty's late Government were not there to answer on the subject, and possibly the right hon. and gallant Gentleman who now represented the Colonial Department (Colonel Stanley) might be unprepared to reply upon it; but the Secretary to the Treasury, he believed, knew a good deal about the matter, and before the Vote passed he trusted he would be able to make a statement to the Committee as to whether anything would be done to prevent the evil that existed.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, he believed that hon. Members would agree with respect to this traffic with the Western Pacific Islands that there had been in the past very great abuses; and it was with the object of preventing the recurrence of those abuses that the Pacific Islanders Protection Act was passed in 1875. He had seen, but only in a general form, the Report to which the hon. Gentleman alluded upon this subject, and to a very considerable extent he agreed that it disclosed a state of affairs that was very grave and much to be deplored, yet at that moment he was not prepared or in a position to answer in detail as to whether representations would be made to the Colonial authorities on the subject. He could, however, assure the hon. Gentleman that the subject to which he had drawn attention should not be lost sight of; and he was sure that that House would at all times be glad to attend to any suggestion that tended to remove the evil complained of.

MR. BIGGAR thought that as the money voted for widows and clergymen in Canada and Nova Scotia had continued for 51 years there was no chance of the race dying out, and that the best thing under the circumstances was to stop the Vote. He believed there had been a want of careful supervision over the payment of those pensions, and he should therefore move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £751.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £20,815, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, in aid of Colonial Local Revenue, and for the Salaries and Allowances of Governors, &c., and for other Charges connected with the Colonies, including Expenses incurred under 'The Pacific Islanders Protection Act, 1875."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, he could add very little to the statement he had made a short time ago in reply to the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). If there was any specific point of detail upon which the Committee desired information he should be very glad to make inquiry upon it, and communicate the result to the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). But all he could say now was that this was an arrangement entered into between the Mother Country and the Colony. The system under which the arrangement was carried out came every year before the Committee of Public Accounts, and was subjected to that severe scrutiny which it was very well known items of this kind underwent. The payments had been supported by proper vouchers, and had there been any irregularity he was satisfied that it would have been brought to light before the Public Accounts Committee. For those reasons, he asked the Committee to pass the Vote as it stood.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £24,690, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for certain Charges connected with the Orange River Territory, the Transvaal, Zululand, Bechuanaland, the Island of St. Helena, and the High Commissioner for South Africa."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he would make an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to postpone this Vote, which really involved a whole series of important questions, which it would be quite impossible properly to deal with at that period of the Sitting. In the first place, there was the Vote for £30,000 on account of Bechuanaland, over which country Her Majesty's late Government had assumed a Protectorate; and the Committee would recollect that when the question was referred to in that House on a former occasion, the then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) said that the proper opportunity for discussing this question would be afforded by the Estimate when it came forward. But at that time the Vote could not be properly discussed; and as it was known that the Government had to proceed that evening with the East India Loan (£10,000,000) Bill, he believed he should be consulting the wishes of hon. Members by moving that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir George Campbell.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he could not support the Motion of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell); but he would appeal to his right hon. and gallant Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) to favour the Committee with some information with regard to this Vote. As the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had correctly remarked, it involved many important questions; and he should be glad if his right hon. and gallant Friend could supply some information upon it at that time, because, as far as he understood, the present was the best opportunity that was likely to present itself for considering the matter at all before the end of the Session.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he thought the proposal of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy a very reasonable one. He believed the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would desire to show the same courtesy to all sections of the House; and as he had yielded to a similar proposal on the part of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he trusted he would be able to accede to the wish of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, he could not help feeling the great force of the appeal made to him by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Communications were passing

daily on the subject referred to by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, which rendered it in the highest sense desirable that they should not enter into a general discussion, with the present imperfect information which they possessed, of a Vote which did not come within the ordinary scope of financial discussion. Therefore, on the whole, he thought it would be well if the hon. Gentleman would withdraw his Motion to report Progress, and he had no doubt his hon. Friend would make an arrangement for the postponement of the Vote. He thought it perfectly fair that there should be some discussion upon the Vote, and he felt that he could not properly ask the Committee to proceed with it on that occasion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Original Motion be withdrawn."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, on that Question he would ask whether the Government would be willing to consent to the postponement of the Vote in aid of the Revenue of the Island of Cyprus? An hon. Gentleman who had since been appointed as a Member of Her Majesty's Government had given Notice of a Motion for the reduction of the Vote, and that Notice had been removed from the Paper. Hon. Members who would have supported the Motion were, in consequence, placed in a difficulty from the absence of the hon. Gentleman; and, under the circumstances, he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would consent to the postponement of the Vote in aid of the Island of Cyprus.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he was unable to postpone that Vote.

Motion *agreed to.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(32.) £17,300, to complete the sum for the Subsidies to Eastern and South African Telegraph Company.

(33.) £15,000, Cyprus Grant in Aid.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he had to thank the right hon. and gallant Gentleman for the courtesy shown to the Committee in postponing the Vote for South Africa and St. Helena. He would now ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman whether he had any further information to give to the Committee with reference to the reported Revenue frauds in Cyprus? That matter had already been the subject of a Question in the House, and he would be glad if any further information could be communicated. With reference to the subsidy of £15,000 in aid of the Revenues of the Island, by the action of a distinguished Relative of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary to the Colonies the subsidy had been already reduced from £90,000 to the present amount, and he trusted that the Vote would soon disappear from the Estimates altogether. Could the right hon. and gallant Gentleman hold out any expectation of a further reduction of the grant, and of its disappearance within a short time? He confessed to a certain feeling of apprehension on the part of his hon. Friends and himself that, the Island having reverted to those whom he might call its original proprietors, there might be an increased expenditure on account of Cyprus—indeed, they had heard of Estimates reaching to £1,000,000 being in existence for public works there. Therefore, he desired to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, with reference to what the late Secretary of State for War had properly called "this useless Island," whether he would undertake not to go to any expense for public works in connection with it before he had obtained the sanction of the House to the undertaking of such works?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, the hon. Gentleman had spoken very courteously, and he was prepared to answer in the same manner. As to the Revenue frauds, he thought the Parliamentary Paper which was presented on the subject some time ago practically represented all the information which had reached him, or which could be given. There was, indeed, an inquiry in regard to the extent of the defalcations, and a despatch on the subject had been sent to the Governor. As the despatch could not yet have reached its destination it would hardly be proper that he should announce its contents to the House. There was, however, no reason to suppose that the system of fraud had been at all widespread or general. If there were any other Papers on the subject which

could possibly be produced in continuation of those already presented he would ask the hon. Member (Mr. Arnold) to move for them in the usual course, or he would present them voluntarily. The next question asked him was with reference to the diminution of the Vote in Aid. He was happy to be able to say that there was a great probability that the Vote, instead of being increased, would be diminished. Under the very able administration of Sir Robert Biddulph, the Governor of the Island, and under the care of the Office presided over, as the hon. Gentleman had said, with such great ability by his (Colonel Stanley's) Predecessor, the Vote in Aid had been reduced to what was now a comparatively small sum. He hoped it would continue to diminish annually. But there were certain causes of expenditure, such, for instance, as the expenses connected with locusts and other matters, of very serious moment indeed to the prosperity of the Island, which must fluctuate. Those causes were wholly beyond human control, and therefore, in regard to them, he must hold himself free. He saw no reason why the Island should not continue to prosper, and to, he hoped, in a very few years pay its own way. The hon. Gentleman expressed a doubt which he had very candidly expressed before, and which he was perfectly consistent in expressing now, as to what the future of the Island might be. He (Colonel Stanley) was not aware that he had ever held language which favoured the impression that any large public works would become necessary. He was not aware of a proposal at any time which would in the slightest degree alter the present position of affairs in the Island; and certainly it would be his duty at the earliest possible moment to bring in a Vote if any such proposal were seriously made. At the present time he was not aware of any such proposal. Whatever expenditure might be incurred in Cyprus, he hoped it would be incurred for the purpose of promoting peaceful industry rather than warlike operations. That was all the information he could give; but if he could answer any question as to details he should be very happy to do so.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought the Government were to be congratulated on the fact that the expense of Cyprus had been diminished. At the same time, there was the military expenditure on the Island, which was defrayed by this country. Perhaps this would not be a proper moment to ask what the Brigade of Guards was sent to Cyprus for? But it was possible that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) could tell them what was the nature of the accommodation provided for the Guards; what was the climate in which they were stationed; at what elevation above the sea they were, and how they were housed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, he could not state what the exact accommodation afforded was; but he apprehended that the Guards would be camped on healthy ground at a considerable elevation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that anyone who had listened to the discussion on this Vote would be half inclined to imagine that the condition of things in Cyprus was quite satisfactory. Now the very reverse was the case. It was well known that a tremendous system of fraud had been carried on in Cyprus for a long time, and that a large number of officials, some of them of very considerable *status*, had been involved. It was known that no reasonable effort was made to discover the fraud, or, when suspected, to trace the offenders, until a considerable amount of pressure was put on the officer in charge from that House. It was not until the subject was ventilated in the newspapers and Questions were asked in Parliament that anything like active steps were taken to bring the defaulters to justice. What were the real facts of the case? Apparently, the Colonial authorities required a sum of £15,000 to enable the Island to meet its expenditure. But that was not so. If there was anything like a proper administration of the local resources, if there was anything like an honest collection of the land revenue, there would be no necessity at all for the authorities to come to the House of Commons for a Vote in aid of the local revenue. Under the Returns given in the last Appropriation Account, he found that the Island authorities had in March, 1884, a balance in hand of £50,000, and that during the 12 months the assets were £55,000 in excess of the liabilities. That being so, it was perfectly plain that the

Island authorities were not in need of this Vote at all. If they were told that they must meet their local expenditure out of the local resources, and punish severely those who were proved to have been defaulters, there would be no need at all to come to the House of Commons for assistance. He regretted that the present Solicitor General (Mr. Gorst) was not able to move the Motion for the reduction of the Vote of which he had given Notice. That was only another illustration of the danger one incurred by trusting to anybody else to oppose a Vote which he thought ought to be impugned. If he had imagined for a moment that the Solicitor General would not have been in his place to have moved the reduction of the Vote, he (Mr. A. O'Connor) would have been prepared to move the reduction. He could only regret that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) had not had the courage to proceed to a division. Perhaps the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Colonel Stanley) could tell the Committee what was the present position of Mr. Le Starkie, the head official connected with the collection of the land revenue, and the man who was in charge of all the subordinates who were implicated in the frauds? Perhaps the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would tell the Committee why it was that Mr. Le Starkie had escaped scot free; whether there was any reason why he should be screened? He was told that Mr. Le Starkie was informed that, at any rate, he was suspected, and that he then wanted to resign; but that a message was sent to the Island to the effect that he was not to be allowed to resign. As a matter of fact, had Mr. Le Starkie tendered his resignation, and had the Colonial authorities directed the Governor to refuse to accept the resignation? If so, what was the position of Mr. Le Starkie at the present time?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, that he would rather not, as he had already stated, anticipate the information, which had not yet reached the Governor's hands. The Papers of which he had spoken would, he believed, show all that could be shown about the matter. He might say, however, that he had come to the conclusion, after very careful examination, that there was nothing to support a criminal charge against Mr. Le Starkie.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Has he tendered his resignation?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES said, that Mr. Le Starkie did tender his resignation to his (Colonel Stanley's) Predecessor. There was nothing, however, to sustain a criminal charge. On the present occasion he (Colonel Stanley) would rather not say more on the subject. Care was now being taken to prevent fraud and to improve the valuation, which was certainly a step in advance. Other improvements were being effected which would tend to a more rapid collection of revenue. That was all he could say now.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if Mr. Le Starkie had furnished any security?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES could not say; but if the hon. Gentleman would put a Question to him on the subject at some future time he would make the necessary inquiries.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

EAST INDIA LOAN (£10,000,000) BILL.—[BILL 109.]

(Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Kynaston Cross.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he hoped that before the Speaker left the Chair they would hear some general statement, at least, with regard to the use to which the borrowed money was to be put by the Indian Government. It was now a considerable time since the Bill was last before the House. A good deal of information had come from India, and a good deal had happened since that time. If he was not mistaken, it had not been made very clear to what purpose the borrowed money was to be devoted. He understood that at present there was considerable borrowing power in

the hands of the Indian Government; that the £10,000,000 for which this Bill provided was in addition to £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 which the Indian Government had power under previous Acts to borrow. There were a great many matters to which it might be necessary to apply the whole or part of the money. Of course, he could not expect the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) to pledge himself in detail as to the use to which those funds would be put; but he hoped the noble Lord was in a position to tell them in very general terms to what it was necessary to devote the borrowed money. He (Sir George Campbell) believed the primary object of those borrowing powers was to make railways of a commercial and profitable character. He was somewhat afraid that in consequence of the construction placed upon the Report of the Committee which sat on this subject, some railways of a non-paying character might be made under the guise of commercial railways. He hoped the noble Lord would see that the money was spent on paying, and not on non-paying, railways. It was well known that in consequence of recent circumstances a good many non-paying railways were to be on the frontier. Perhaps they might learn that the noble Lord was prepared to adopt, in a great degree, the plan of the late Government; and it might be that the noble Lord was in a position to give them some fresh information with regard to the probable expenditure upon the frontier railways. In "another place" the country had been informed that night that Her Majesty's Government intended to take the most decided measures to put the frontier of India in a proper defensive state. Such measures were very expensive, and he thought it very probable that a considerable part of this loan would be devoted to the meeting of the expenses of the works contemplated. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to tell the House to what extent he thought it likely the Government would be committed with regard to the expenses of the proposed defences. A large sum of money had been spent by the Indian Government, and also by the British Government, in consequence of the unhappy differences which lately arose with Russia. A considerable time had now passed, and he hoped the noble Lord would be able to tell them something more than was told them when last this Bill was before the House with regard to the probable cost of the recent extraordinary military preparations. They were at one time led to hope that the original estimate, which he thought was somewhere about £3,000,000, might be diminished on account of savings of one kind or another. He was sorry to see a paragraph in the Indian papers to the effect that the preparations would cost as much as £4,000,000. He hoped the noble Lord would tell them whether that estimate was justified or not. There was another very important view of the matter on which the late Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Cross) was not able to enlighten them, and on which he did not know whether the noble Lord could give them any information — namely, how the money was to be got. On a former occasion he expressed the hope that the Government would think it their duty to provide the means whereby the Indian Revenue would be able in a few years to pay off the extraordinary expenses which had been and were being incurred upon defensive projects. He noticed in the Indian papers a good deal about the reduction of expenditure. He was always in favour of economy, and he should like to see a reduction of expenditure. But there was one means of reducing expenditure, which he did not think was at all wise and prudent, and that was the stopping of public works. He thought the permanent military expenditure must be increased; but he should regret if it were to be met by the stoppage of public works. To carry on public works at a great pace one year, and to stop them another year, was anything but an economical proceeding. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to tell the House that the Government of India hoped to meet the extraordinary military preparations in some other way than by the stoppage of public works.

MR. ONSLOW said, he was one of those who did not approve of this Bill being brought in by the late Government. He looked upon the proposal contained in the Bill as one of the most serious proposals affecting the finance of India which had ever come before the House of Commons. He assured the noble Lord the Secretary of State (Lord

Randolph Churchill) that the more he looked into Indian finance, as left by his Predecessor, the less he would like it, for he would find that it presented almost insuperable difficulties. What were the circumstances under which the late Government brought this Bill before the House? It would be in the recollection of hon. Members that Sir Auckland Colvin, in his Budget Statement, estimated that there would be a small surplus on the Indian Revenue. Since that time much had happened. Within the space of three months £4,000,000 had been spent on military preparations, and it was necessary the House should know how that sum of money was to be met. How was India to recoup itself for this enormous additional expenditure? Was the noble Lord prepared to tell them that night that out of the £10,000,000 which it was proposed to raise in this country the ordinary Revenue of India was to be recouped to the extent of £4,000,000? Was any of that amount to be repaid by extra taxation, or by means of the diminution of expenditure, or was the whole of it to come out of money to be raised by this Bill? During the present financial year India had raised £3,500,000 for extraordinary public works. As a matter of fact, the House was now asked to sanction a loan of £10,000,000, all of which, if this Bill was passed, would be raised during the present financial year. He could not imagine a worse state of finance for India than this—that they could not pay their ordinary ways and means, but were obliged to go into the Money Market to enable them to do so. And it must be remembered that owing to the policy of the late Government a considerable permanent additional charge would be put on the Revenues of India. Let them hope that it would not be so much as £4,000,000 a-year; but, considering the effect of their policy in India, the augmentation of the Army and development of the defences of the country, which would be to impose a large permanent additional charge upon the Native taxpayer, he would ask how it was to be met? He had seen it stated that the extraordinary military and fortification expenses would amount to about £2,000,000 a-year. That was an enormous burden, and how, he asked, was it to be met? There was one method of retrenchment which would enable them to meet increased expenditure—they might refrain from going on so fast with their public works and railways. That seemed to him the only solution for the difficulty. Some such measure would have to be adopted, for they clearly could not go on, year after year, in the present way with their Indian finance. Then the policy of Russia, at the present moment, was to make a railway to Sarakhs, and the more she pushed towards the frontier of Afghanistan the greater would be our expenditure in India. This whole question would have to be thoroughly considered; in fact, one of the first things the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) should do was to go thoroughly into the finances of India and into the question of the Home Charges. If, owing to the policy of Russia, increased expenditure was from time to time imperatively necessary in India, they could not go on, year by year, borrowing enormous sums of money. In 1869 there was a particular clause put into a Bill to the effect that the money to be raised was only to be for railways, military and commercial. There was no clause at all to that effect in the present Bill, and it appeared to him that the whole of the £10,000,000 asked for by the Indian Government was to meet the ordinary ways and means of its finance. If the noble Lord could state that the money was to be spent in developing the railway system, and on the defences of the country, it would be more satisfactory; but he (Mr. Onslow) believed that the money was not to be expended in that way at all, but was to defray ordinary military charges which, he contended, ought to be met out of the ordinary taxation, and come out of the ways and means of Indian finance. They must remember that Indian finance was in a very precarious position indeed. If anything was to happen to Abdurrahman—and it was reported that his health was not in a very sound state—there would very probably be a revolution in Afghanistan, and Russia might claim a voice in the nomination of the future Ruler of that country. That claim England would probably be disposed to resist, and the result might be that fresh burdens would have to be thrown upon the Indian Exchequer. What he wished to point out to the noble Lord

and the Committee and to emphasize was this—that it was impossible for them to go on expending large sums of borrowed money on public works in India—on the development of extensive systems of commercial and military railways, and on great irrigation schemes—and, at the same time, go on paying large sums of money in the shape of interest on money borrowed for fortifications and frontier defence. That would be asking India to do a great deal too much, for her finances would never bear the enormous strain. How long was India to go on borrowing money in that way? They might have another Bill next year to enable India to borrow another £10,000,000 at 3 or 4 per cent. How much would be spent in the current year, and would the money be spent to meet the ordinary charges of the year, or on what he might call extraordinary military operations; or were those military operations to be paid for out of the general taxation? It was said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Viceroy had sent round to all the Local Governments of India urging them to curtail as much as possible their expenditure. He was aware that that had been done—such a step had been taken on a previous occasion. The Local Governments had been implored to curtail their expenditure on public works, their civil expenditure, and so on. No doubt, some little good might be effected by that means; but it was not possible for the Local Governments to curtail their expenditure to any appreciable extent. He did not blame the Viceroy for the action he had taken; but after all, if the Local Governments saved as much as they could, it would only be a few thousands of pounds, and what was that when they had to deal with millions? Did the Viceroy intend to ask the people of India for additional taxation in order to meet additional expenditure, or was the House of Commons to be asked to pass this sum as a loan to India, knowing that subsequent extraordinary requirements would have to be met in the same way? He (Mr. Onslow) could assure the noble Lord he had never spoken in regard to Indian matters in any Party spirit; but he did say that Indian finance at the present time was in a very precarious position indeed, and that it would be soon seen that it was impossible to raise the increasing Revenue rendered necessary by such Bills as the present by extra taxation. When the British public came to see that every farthing of these loans would have to be borrowed in this country his firm belief was that they would cease to have confidence in such investments, and that India would consequently be unable to borrow any money at all. The question was important not only to India, but to this country; and he sincerely trusted that the noble Lord would take into consideration the precise state of Indian finance, which he could assure the noble Lord—knowing some little about Indian affairs—was in about as bad a condition as it was possible for it to be in.

MR. PULESTON said, he had not expected the Bill to come on, and, therefore, was not prepared to say all he might have wished. He only desired now to observe that as the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) became intimate with the affairs of the India Office he would see a great deal that it was desirable to reform in many ways. While desirous of saying nothing against the Indian Council, he could not help thinking that in its case the proverb held good that "too many cooks spoil the broth." No doubt, the Indian Council was composed of men of high character and high standing in regard to commercial matters as well as personally. He thought, however, that the noble Lord would find in connection with these matters a great deal capable of improvement. With regard to the loan which had been recently issued, he believed it had been issued at too low a rate. It was difficult to understand why it had been issued at 85, whilst corresponding transactions were quoted at 89, and 90. The loan had been issued at a rate much below the ordinary credit of India. He could well for the moment venture to criticize these matters in connection with the administration of the noble Lord, seeing that he had so recently taken Office, and that it was impossible for one to make himself familiar with these important operations in such a short time. The late Government had had an offer of 93½ for the first £3,000,000 of Three per Cents. The loan, however, had been sold at something like 94½. The condition of things changed in the India Office as in every other Office, and the

India Office must guide themselves by the circumstances of the hour. He was of opinion that it would have been better to have deferred the issue of the loan; but that was a matter he would not enter into. He might say, however, with reference not only to the India Office, but to all the Departments of the Government, that the authorities who had the control of them did not very often act as private individuals or private houses would act in reference to these transactions. It had been stated—he did not know on what authority—that this last issue, part of the £10,000,000, would be sufficient to meet all the requirements arising out of the Report of the Select Committee, and that no more would be required next year. He did not know whether the noble Lord would be able to say whether or not that was so. The Committee had had in view the expenditure of this £10,000,000 on the building of railways, which were so important to the interests of India. He knew that £10,000,000 could not be expended in a moment; but he should like to ask if the statement had been put forward on authority that no more than the amount issued would be required for some time to come? He hoped that was not correct, for he was of opinion that the more rapidly money was spent in India, as elsewhere, the better it would be for the country. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to give them some information on these subjects.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL) said, he should confine himself to the details of the Bill itself, and should not mix them up with what properly belonged to the Financial Statement of the year, as he had been rather invited to do by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) and the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow). He should like to refer to the remarks of the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) with regard to the loan which had been put before the public a short time ago. The hon. Member complained that the loan was issued at 85, and that the price of the Stock—Three per Cent Stock—was somewhat higher. His (Lord Randolph Churchill's) own belief was that the ordinary Stock was at 88 at the time the loan was issued; but on that point he could only say, in the first place, that 85 was the minimum at which the loan was issued, and that it did not follow that it would not be taken up on much better terms. The whole of the details of the loan were the subject of very anxious consideration by the authorities on Indian finance, in consultation with the highest authorities in the City; and their determination—the result of their consultation—had been the fixing of the minimum price of the new loan at 85. That being so, he thought that in all probability the course the financial authorities had adopted was a prudent one; and he did not think the Secretary of State would be justified in departing from their advice, guiding himself, of course, by suggestions which might be made by hon. Members in Committee of that House. That loan having been alluded to, it would be, perhaps, better to state exactly what the loan was. He believed that if it had not been for the change of Government causing great delay in the transaction of Public Business, this loan, in all probability, would not have been issued until the East India Loan Bill had passed the House; but, at the same time, it was not necessarily connected with that Bill. Of that loan it was intended, under the Financial Statement of the year, to devote to public works out of borrowed money 350 lakhs of rupees; but the Government of India had in hand, or available from various sources, to the extent of 68 lakhs, so that it was only necessary at that time to borrow 282 lakhs. That loan, owing to the circumstances of the time, could not have been raised in India, and it was thought proper to call on the Secretary of State to reduce his drawings by borrowing in London a sum equivalent to 282 lakhs of rupees. That had been the intention; but, as hon. Members knew, subsequently there came the great complications on the frontier, complications which were recognized as so serious by the Government of the day in that House and by the Government of the day in India that very large military expenditure was resolved upon. That being so, having payments to make for military purposes, such as the accumulation of stores at Quetta, the drawings of the Secretary of State were still further reduced by two crores of rupees, and that made the sum required £3,800,000. That was the sum it would have been necessary to borrow in London if it had

not been that the Budget had provided large balances to be at the disposal of the Government in March, 1886, in order that the Four per Cent Transfer Loan might be paid off. The Government thought that in order that they might not have to borrow £3,800,000 they might postpone the provision for paying off that loan and utilize the balances, contenting themselves with borrowing £3,500,000. As to the rate of interest, the question was whether the loan should be issued at 3½ per cent or 3 per cent. That question was considered by the late Government and their financial Advisers; and it was thought better in the first place, for the credit of India, as the Indian Government had already borrowed money at 3 per cent, to continue to borrow at that rate, though, perhaps, the actual rate of issue was not quite so favourable as 3½ would have been. It was supposed that the Three per Cent India Stock being now on the Market in very small quantities it might be advisable to increase the quantity of that Stock. Very few transactions had taken place in it, and it was thought desirable to increase the quantity, so that more transactions in it might take place. It had not been a very popular Stock, and the Indian Government had very properly decided that it would be well to endeavour to make it so. The loan would be applied, in the first place, as to about £2,500,000, to railway purposes—purposes which were undoubtedly contemplated under the East India Loan Bill—and, as to about £1,000,000, to other public works, such as Army charges and the exigencies of local government. The Secretary of State had the power of borrowing £7,000,000 in London without coming to Parliament at all; but that should properly be described as a kind of reserve power of borrowing in order to provide for any sudden emergency, such as war or famine, or circumstances which it was difficult to define, which might arise, and necessitate an immediate demand on a public fund. This loan now issued would undoubtedly obviate the necessity for any further sum being raised this year under the East India Loan Bill; but, at the same time, it was desirable that the Secretary of State should have power to borrow £7,000,000 for sudden emergencies. It was not advisable that the power of the Secretary of State in Council to borrow should be limited to £3,800,000; that, in the opinion of the best authorities, was rather too low a balance of borrowing power. The Government, therefore, proposed to press this Bill upon the attention of the House, because it was a measure based upon a settled and deliberate policy which had been recommended home by the Government of India, and looked upon rather shyly by the India Office, and in consequence referred to a Select Committee of the House. That Committee undoubtedly approved of the main lines of the proposal, and they recommended that the construction of railways might be advantageously pursued with greater activity than in the past, and that money for the construction should, under certain circumstances, be borrowed, whether in London or in India. The Select Committee recommended that the Secretary of State should be made the responsible judge of the amounts that should be borrowed, and as to whether they should be borrowed in India or in London. Thus, in pressing the Bill forward, the Government were acting on the deliberate recommendation of the Select Committee which had considered and reported on the question placed before it—namely, the scheme of the Government of India to construct something like 4,000 miles of railways. He would not weary the House with details; in fact, he should not have gone into the subject so fully if it had not been for the speeches of the hon. Members for Kirkcaldy and Guildford, for the hon. Member for Bolton (Mr. J. K. Cross) had gone into it with the utmost clearness the other day. If the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy would be satisfied, he would strongly advise him, without prolonging this discussion, to turn to *The Times* report of the 22nd of May, where he would find the whole of the arguments in support of this Bill set out in a speech of the hon. Member for Bolton in such a manner as he was sure would convince him of the soundness of the policy of the Indian Government. However, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) would just point out that, under this Bill, the scheme of the Indian Government to construct 4,000 miles of railways was practically ratified, power being given for the borrowing of the amount of money necessary for the work. But

there was a further scheme included within the Bill, and one which was not before the Select Committee, but which was recommended by the Indian Government just about the time that the Report of the Select Committee came out—namely, the scheme for the construction of frontier lines which it was universally admitted were necessary for the security of their Indian Empire. Power was taken to borrow £5,000,000 for the construction of those lines. The Secretary of State would not be justified in assenting to large schemes of railway construction, the progress of which must occupy some years, unless he was reasonably assured that those schemes would be completed with fair rapidity. It was necessary that there should be some guarantee that the means would be at hand for the diligent execution of the works, and that was why the Secretary of State had asked for power to spend a sum of £10,000,000 over a period of four years. Well, he did not know that he could give any further information to the House in regard to the contents of the Bill; but he might, perhaps, allude to one or two remarks which had fallen from the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who had asked for further information as to what had been done since the Bill was first introduced. He could not give any figures on that point that would satisfy the hon. Member, for to attempt to do so would be to anticipate the figures of the Indian Budget, and would be somewhat misleading. He thought from what he had seen that day that considerable economies had been effected in several Departments of the Local Government of India, he thought something like £200,000 since the recent military necessities came upon them; but he did not know that there had been any attempt at curtailment in the direction of public works. Well, the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) took a very gloomy view of the finances of India, and warned them that those large expenditures could not go on from year to year, and that the finances of India were in a very precarious condition. He could not at the present moment say whether the hon. Member was right or wrong; but he was inclined to think that when a country could put a large loan of £10,000,000 at 3 per cent upon the Market with a very fair prospect of negotiating it, it did not look as if its finances were in a precarious state. The hon. Member had also said that they might go on, year after year, passing £10,000,000 Loan Bills; but he would point out that that sum was asked for now in order to avoid the necessity of coming to Parliament again next year. He thought that if the House passed this Bill they would not come before them again next year. None of this money would be spent this year. In all probability none of the money raised under this Bill would be drawn until next year. He trusted that if he had not satisfied the House by the explanations he had given that they would grant him their indulgence in view of the very short time he had been in the India Office.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, there was one subject which he would like to mention to the House, and which had not been mentioned by the noble Lord in the course of the very able exposition of the Bill which he had put forward. There appeared to be some little misapprehension with regard to this Bill, and he desired to point out that it would not have been necessary for the Indian Government to come to the House of Commons for permission to borrow money if it had been determined that this loan, as former loans, should be raised in India. Had this plan been followed, this Bill would never have come before the House of Commons at all. It was only because it was recommended by the Select Committee of the House of Commons as being more economical to borrow in England that the Secretary of State had thought it advisable to adopt that course, and it was only in consequence of that that it was necessary to come to that House. The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) appeared greatly alarmed at the state of the Indian finances, and referred to constant deficits; but if he looked at the accounts for the last 13 years he would find that although there had been two wars, three famines, and a large sum spent in public works, there had been an excess of Revenue over Expenditure of £828,000, besides £4,500,000 being laid aside as an insurance against famine. During those 13 years there had been expended on account of famine, exchange, and war, £58,800,000; on the

construction of railway and irrigation works, £9,400,000, and on assignment to provincial balances of £1,600,000, making a total expenditure, from Revenue, of an exceptional character, if they could call exchange exceptional expenditure, of £69,800,000. If they took the figures for the four years ending 1884, they would find that there had been expended on railways £14,450,000, and on irrigation works £4,660,000, making a total of £19,110,000. Of this sum £11,130,000 had been borrowed, so that that proved that they had spent no less a sum than £7,980,000 out of Revenue and balances in four years. Therefore he thought the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) would not have much need for fear about the finances of India at the present time. He did not think, with regard to the Loan Bill, the second reading of which was moved by himself, that it was necessary for him to give any further explanation. The Loan Bill of £10,000,000, to which the hon. Member for Guildford referred, was, as the noble Lord had pointed out, intended to extend over three years at least, and it was also intended that not more than £3,500,000 should be borrowed annually in England, and that would be expended almost entirely on public works. He was very much obliged to his hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) for pointing out that 85 would be a very low figure at which to issue the loan. But 85 was not the figure at which it was to be issued; that was only the minimum at which it could be issued. The hon. Member knew very well that in such cases when the loan was issued more than the minimum was often obtained.

MR. PULESTON contended that putting the minimum so low had the effect of bringing down the Market to a much lower figure than it would be if the minimum were higher.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that was a matter of opinion, and was not agreed to by some of the very highest financial authorities in the country. He had tried to explain the circumstances under which the loan was determined upon, and he did not think that further explanation was necessary.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (As to payment of principal and interest on debentures).

MR. WARTON said he would like to ask one question. In this clause there was not a provision in regard to the Secretary of State in Council exercising a discretionary power in respect to the rate of interest on debentures, while in Clause 6 such a discretionary power was expressly provided for?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA understood that Clause 4 was copied from a clause in the Act of 1879, which had been very carefully considered by the House at the time. Clause 6 was also copied, word for word, from the Act of 1879. He presumed that the point raised by the hon. and learned Member had been fully considered on that occasion, and it was thought best to put the matter as it stood now.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 5 to 14, inclusive, *agreed to.*

On Motion of Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Clause 15 *omitted.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.—[BILL 26.]

(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 15th June.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. PULESTON said, he was not opposed to all the clauses of the Bill, although as they involved several very important questions, he was of opinion that they could not be adequately discussed at that hour. He should, therefore, move that Progress be reported; and he trusted that his hon. Friend (Mr. Waugh) would take this in all sincerity, because, as a matter of fact, he was really with him on most parts of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Puleston.*)

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

MOTION.

—o—

LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law respecting the Livery Companies of the City of London."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. R. N. FOWLER (Lord MAYOR) said, he was at a loss to understand how it was the right hon. Baronet proposed to bring in a Bill of this kind at that time in the morning. He certainly could not allow the Motion of the right hon. Baronet to pass without strongly protesting against the introduction of the measure.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman would persist in his opposition to the Bill after he had seen its provisions. He might, on examination, find it to be more acceptable than he at first imagined; and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would allow the Motion to pass.

MR. PULESTON said, that, unfortunately, the right hon. Baronet had given no intimation either in that House or elsewhere as to the provisions of the Bill; and he did not think that, as a mere matter of courtesy, the House should be called upon to assent to the Motion for its introduction. No one was more courteous in his dealings with hon. Members than the right hon. Baronet; but they did not think it perfectly fair that they should be expected on the grounds of courtesy alone to agree to his Motion, and he should accordingly feel it his duty to divide the House upon the question.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he should be quite ready to meet the views of hon. Members by putting off the second reading of the Bill until a day which would give time for its consideration.

MR. WARTON said, it seemed to be the wish of almost everyone not to proceed with the Bill that Session; and he therefore hoped that the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) would divide the House against the Motion for its introduction. There was good reason to think that it was not the innocent Bill which it might seem to be from the remarks of the right hon. Baronet. The Government had been occupied in getting rid of a number of useless Bills which encumbered the Order Book; and with all respect to the right hon. Baronet he did not consider that the time for thrusting on the House a Bill that attacked the Corporation of the City of London, which would certainly give rise to much controversy.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that in view of the statement of his right hon. Friend that he would take care that the Bill came forward for consideration at a more opportune moment he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. PULESTON said, that the effect of the Motion of the hon. Member for Bradford would be to allow the Bill to go forward, and that was not the object which he had in view. He and his hon. Friends, amongst them the Lord Mayor, were diametrically opposed to the introduction of the Bill; and hon. Members were not bound to acquiesce in the bringing in of measures the spirit of which, although the provisions had not been described, had been made abundantly clear to them by the eloquent speeches of the right hon. Baronet. He repeated that they were altogether opposed to the Bill.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he hoped there would be no opposition to the introduction of the Bill of the right hon. Baronet opposite, who had stated that he would defer the second reading for a fortnight —or, in other words, that hon. Gentlemen opposed to the Bill would have a proper opportunity of considering its provisions. He trusted that the House would, at all events, allow the Bill to be brought in in accordance with the almost universal practice.

MR. PULESTON said, he did not quite agree with the remark of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board that it was the almost universal practice of the House to admit Bills of the kind as a matter of course; yet, after the appeal made to him, he was disposed to defer his opposition to the measure to another time.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir CHARLES W. DILKE and Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 210.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 7th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Metropolis Management Acts Amendment * (162).

Committee — Report — Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment * (128).

Report — Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (136); Water Provisional Orders * (137); Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) * (149); Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c.) * (80).

Third Reading—Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order * (141); Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order * (142); Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order * (143); Local Government (Gas) Provisional Orders * (144); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (145); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (146); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * (152).

NEW PEERS.

Edward Charles Baring, Esquire, having been created Baron Revelstoke of Membland in the County of Devon—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable Sir Robert Porrett Collier, Knight, a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, having been created Baron Monkswell of Monkswell in the county of Devon—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Sir Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen, K.C.B., having been created Baron Lingen of Lingen in the county of Hereford—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

REGENT'S CANAL, CITY, AND DOCKS RAILWAY BILL.

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH, in rising to move that in respect of this Bill the Standing Order No. 128 be suspended, said, at the outset he desired to state clearly that he did not intend to call in question the value of that Standing Order. He believed, indeed, that it contained a most salutary principle, and that it was a considerable check on reckless railway speculation. It had been in operation for 36 years, and had been of great benefit to the country. He wished, however, in passing to observe that it was not quite equal in its operation as between the old Companies and the new Companies that desired to raise funds. All he intended to do by his present Motion was to ask their Lordships to take an exceptional view of the scheme contained in the Bill now before their Lordships, and he urged that exception on the ground of the vast interests, national, commercial, social, and financial, which were involved in it. The total share capital under the borrowing powers conferred by the Act of 1883 was, in round numbers, £10,500,000, which showed the greatness of the financial interests concerned. As a national and commercial undertaking the railway would be of vast importance; and it was also a very large scheme of Metropolitan improvement. On these two grounds he thought it was justifiable to ask their Lordships to take an exceptional view in regard to the prohibition contained in the Standing Order No. 128. This Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and on the 1st of May, in spite of a strenuous opposition, the second reading was carried by 187 votes against 117. It then received a searching investigation at the hands of a Select Committee, which reported unanimously in favour of it. He now wished to describe the unsatisfactory position arising from a discrepancy in the procedure of the two Houses in the matter of the prohibition of the payment of interest out of capital. At the instance of the Chairman of Committees, the other House amended its Standing Order No. 167 relating to this question by adding these words:—

"And except such interest, if any, as the Committee on the Bill may, according to the circumstances of the case, think fit to allow."

So important was this alteration that the noble Earl at the Table felt it his duty to call the attention of that House to it on June 26, 1883. A debate ensued, and the noble Earl ended by moving to alter the Standing Order of their Lordships' House. That Motion was negatived, and an Amendment moved by a noble Lord opposite (Lord Auckland) to the effect that it was inexpedient to modify the Standing Order was withdrawn. The result was that the question remained *in statu quo,* and he thought that was rather an inconvenient position for so important a question to remain in. He would now state why he thought this great national scheme was entitled to be dealt with exceptionally. The proposed line would follow almost exactly the present course of the Regent's Canal, with one or two divergencies at the City end. It would be, in fact, a continuation of the Great Western Railway as far as the Victoria and Albert Docks, and the Midland and the Great Northern Railways would also obtain direct access to those docks. Those docks contained an area of 192 acres and had 40 miles of railway siding and tramway lines, while they afforded accommodation in 1881 for 6,367 ships, having a total tonnage of 2,569,000 tons. This accommodation was increasing and improving every day. One very important advantage that would result from this scheme would be that the Welsh smokeless steam coal would be brought to the steamers without transhipment, whereby great loss by breakage would be prevented, and the efficiency of the Mercantile Navy would be largely increased. The scheme would also involve a cheap railway service for the working men, who would be conveyed at the rate of one farthing per mile—one penny for four miles from the East and North of London Westward, where there were many admirable sites for the erection of workmen's dwellings. The line, in consequence of its proximity to the Canal, could be constructed at a comparatively cheap rate, and it would interfere in a very slight degree with house property, streets, or roadways, or with the mysterious underground system of gas mains, sewers, and water pipes. The strongest argument in favour of the Bill was that there was practically no opposition to it, Petitions having been signed in its favour by representatives of a population of 1,092,148. He had taken up this as a national and a commercial question, and he appealed to their Lordships not to allow artificial barriers to stand in the way of carrying on such a scheme as this. It might be asked, why could not the promoters find the money? The answer simply was, because they could not. He had no hesitation in asking the House to assent to his Motion.

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 128 (which prohibits the payment of interest out of capital) be dispensed with."—(*The Earl of Ravensworth.*)

LORD BRABOURNE said, he must make an earnest appeal in opposition to the Motion of his noble Friend (the Earl of Ravensworth), and he hoped that appeal would be the more forcible because it should be conveyed to their Lordships in a few sentences. His noble Friend desired to suspend a Standing Order which had been framed and supported by a great a weight of authority for one special object—namely, to secure, as far as possible, that commercial undertakings of this kind should be conducted upon sound financial principles. What his noble Friend and the promoters of this Bill wished was this—that if an undertaking was estimated to cost £80,000, Parliament should be asked to sanction the raising, not of £80,000, but of £100,000, in order that the odd £20,000 might be paid back to the subscribers in the shape of interest during the time of construction. But, surely, it was far better for those subscribers that their £20,000 should remain in their pockets from the first, instead of being paid back to them in driblets as interest, and the fair, open way was to ask only for the £80,000 which the work would actually require. There was one sure test of the necessity of the proposed alteration—namely, had legitimate enterprize been retarded or prevented in consequence of the existing Standing Order? Certainly not. During the last 40 years the capital spent upon railroads had risen from £200,000,000 to £750,000,000, and during the last 10 years there had been an average annual sum of from £18,000,000 to £20,000,000 expended upon railway construction. It was clear, therefore, that there was not the necessity for altering their Rule. His (Lord Brabourne's) noble Friend

had dwelt at length upon the importance of the proposed scheme. But the more important it was, the more national its object, the more certain was it that it would attract the notice of the investing public; and if the promoters had been unable to obtain their money, it must be because investors—who could scrutinize these matters more closely than their Lordships could do in debate—saw something faulty or doubtful in the scheme, or distrusted its management. He (Lord Brabourne) spoke of investors who were able to look into and understand these matters; but there were a large class of investors who came within a different category, and who would be attracted by the assurance of 4 or 5 per cent during construction, and could not understand the unusual finance by which that would be paid out of their own money. It was for the protection of this class that the Standing Order operated, and it was universally admitted to be based upon a sound and salutary principle. His noble Friend spoke of old lines being placed by the law under more favourable conditions than new lines for raising capital. But ought it not to be so? Was it not reasonable that an old line, which had established itself, was in working order, and had conferred benefit upon the public, should be allowed facilities which it might not be well to give to a new line which had not yet proved that it was required to satisfy a public want, and might turn out to be altogether a failure? He (Lord Brabourne) would not speak of competing lines, or the injustice to them of allowing greater facilities to their new rival. He took his stand upon the general principle of the Standing Order; and as to the discrepancy between the Rules of the two Houses, if it was necessary to change, let that change be effected by legislation introduced by the authority of the Government, and not by making a particular exception in a particular case. He had promised to be brief, and he would keep his word; but this he must say—if their Lordships agreed to this Motion, it might indeed be that they would encourage enterprize; but what kind of enterprize would it be? Not that legitimate enterprize which flourished under the existing system, and did not require the fostering hand of their Lordships, or any other body, but an enterprize produced by clever engineers, crafty contractors, and professional promoters, who were checked by this Standing Order. Their Lordships would give an impulse to bubble Companies and insecure speculations, and would strike a blow at a sound financial principle, which it was most desirable to uphold in the interests of sound commercial enterprize.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he held that if the general Standing Order was right, and, as he believed, it rested on a sound principle, it ought not to be dispensed with in this case, for no special reason had been shown for any such exception. The noble Earl had not rested his case upon any special and peculiar difficulties which had arisen in this undertaking, or upon any particular public advantage which was to be gained by relieving it from those difficulties. The argument was that this was an undertaking of national importance, and had only to be considered for people to see how valuable it was, and that at the present time people did not like to lock up their capital for four or five years without receiving interest for it. These might be very good reasons why the undertaking should be sanctioned on equal terms with other undertakings, and also why it should receive the support of the investing public; but they were not arguments in support of the application that the measure should be treated in an exceptional manner. It might be inconvenient that there should be one Rule in that House and another in the other House of Parliament. But what was now proposed was not the way to remedy that inconvenience. Let one House alter its Rules, or, by a conference between the Houses or by general legislation, some approach might be made towards that uniformity of procedure which might be wished for. He objected to the present proposal as a mere delusion.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON) observed, that in the other House of Parliament the Bill had been brought in with a provision that interest should be paid out of capital, and after some discussion the subject of paying interest out of capital was referred to a Select Committee. That Committee had reported that the prohibition which existed was financially

sound in principle, and acted as a protection to the public, but that there were special cases in which payment out of interest ought to be allowed. They accordingly recommended that, subject to certain limits of time and rate of interest, a Bill should be passed to carry out their recommendations. This, however, had not commended itself to the Government or the other House of Parliament, and the matter remained subject to the Standing Order. On the second reading of this Bill in the other House, the then President of the Board of Trade had supported the Bill, and its second reading had been carried by a majority of 187 to 117. One of the special objects contemplated by those who had supported this Bill was that in the present condition of the poorer classes of the Metropolis it would find employment for a considerable time for a great portion of those who were now in a very depressed condition from want of labour. He had looked into all the matters relating to this proposal of the noble Earl, and had come to the conclusion that the views taken by his Predecessor on the subject were correct, and that their Lordships ought to give this measure a second reading.

Lord BALFOUR said, he thought that no special circumstances had been shown in this case which justified the suspension of what was generally regarded as a salutary Standing Order. A large amount of extraneous matter had been introduced into the discussion, but nothing had been said in connection with this Bill which ought to lead their Lordships to suspend the Standing Order. During the three years since this Bill had been passed no attempt had been made to raise the capital in the ordinary way, and he thought that it was an extraordinary thing that they should be asked to give the promoters of this undertaking such unusual assistance as was now suggested. He had no wish that their Standing Orders should be quoted throughout the country as interfering with the possibility of relieving distress; but he could see no cause that had as yet been shown strong enough to justify the suspension of the Standing Order, and he would feel bound to vote against the proposal.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that this was no Party question; but it was one upon which he was unable to take the same view as the noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Bramwell), although that was probably the view of the majority of the House. He confessed that he viewed with some alarm the tendency to make their Standing Orders unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, which never must be touched no matter how much industry might be arrested or how much misery might be caused. This matter had been carefully considered in the other House of Parliament; and, although he was not disposed unduly to exalt the authority of the other House above that of their Lordships' House, he thought that no one would deny that it was in that House that they would find men who were most conversant with trade, commerce, and financial matters, and if they, after a considerable controversy upon the matter, had by a large majority come to the conclusion that that system should no longer be allowed to stand in the way of the industry of this country, were they not in their Lordships' House taking a rather large responsibility upon themselves in saying from their own knowledge that this particular Rule was an absolute necessity in order to protect legitimate industry? There was no doubt that this Rule discouraged the employment of capital, and that but for its existence work would go on which it now stopped. The Standing Order must justify itself. It was supposed to protect foolish investors, and to prevent persons from investing in any enterprize which would not yield them a good interest on their money. If he were asked which of two things he would choose, whether he would refuse to protect investors from the result of their own incaution, and set up an obstacle to the expenditure of capital in order that men might be able to invest their money without inquiring into the real character of the enterprize in which they placed it, or whether, on the other hand, he would incur the inconvenience of stopping the expenditure of money in support of labour at a time of extreme and almost unprecedented calamity and distress, he confessed that he would feel that the consciousness that he was sustaining a Standing Order of their Lordships' House would be no satisfaction to him when he reflected that by doing so he was preventing many an honest man

from getting his living. He would go a step further. He did not believe in the system of protecting the foolish investor at all. In his opinion, all of their Standing Order legislation erred grievously in that direction. It was the business of investors to protect themselves, and to examine for themselves the soundness of the enterprizes in which they embarked. If they failed to do so they were generally in a condition of life in which they might fairly be expected to take the consequences. It was wholly unreasonable to provide securities for investors at the cost of stopping the flow of that capital by which alone the life and prosperity of industry could be maintained. It was a general error in the Standing Orders of both Houses of Parliament that they had bound industry up too tight in order that improvident and careless investors should be protected. It might be said that, whatever the General Rule might be, it ought not to be relaxed in any case when the Rule itself had not yet been taken up for the purpose of alteration. He believed that the General Rule ought to be altered; but why should they wait until the formality and technicality of alteration were observed? A great obstacle was opposed by the Rule to the action of enterprize and industry, and he believed they would do wisely in dispensing with it unless they thought it should be maintained, and that it ought to be maintained against the decision of the House of Commons, in which all the special knowledge on this subject existed. Unless their Lordships were of opinion that the Rule should be permanently upheld, he thought they would do wisely by dispensing with a mere technicality for the purpose of benefiting industry and relieving the depression which existed in a particular place. The Rule was not only bad in itself, but it dealt very hardly with this particular case. For two or three years past he had been informed that the capital for this enterprize could not be raised on any other terms. It seemed ridiculous that people would not subscribe except on the terms of a certain amount of their capital being given back to them in the name of interest in the first two or three years of the enterprize, during which nothing could be earned; but they must take human nature as it was, and human nature was averse to arithmetic; and, as a matter of fact, in times of depression, when capital was not superabundant, they could not raise money for many a great and perfectly sound enterprize except by giving this inducement to investors. No one who was conversant with business in the City of London would deny that at the present time the fact was as he had stated, and he thought their Lordships would be inflicting great harm upon a number of innocent people if, for the sake of a mere technicality, they refused the Motion of his noble Friend.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS observed, that he had every desire to forward the interests of working people in accordance with the principles of sound commerce, and in a sound and healthy way. Certain Rules had been laid down by the House to prevent bogus Companies springing into existence, and the noble Earl who had brought forward this Motion had admitted that they worked in a salutary manner in acting as a check upon reckless speculation. The noble Marquess who had just spoken disapproved the Rule; but, if it were wrong, the Rule should be suspended completely and as a whole. The noble Marquess, however, proposed simply to suspend the Standing Order in this particular case, and that on eleemosynary grounds, because there was, he regretted to say, distress in London. Had the noble Marquess considered whither such a precedent and principle might lead them? So, also, the noble Duke the President of the Board of Trade had said that he had, in assenting to the suspension of the Standing Order, only adopted the view of his Predecessor in Office. Now, he (the Earl of Wemyss) would like to know if he had adopted other views held by his Predecessor? How as to "ransom?" As a landowner, he was anxious to know if ransom was to form part of the Conservative programme? But he saw no reason why the Rule should be suspended in one case, only for the purpose, as it was said, of meeting temporary distress.

LORD ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR said, he should support the suspension of the Standing Order.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he wished to explain why he was going to vote against this Motion. The noble Earl who made the Motion was in favour of the Standing Order, while the noble

Marquess opposed it altogether. There was a good deal to be said in favour of the Standing Order. One of its objects, he took it, was to prevent the statement of what was not in reality the actual fact. When people applied for an Act of Parliament, and issued a prospectus declaring that they would pay interest at 5 per cent, it was doubtless very attractive, and induced the public to think that the investment was a good one.

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH pointed out that the rate of interest in that case was confined to 4 per cent.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that certainly 4 per cent was not so tempting as 5 per cent. He was not one who was disposed to protect people who really had not the good sense to protect themselves; but he thought that if the actual truth were told to the shareholders in the prospectus, that they were to have a return of part of their own capital, they would not be attracted in the same way. The Standing Order, he believed, was valuable, in that it tended to prevent the passing of Railway Acts which were not really wanted, but which were only Contractors' Acts. He thought it was a good thing that it should have that operation, because, when a needless railway was made, so much of the national wealth was wasted. If they put two railways side by side, and the two carried no more than one of them did before, the money spent on the second railway might almost as well have been thrown into the sea. It had been said that that was not a matter for the nation, but that it only concerned the shareholders. But surely the wealth of the community was made up of the wealth of individuals. He did not believe that the Standing Order had ever prevented a line from being constructed that was really wanted. It was alleged that money could not be got for those enterprizes, and it was suggested that there was a lack of capital. That must be a mistake, because he read in the newspapers that bills were discounted at ¼ to ½ per cent, and the Bank rate of interest was about 2 per cent per annum. Capital was really seeking employment in every way, and why should it not be invested in that Company, unless it was that the capitalists felt there was no probability of its being a paying concern? It was said that at present there was a great want of employment among the working classes. He was afraid that that was so; but let them see what the argument came to. To this—that people should be tempted to join mischievous Companies in order to give work to labourers. If the Standing Order was a bad one, let them get rid of it. If it was a good one, he trusted that their Lordships would adhere to it.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Earl of REDESDALE) pointed out that the vote which their Lordships were now called upon to give was not one on the second reading of the Bill, but whether they would maintain the Standing Order or not.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY observed, that in the year 1883 the noble Marquess did not take the same view of that matter as he had done that evening. In 1883 a proposal was made to the House that they should adopt the same course as had been adopted in the other House, and then the noble Marquess did not show so much respect to the authority of the late President of the Board of Trade, but spoke rather hardly of his views. He said that the matter required the gravest consideration, and he thought it was not desirable to alter the Standing Order.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said not without consideration and inquiry, and there have been consideration and inquiry in this case.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that nobody would have supposed then that the noble Marquess regarded the getting rid of that prohibition as one of high policy, and the noble Marquess then spoke of "bogus" railways, and of the injury to the main lines by bringing into existence contractors' lines, which would not otherwise be made; and he brought forward many arguments in favour of the Standing Order. It certainly did greatly surprise him to hear the noble Marquess now express so very decided and extremely strong an opinion against the maintenance of the Order. What he desired particularly to point out, however, was that this was not a question of the ordinary general law, but of granting special privileges to Companies to take land for enterprizes of that kind, and Parliament was not precluded from looking into the question whether lines were promoted by real investors, or were only "bogus" lines.

The question now before their Lordships was whether they were to put aside the Standing Order in that particular case. The arguments of the noble Marquess were no doubt worthy of consideration; but nothing could be worse than for their Lordships' House to have a Standing Order which was supposed to be for the protection of the public generally, and then, because a little popularity might be obtained thereby, to set it aside in particular cases.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN remarked, that the Committee to which the Bill would be sent would investigate the question whether the scheme was a sound one or a "bogus" one. If they should be satisfied that it was a good scheme, and their Lordships should then pass it, he believed that an immense benefit would be conferred on the toiling masses who were seeking employment.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 46; Not-Contents 37: Majority 9.

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Then Bill read 2ª (according to order), and *committed*: The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 7th July, 1885.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Aylesbury *v.* Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, baronet, now Baron Rothschild, called up to the House of Peers.

SUPPLY — *considered in Committee* — £30,000, MARRIAGE PORTION OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE MARIE VICTORIA FEODORA — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES — CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE; Votes 1, 3, 4. *Resolutions* [July 6] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — Bankruptcy (Office Accommodation) *; Polehampton Estates *; Artillery and Rifle Ranges *; Turnpike Acts Continuance *; Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) *.

First Reading—Yorkshire Registries * [211].

Second Reading—Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * [207]; Medical Act (1858) Amendment [130], *debate resumed and further adjourned;* Tithe Rent Charge Redemption [181].

Select Committee — Pluralities [22] [House counted out].

Committee—Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) [179]—R.P.

Committee — Report — Local Loans (Sinking Funds) * [189]; River Thames (No. 2) (*re-comm.*) [90].

Considered as amended — Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders * [182]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * [201]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 9) * [198]; East India Loan (£10,000,000) * [109].

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Municipal Corporations) * [199]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) * [168].

Withdrawn—Beer Adulteration [14].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DEE CONSERVANCY BILL [*Lords*].

RESOLUTION.

MR. RAIKES moved—

"That the Resolution which, upon the 23rd day of June last, was reported from the Select Committee on Standing Orders in relation to the Dee Conservancy Bill, together with the Bill and the Report of the Examiner with respect to non-compliance with the Standing Orders, be referred back to the Select Committee on Standing Orders:—That the following Petitions in relation thereto be referred to the said Committee (that is to say):—

"1. Corporations of Chester and Flint, River Dee Commissioners, and others interested in the navigation of the River Dee;

"2. River Dee Company;

"3. Shipowners, Traders, and others:

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to inquire into the allegations contained in such Petitions, and to report to the House whether the circumstances therein stated are such as render it just and expedient that the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with."

The right hon. Gentleman remarked, that, at the outset, he was desirous of stating that nothing was further from his intention than to treat with disrespect any decision at which the Committee on Standing Orders had arrived. He fully recognized, and he was sure that the House attached much value, to the services which were rendered by the Standing Orders Committee in the conduct of the Private Business of the House. And he was quite certain his right hon. Friend the Chairman of the Committee (Sir John R. Mowbray) would know and feel that he was actuated by no disrespectful motive either

towards the Committee or their decisions. There were, however, precedents for the course which he now took. He was quite aware that the Motion he intended to submit to the House was not one which had been frequently made, and he had noticed that in one of the papers which had been circulated among Members exception was taken to the Resolution on that account. He, therefore, thought it was as well to remind the House that a similar Motion had been brought forward with regard to the Dundalk Water Bill, and in another case in 1875, when he had the honour to hold the Office of Chairman of Ways and Means, with regard to an Edinburgh Street Tramways Bill. The Great Northern and Western Railway of Ireland, five years earlier, also formed the subject of a similar Motion. But, as he gathered from the statement to which he had just referred, some difficulty was felt as to what might be the effect in the case of Petitions for the presentation of which the proper time had elapsed. He would, therefore, say that, in the event of this Bill being allowed to be sent back, he thought there could be no doubt that if the Committee on Standing Orders were asked to reconsider the matter they would facilitate the presentation of any such Petitions. He believed that that would be a matter of course; and he himself, if necessary, would be glad to submit a Motion to the House to the effect that any Petition presented up to a date to be fixed subsequent to this Motion which in that respect failed to comply with the Standing Orders of the House should, nevertheless, be considered by the Committee upon the Bill. He also wished to say that in taking the course which he had adopted he had no intention whatever of appearing as champion of the Bill upon its merits. Indeed, it seemed to him that there were many points of the Bill which were extremely arguable, and which would require careful consideration and sifting by any Committee of the House to whom the Bill might be referred. Having cleared the ground so far, he would now ask the Committee to consider what he really thought would be a serious miscarriage of justice if his Motion were not accepted on the present occasion. The Committee on Standing Orders had had before them a Report from the Examiner of Private Bills, and they had decided upon that Report that the Standing Orders had not been complied with, and that they ought not to be dispensed with. The Report of the Examiner was to the effect that no notice in writing, as required by the Standing Orders, was given to certain owners and occupiers on or before the 15th of December last, in respect of the compulsory taking of their lands under the powers contained in a particular clause of the Bill. Having that Report before them, the Standing Orders Committee thought proper to declare that the Standing Orders ought not to be dispensed with. He must confess that, having that Report from the Examiner before them, and in the absence of the information which he was about to lay before the House, the Standing Orders Committee only took the usual course. Now, what was the history of this case? The Dee Conservancy Bill was one of several measures introduced into the House of Lords in the present Session of Parliament. The Committee of the House of Lords, having before them two or more of those Bills, came to a decision which was embodied in the Dee Conservancy Bill as it now stood. That was to say, that they sought to amalgamate some of the provisions contained in other Bills with the Bill which they ultimately determined to pass in reference to the River Dee. Those provisions covered the ground which formed the subject of the Report upon the Bill by the Examiner. The history of the question was briefly this. The Bill which was now before the House, or which might more correctly be described as having passed the House of Lords and come down to this House, was a Bill promoted by the Corporation of Chester and by the River Dee Company for the conservancy and improvement of the River Dee, and for vesting the same and the control and management of the river in a Conservancy Board. That Bill, as introduced into the House of Lords, contained compulsory powers for the acquisition of certain embankments upon the River Dee. As the Bill proceeded through the House of Lords, and in view, he supposed, of some forms of opposition with which it was threatened, the clause containing these powers was withdrawn from the consideration of the Committee. But one of the principal grounds of opposition which was taken when the Bill

came into Committee was the absence of those powers to vest in the new Conservancy Board the embankments in question on the River Dee. Objection was taken, among others, by the Trustees of the late Lord Wenlock, who were the persons now moving to get the Bill stopped on the ground of non-compliance with the Standing Orders. One of the Executors and Trustees of the late Lord Wenlock (Mr. John Coleman) was examined before the Committee of the House of Lords, and he stated, in his evidence, that he thought these embankments ought to be vested in the Conservancy Board. Under these circumstances, he thought the House would be somewhat surprised to learn that after this course had been taken by Lord Wenlock's Trustees, after this evidence given on behalf of the Trustees to their Lordship's Committee, and after the speech made by the learned counsel who represented them, these same persons now came before the House of Commons with a claim to have the Bill stopped, on the ground of its non-compliance with the Standing Orders of the House, because it now contained a certain provision which was the very provision for which they had contended both by evidence and speech. Now, in the Memorial which was submitted to the Examiner in the House of Commons, and which must have influenced his decision in a great degree, it was said that the Wenlock Trustees had received no notice in respect of the compulsory taking of upwards of five miles of embankments of which they were owners and occupiers. That was a point with which he had already dealt. The Bill, as introduced, did provide for the compulsory taking of these embankments, and regular notices were served, in the ordinary way, for the acquisition of the compulsory powers. The Memorial proceeded to say that the words in the clause proposing to vest the embankments in the Conservancy Board were inserted in the absence of the Wenlock Trustees. Technically, this statement was capable of being defended, because the Wenlock Trustees, having appeared against the Preamble of the Bill, as soon as the Preamble was passed by the Committee, retired, as was the custom in all such cases when it was intended to oppose the Bill in the other House of Parliament, and they did not, therefore, take part in the settlement of the clauses. But it was necessary to inform the House, at the same time, that when the Committee of the House of Lords passed the Preamble of the Bill, they stated to the whole room, in which there were present at the time the Trustees, their counsel, and representatives, that they did so on condition that clauses should be inserted vesting these embankments in the Conservancy Board; and, therefore, although, technically, the Trustees were out of the room at the time these clauses were actually inserted in the Bill, practically they were aware that such clauses were going to be inserted; and, in point of fact, it was at their instance, and upon their representation, that the Committee decided upon inserting them. The Memorial then went on to say that these clauses were inserted under an entire misconception as to the rights of the Wenlock Trustees in the embankments. He would only say, in regard to that matter, that they had been adopted after six days' consideration of the Bill before the Committee of the House of Lords; that they were urged by one of the ablest counsel at the Parliamentary Bar, and that they were supported by the evidence of one of the Trustees himself. He would further point out that this gentleman (Mr. Coleman) was also one of the promoters of a rival scheme by which it was equally sought to vest these embankments in the Conservancy Board. Therefore, he did not see what possible material the House of Lords could have required in excess of that presented to them as a means of ascertaining how urgently the Wenlock Trustees desired the incorporation in the Bill of a clause vesting these embankments in the Conservancy Board. It was further stated in the Memorial of Lord Wenlock's Trustees that the clause was inserted to meet the objections of the opponents of the Bill. He had only to say, in regard to that allegation, that, as he had already pointed out to the House, the opponents in deference to whose opposition this clause was inserted were the persons who now came to the House of Commons and complained of the insertion of a clause which was inserted at the instance of their own counsel and witnesses. Beyond that there was one other statement in the Memorial to

which he desired to call attention, and it was that the Wenlock Trustees were to be deprived of the embankments without notice or compensation. That, if the House would allow him to say so, was entirely a matter for the consideration of a Committee, and had nothing to do with any point of procedure before the Standing Orders Committee. But, at the same time, he was informed that it was not the fact, because the proposal to vest the embankments in the Conservancy Board would relieve from grave responsibilities the lands of the Dee Conservancy, on which the Wenlock Trustees had a heavy mortgage, and would place the mortgagees of that property in a much more favourable position than they occupied at present. He thought that he had now dealt sufficiently with the allegations contained in the Memorial of the Wenlock Trustees, and the statement they had submitted to the Standing Orders Committee. But he might, perhaps, be allowed to refer also to an objection presented by the Duke of Westminster, and his hon. Friend the Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Robertson), both of whom came forward to represent the landowners and traders of the locality. Their Petition, however, he ventured to maintain, had nothing to do with the question now raised, although it might be a valid objection upon the merits of the question. He did not, therefore, propose to enter into it, because, as the House would see, he had carefully endeavoured to keep clear of the merits of the scheme. With that the House had not, at the present moment, anything to do. What he asked the House to do was to give to the Standing Orders Committee the power of reconsidering, in the light of the facts he had now adduced, and the allegations contained in the Petition of parties who were interested, a decision which he contended would not have been arrived at if the Standing Orders Committee had had the true facts before them at the time they took the matter into consideration. It must be borne in mind that when the Standing Orders Committee arrived at their decision they had only before them the technical statements of the officer intrusted with the examination of the Private Bills submitted to the House. It was well known that the Committee on Standing Orders would never be able to get through the work they had to dispose of if they were obliged to conduct their business by the oral examination and cross-examination of the parties who were concerned. They had, therefore, to rely upon the statements made to them by the agents of the House; but they had a right to expect that such statements contained an exact and complete representation of the facts. He thought he had been able to show to the House that in this case certain statements and facts had been misrepresented or omitted in the Memorial submitted to the Examiner, and if there had been a deviation from the ordinary practice, in a case of this sort, he thought the House ought to have no difficulty in accepting the Motion which he ventured to make. At any rate, he was sure that his right hon. Friend the Chairman of the Committee on Standing Orders (Sir John R. Mowbray) would see that he was not without warrant for making the Motion, and that he was casting no reflection on the Standing Orders Committee, because they had to rely upon the representations which the Parliamentary agents, who, as a matter of fact, were also officers of the House, felt it their duty to make to them. In every representation made by the agent of a Private Bill there ought to be a careful, a literal, and a precise adherence to the facts of the particular case dealt with, and it was the duty of the House to guard their jurisdiction, in regard to Private Business, with the care and consideration for every interest involved which they had hitherto so jealously preserved. He did not think that it was necessary that he should trouble the House with any further statement on this matter. He thanked the House for the kind attention they had given to what was rather a technical statement, but which was one he had felt called upon to make in the interests of Private Bill legislation in that House, and from a real regard for justice and equity in this particular case. Quite apart from the merits of the Bill with which he was dealing, he thought he had made out a case for referring the matter back to the Standing Orders Committee, and he begged to move the Motion which he had already read.

Mr. Raikes

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Resolution which, upon the 23rd day of June last, was reported from the Select Committee on Standing Orders in relation to the Dee Conservancy Bill [*Lords*], together with the Bill and Report of the Examiner with respect to non-compliance with the Standing Orders, be referred back to the Select Committee on Standing Orders:—That the following Petitions in relation thereto be referred to the said Committee (that is to say):—

"1. Corporations of Chester and Flint, River Dee Commissioners, and others interested in the navigation of the River Dee;

"2. River Dee Company;

"3. Shipowners, Traders, and others:

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to inquire into the allegations contained in such Petitions, and to report to the House whether the circumstances therein stated are such as render it just and expedient that the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, he thought it was possible that he might save the time of the House by stating at once the views which the Standing Orders Committee entertained upon the matter. He thought it might prevent a discussion upon the merits of the Bill itself if he rose at the earliest moment to state the views of the Committee. He had had an opportunity, that day, of placing before the Standing Orders Committee a Petition from the Corporation of Chester which represented, as far as he knew, the grounds upon which the Motion of his right hon. Friend was based. He had no complaint to make of the statement which had been made by his right hon. Friend, nor did he dispute the right of any hon. Member to call in question the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. At the same time, although his right hon. Friend had disclaimed any intention of dealing with the merits of the question, he had certainly gone very much into the history of the Bill, and might probably lead the House into a discussion of those merits. It was perfectly understood that the Standing Orders Committee knew nothing about the merits of any Bill that came before them. They had merely to say whether the Standing Orders had been complied with or not. That was the whole question they had to consider, and in this particular instance they had before them a Report of the Examiner that the Standing Orders had not been complied with. The judgment at which the Standing Orders Committee arrived was founded on the Report which the Examiner himself had placed before them, and on the statement presented to them by the opponents of the Bill. His right hon. Friend was right in saying that the statements presented to the Standing Orders Committee by the Parliamentary agents of the House ought to be complete and accurate statements of the facts of the case. Their statements were always treated by the Committee as documents *uberrimæ fidei*, as evidence that was unimpeachable, and as allegations of facts which, within the knowledge and in the judgment of the competent gentlemen who acted as Parliamentary agents in regard to the promotion of Private Bills, could not be controverted. The documents submitted to the Standing Orders Committee were not, in the first instance, accessible to the opposite parties; but it was in the power of the Parliamentary agents on the other side to have said, when they first saw them, that the statements of the opponents of the Bill were not founded on fact. If they had done so at once, or if they had applied the day after the decision of the Standing Orders Committee was given, for a re-hearing, on the ground that the Standing Orders Committee had been misled by the statements which had been placed before them, the Committee would have been quite ready to reconsider the case. The real difficulty in this matter was that the questions upon which the Standing Orders Committee gave their decision came before them on the 23rd of June, and it would be seen that a considerable time had now elapsed before they were asked to reconsider their decision. Certainly, the proper time to have raised the question was within a day or so after these documents were placed before the Committee. The complaint was that the statements put before the Committee contained certain allegations which were contrary to the real facts of the case, and that they gave a colourable account which could not be supported by evidence. Whenever such an allegation was made, although the Standing Orders Committee had arrived at a decision, it was their custom to reconsider that decision. Therefore, the question arose whether, if the Committee would have taken that course at an earlier period, they should not do it now, simply because there had

been a lapse of time? The question resolved itself into a very narrow issue —namely, whether the Committee, when they came to a decision upon certain representations placed before them, were really in possession of the full facts of the case? He trusted the House would not be led, either on one side or the other, to discuss the merits of the Bill, which really had nothing whatever to do with the question of compliance with the Standing Orders. Compliance with Standing Orders consisted of certain nude facts; and although the Standing Orders Committee were perfectly ready, if it were the wish of the House, to go into the matter again, he hoped it would be perfectly and clearly understood that there was no question whatever raised as to the merits of the Bill.

Mr. ROBERTSON said, that in the few remarks he intended to make he would confine himself to the ordinary practice and custom of the House in reference to Private Bills. He simply wished to call attention to the manner in which the objection to the decision of the Standing Orders Committee had been brought before the House. The decision arrived at by the Standing Orders Committee was in accordance with the prescribed Rules of the House; and it was simply sought now to re-open the question in the interest of some particular persons who were promoting the Bill. The whole of the facts of the case had been brought before the Examiner, and the discussion now taking place was simply a repetition of that which occurred before the Examiner. He strongly deprecated the re-opening of questions of this kind at the instance of hon. or right hon. Gentlemen who might be influenced by certain parties outside the House, the Corporation of Chester, or others, who objected to the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. He had nothing to say against the Corporation of Chester more than this, that the facts which were alleged in their Petition to have been misstated were—and he was able to say so from his own knowlege of the case, having been a party to the opposition—fairly and correctly given in the statements submitted to the Committee, and in the Report of the Examiner. When the question was before the Examiner, counsel, and agents, both for the promoters and the opponents, were heard, and every point which had been raised by the right hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) was then gone into and argued. The real point would be familiar to every hon. Member who was acquainted with the requirements of the House in reference to the deposit and plans for Private Bills. If it was proposed to take a piece of land, the owner of that land received a notice including the whole of his land within the limits of deviation. In this particular case it turned out that when the Bill came before the Committee it was amalgamated with another Bill; but these particular works were abandoned, and the notices which were required to be given by the Standing Orders of the House did not apply to the special clause introduced into the Bill, which altered entirely the position of the property without due notice having been given. It was quite true that the Committee intimated their intention of inserting a certain clause in the Bill affecting these embankments; but how could the opponents, who had retired from the room, know what that clause was to be? The parties opposing the Bill retired from their opposition on the distinct understanding that they would oppose the measure in the House of Commons; and when the Bill was sent down to the House of Commons, Lord Wenlock's Trustees found that a clause had been inserted providing for the compulsory taking of upwards of five miles of embankments of which they were the owners and occupiers and which formed a frontage to the Wenlock Estate. It must also be borne in mind that this was proposed to be done without compensation, and that was the real essence of the case. If the promoters of the Bill had proceeded in the regular way the owners of the property would have been entitled, under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, to be compensated for the land taken from them; but they would have no right to claim compensation under the clause inserted in the Bill by the House of Commons. That clause was a distinct clause giving the whole of the embankments to the Conservancy Board; and a further clause provided that they should take land for wharfage purposes out of adjoining property, which provision, if carried out, would materially affect the interests of those who at present had access to the river. No notice for the acquisition of this

and had been given; and therefore the Land Clauses Consolidation Act had been infringed, as well as the ordinary Rules of Procedure imposed by Parliament in reference to Private Bill legislation. He therefore maintained that the decision of the Examiner of Private Bills, upon whose Report the Standing Orders Committee decided that the Standing Orders had not been complied with, was precise and accurate. No notice in writing, such as was required by the Standing Orders, had been given by the holders or occupiers on or before the 15th of December last in respect of the compulsory taking of their lands under the powers contained in the clause inserted by the House of Lords. The whole gist of the matter was that the clause inserted in the Bill by the House of Lords, behind the backs of the opponents of the Bill, gave five miles of the embankment of the river, without compensation, to a third party. Therefore, when that representation was made to the Examiner, he decided that the Standing Orders had not been complied with. The Standing Orders Committee supported the decision of the Examiner, and it was now sought to revive the question in the House itself and to upset the Report of the Examiner and the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. The question, practically, resolved itself into this—What was the meaning of a "notice," and what was the meaning of the Rules and Regulations provided by the House for its Private Bill legislation? Was the House to turn itself into a Court of Examiners of Standing Orders. He sincerely trusted that it would not undertake such a task; but that it would refuse the Motion of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) and support the decision of the Examiner and of the Standing Orders Committee.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he had no personal interest whatever in this question, and he should not have risen to say the very few words he proposed to say upon the matter if it had not been for an exceedingly strong representation he had received on the subject. He had been intrusted with the presentation of a Petition which had received 771 signatures against the Bill. Among others signing it were the Duke of Westminster, Lord Mostyn, the Rev. S. Gladstone, the Trustees of the Hawarden Estate, and a large number of private firms which were greatly interested in the question. He quite agreed with his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) that it was not desirable, at the present moment, to enter into the merits of the question. At the same time, his right hon. Friend must admit that the course he had taken was, to say the least of it, a peculiar and an extraordinary one, and in order to justify it his right hon. Friend set up a precedent which occurred so far back as 1875.

MR. RAIKES: No; there have been various other precedents—one in 1883.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN agreed with the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Robertson) that it was most undesirable to convert the House into a Committee of Standing Orders. The real points of the case, about which there was no dispute, were in the smallest possible compass. When the Bill was originally introduced, it proposed to vest some four miles of embankment, on the River Dee, belonging to the Trustees of the late Lord Wenlock, in the Conservancy Board, and, of course, that proposal came under the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, and the promoters of the Bill were bound to serve, and did serve, notices upon the Trustees of Lord Wenlock in respect of it. But when the Bill came before the Committee of the House of Lords, that clause was withdrawn, and with its withdrawal the notices which had been given to the Trustees of the Wenlock Estate, for acquiring that property, fell to the ground. What afterwards took place was this. The House of Lords, by its own Motion, inserted a clause which not only gave the four miles of embankment, in regard to which the original notices had been given, but five miles of embankment, absolutely to the Conservancy Board without requiring them to make compensation. In that state the Bill came down from the House of Lords, and the House would see, at once, how the matter stood. Here was a Bill giving away five miles of a man's property without any notice having been given to his representatives. On that ground, and on that ground alone, the Trustees of Lord Wenlock objected to the measure when it came before the Examiner. It was not pretended that they had received any notice in respect

of the new *locus standi* they had acquired in consequence of the alteration of the Bill which had been made in the House of Lords. No doubt, it was asserted that some of the statements in the representation laid before the Standing Orders Committee on behalf of the Trustees of Lord Wenlock were incorrect, and perhaps it might have been very difficult, under the circumstances, to have been literally accurate in every respect. But that was a purely *ex parte* statement, and, he must say, with all deference to the opinion of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John R. Mowbray), that he was setting a somewhat dangerous precedent. His contention was that when the promoters of a Bill did not choose to go before a Standing Orders Committee at once, and declare that certain statements which had been made to the Committee by the opponents of a Bill were incorrect, and when they had allowed the decision of a Standing Orders Committee to remain in force for some time, it would be a most dangerous precedent to establish if the House were now to hold that, under such circumstances, the promoters of a Bill were entitled to come down to the House and, on a mere *ex parte* allegation, call upon it to refer the whole question back to the Standing Orders Committee.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY begged his right hon. and learned Friend's pardon. What he had said was that the Standing Orders Committee had dealt with the statements which had been placed before them, and that the opposite party had placed no statements before them. If, however, under such circumstances, the Standing Orders Committee discovered within a few hours afterwards that the statements made to them, and upon which they had based their decision, were not correct, then the other side were entitled to come before them and contradict them.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, the explanation of his right hon. Friend only showed the danger of going behind the back of the Examiners and of bringing arguments and allegations before the House that were not before them, for by so doing they were virtually turning the House into a Standing Orders Committee. It seemed to him that the *onus probandi* rested upon his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), and he thought if the House adopted the Motion of his right hon. Friend they would very much shake the confidence of the public in the proceedings connected with Private Bill legislation. There was one fact, which had not been alluded to by his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), which ought not to be forgotten, and it was that the Bill was really promoted by persons who were in the position of creditors to the Dee Conservancy Board, and who were seeking to release themselves from various obligations which had been imposed upon them by Act of Parliament. Another point was that they had now arrived at the 7th of July, and that an important question with all of them was how soon they were to "shuffle off this mortal coil" and obtain a happy release from their labours. The Bill would require a great deal of examination and consideration; and there was every reason to believe that if it were referred back again to the Standing Orders Committee, and then referred to a Private Bill Committee, it could not receive that attention which the importance of the questions with which it dealt entitled it to. Therefore, upon all those grounds, he opposed the Motion of his right hon. Friend.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) said, he did not propose to discuss this question upon its merits; but he must say that the argument of the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee (Sir John R. Mowbray) appeared to him to be a very cogent one, while the remarks of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just addressed the House did not, to his mind, meet the points which had been raised by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes). As a matter of fact, a reference back to the Standing Orders Committee would only result in an investigation of the facts, and he could not understand why, if there was not anything to conceal, hon. Gentlemen should offer such a strenuous opposition to the proposal to refer the question back to the Standing Orders Committee. They had been told by the Chairman of the Committee that there was nothing uncommon in the Committee reconsidering their decision. Therefore, any argument as to absence of pre-

cedents fell to the ground. As he had said, he was not going to discuss or express any opinion upon the merits of the Bill itself; but he would simply say this—that for several Sessions past attempts had been made to constitute a conservancy of the River Dee, and in the present Session four Bills had been introduced with that object in view. Two of those Bills had been formally withdrawn; the third failed in Committee; and the fourth was the Bill they were now considering. If the Motion of his right hon. Friend was defeated, as a matter of fact, the House would kill the only Bill now before them. Indeed, he took that to be the reason of the opposition now offered to the Motion of his right hon. Friend. So far as the Department which he had the honour to represent was concerned, he could only say that they viewed with great favour any Bill which had for its object the construction of a conservancy of any river; and as the conservancy of the River Dee was materially affected by the present Bill, it afforded a reason why he proposed to support the Motion of his right hon. Friend.

MR. WHITBREAD said, that his only object in addressing the House was, if he could, to save its time. Therefore, he wished to recall the consideration of the House to the practical question now before it. Hon. Members were not asked to reverse the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. They were merely asked to take that action with regard to the Bill which the Committee would have taken with their own accord if the case had been brought under their notice. They were asked to refer the Bill back because the accuracy of the statements upon which the Standing Orders Committee had founded their decision had been impugned; and whenever the accuracy of such statements was disputed, it had been the custom to give a re-hearing, in order to test whether they were accurate or not. It was now proposed to refer this question back again to the Standing Orders Committee, of which he was a Member, in order to enable the Committee to ascertain whether the statements placed before them, and on which their decision was founded, was accurate or not. They had nothing whatever to do with the merits of the Bill itself, and he was sorry that the merits of the question should have been gone into at all.

MR. PULESTON said, it was quite true that the Motion had nothing to do with the merits of the case; but surely the right hon. Gentleman who made it was acting upon information derived from an *ex parte* statement, and dealing with a technical point which had been already disposed of not only by the Examiner of Private Bills but by the Standing Orders Committee. If the Motion were adopted, he did not see what opportunity would be given to those who were interested in the matter to obtain an adequate representation of their case. Questions of this kind must be dealt with according to the merits of the evidence forthcoming in regard to them; and surely if the House took any action in reference to this matter at all, they should give to the parties opposing the Bill the right of rebutting any fresh statements; and if the whole matter was to be gone into, *de novo*, the people of the district should have an opportunity of presenting Petitions, if they wished to do so. Under all the circumstances, he trusted that the House would not adopt the Motion of his right hon. Friend.

MR. GILES said, the House had appointed a specific tribunal to adjudicate in certain cases. That tribunal had already given its decision, and the House were now asked to reverse that decision. [MR. RAIKES: No.] The Committee of Standing Orders had agreed that the Standing Orders had not been complied with, and that they should not be dispensed with, and the House were now asked to dispense with the Standing Orders. [MR. RAIKES: No; not at all.] For his own part, he thought it would be better to accept the decision of the body specially appointed to adjudicate upon these matters. They were told that there were many precedents for re-opening the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. He was bound to say that that was perfectly true, but he believed they were bad precedents. On that side of the House, at all events, they were not accustomed to have a sort of vacillating policy; and when a question had once been investigated by a proper tribunal and decided upon he hoped the decision arrived at would not be reversed.

MR. WARTON said, he thought the House were very much indebted to the

hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) for having put the matter so clearly and plainly before them. They had also the high authority of the Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee (Sir John R. Mowbray), who was in favour of the Motion, and had expressed an opinion that the matter ought to be reconsidered. He thought the House were bound, out of respect for the position of the Committee, to attach the greatest weight to the opinions of its Chairman; and he was satisfied that it would not shock the confidence of the public in the Private Bill legislation of the House if, upon this occasion, they were to refer the Bill back for the reconsideration of the Committee. He did not see how such a course could shake the public confidence in anybody. If, by any possibility, a mistake had been made, an opportunity ought to be afforded for correcting it, and he did not see how it could shock the confidence of anybody to know that an opportunity had been afforded for arriving at a proper conclusion when an error had been committed. His hon. Friend the Member for Southampton (Mr. Giles) said they were asked to reverse the decision of the Committee. It was nothing of the kind. They were simply asked to refer the Bill back to the Committee on the distinct allegation that a mistake had been made, and that the decision of the Committee in regard to the Bill had been founded upon that mistake. They were in no respect sitting as a Court of Appeal to reverse the decision of the Standing Orders Committee. They were not asked to do anything of the kind, but were simply asked to afford an opportunity for reconsidering a mistake. It was simply owing to the accident of a change of Government that there had been a lapse of time between the decision of the Committee and the application for re-hearing the case. If this application had been made to the Committee itself on the 24th of June, the day after the Committee reported that the Standing Orders had not been complied with, there would have been no difficulty at all in the matter; but because, owing to political changes, there had been a lapse of time, it was now contended that the Motion for referring the Bill back again was improper. Personally, he was of opinion that the political crisis which had occurred ought not to be allowed by the House to prevent them from doing justice to the promoters of a Private Bill. They were not asked to reverse the decision of the Standing Orders Committee, but to give them an opportunity of seeing whether an error had or had not been committed. They had to consider the importance which attached to every statement made by a Parliamentary agent before a Committee of this sort. Every such statement ought to be strictly and literally true. Upon every ground, therefore, and having perfect confidence that the Standing Orders Committee would properly discharge their duty, and that they would arrive at a just decision, he would support the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 129; Noes 155: Majority 26.—(Div. List, No. 210.)

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE—COMMENCEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, perhaps it might be the pleasure of the House that after to-day the Public Business of the House should commence at a quarter-past 4. He understood that Private Business was sufficiently advanced to admit of that being done.

QUESTIONS.

CRUISERS OF THE MERCANTILE MARINE—MANNING AND EQUIPMENT.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he can inform the House the number, names, tonnage, coal endurance, speed, and terms under which the Admiralty have engaged the *America* and other merchant steamers as cruisers; also for what purpose they are to be utilised; and whether any of them have been manned wholly or in part by officers and seamen of the Naval Reserves; and, further, to inquire the calibre and description of guns with which the ships have been fitted, and the cost of re-construction from merchant to fighting ships?

THE FIRST LORD: The number of merchant steamers which the Admi-

ralty engaged is 16. Their number precludes me from giving within the limits of an answer to a Question all the information which the hon. Member desires to have; but I shall have no objection to produce a Return stating the number, names, tonnage, and speed of the merchant steamers engaged, and the terms upon which they were engaged. The purpose for which they were to be used was explained by the late Government. The Naval Reserves were not called out, and therefore these vessels were not manned by them.

POST OFFICE—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Postmaster General, If he can inform the House how much of the £500,000 estimated as required to prepare for the proposed introduction of sixpenny telegrams on the 1st of August has yet been expended, and what number of extra "learners" and clerks have been added to the telegraph staff in anticipation of the extra work; and, whether he proposes to proceed with the Postal Telegraphs Bill with or without provision for free addresses, as proposed in the Amendment to the Bill of which he recently gave notice?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS): With reference to the first part of the Question, I have to say that the whole sum of £500,000 will be spent in making the necessary arrangements, and that the number of learners and clerks added to the staff is 1,202. With respect to the second part of the Question, I would remind the hon. Member that the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid down last night the lines which the Government would wish to follow with reference to legislation. My right hon. Friend said that it was the desire of the Government not to proceed further with legislation of a contentious character. Now, the object of the Bill to which the latter part of the Question refers is to abolish free addresses on telegrams, and that is a question which has been very much contested in the House and outside it. I think, therefore, that the Government will not be disposed to proceed further with this Bill during the present Session. A fact bearing upon the finance of this question has recently been brought to my notice. It has been calculated by the officers of the Department that if the estimate of the contemplated increase of business mentioned by my Predecessor in Office were realized, there would be an additional outlay required in the course of about four years amounting probably to not less than £1,000,000. This outlay would be necessitated by the provision of additional plant, office accommodation, and the laying of underground wires from London to the principal towns in the Kingdom. I may also say that the scheme proposed by this Bill could not under any circumstances be brought into operation before October. Therefore, weighing all these considerations together, the Government are of opinion that it would be inexpedient to proceed further with this measure this Session, and that it would be wise to remit the whole question to the next Parliament, which would have to find the very large sum of money for the outlay which the Bill would necessitate.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked whether it was the intention of the Government to withdraw the Order of the Day on going into Committee on the Bill that evening, or whether the noble Lord would name an early day for doing so? He thought there would be very great dissatisfaction in the country at the intention of the Government to drop the Bill; and he wished, moreover, to have an opportunity of commenting on the proposal and controverting the statements of the noble Lord.

MR. PULESTON wished to know whether the estimate of £1,000,000, to which the Postmaster General had alluded, was a new one, or whether he found it in the Office?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL: It is not a new estimate, but is a calculation which was given me when I entered the Office, and of which I had no previous knowledge.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I should like to say that I have no knowledge of it. [*Ministerial cries of* "Order!" *and counter cheers.*] The noble Lord says that that is an estimate which he found in the Office. I can only say that I have no knowledge of any such estimate.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL: I do not in the least dispute the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. I have given the facts as they have been given to me in the Office.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE"—OBJECTIONABLE ARTICLES — REVELATIONS OF GROSS IMMORALITIES.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been directed to publications relating to objectionable subjects which have been printed and extensively circulated throughout the Metropolis by the proprietors of the newspaper called *The Pall Mall Gazette;* and, whether any means exist of subjecting the authors and publishers of these publications to criminal proceedings? He also wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that yesterday and to-day the sale of *The Pall Mall Gazette* had been suspended at the railway stations and other bookstalls in London, and had only been carried on by individuals in the streets, many of them being under age, who exhibited indecent placards and sold the publication at more than the market price to purchasers without reference to sex or age?

MR. CALLAN asked whether the proprietor and responsible editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which, according to its own advertisements, was a journal written by gentlemen for gentlemen, and which purported to represent independent Liberalism, was a person of the name of Yates Thompson, and whether this was the same Mr. Yates Thompson who for many years was the confidential Private Secretary of Earl Spencer while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the *confrère* during that time of Mr. George Cornwall and ex-Inspector French, lately charged with felonious practices? ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The Question of the hon. Member does not appear to me to fairly arise out of the Question upon the Paper.

MR. CALLAN said, that in that case he would supplement his Question by asking whether the Home Secretary knew that the price of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which had been hitherto sold at the usual trade price of 9*d.* per 13 copies, had that day been raised 25 per cent by the responsible manager in consequence of the increased demand arising from the pruriency of the previous day's publication?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I am asked a Question bearing on a point of pure law which might have been put very well to my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. Treating the question as one of pure law, I am advised that the publication of any obscene writing is a misdemeanour, that the publishers can be prosecuted by indictment in the usual way, and that the offence is punishable by fine and imprisonment, according to the discretion of the Court. The question whether any particular writing is obscene is one for a jury to determine. It is a question of pure law, and it is one which I thought it right to inform myself about. With regard to the sale or price of the paper I have no knowledge either one way or the other.

EGYPT—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S SPECIAL MISSION.

MR. M'LAREN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is intended to replace Sir Evelyn Baring by the honourable Member for Portsmouth, a Director of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank and the Land Mortgage Company of Egypt; and, if so, whether, in making the appointment, the Government have considered the honourable Member's public statements that the Khedive was an accomplice of the massacres of Alexandria, and that he himself has publicly condemned the sending of Special Commissioners to Egypt who are pecuniarily or personally interested in Egyptian financial undertakings?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): It is intended, as was stated last night, that the right hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) should undertake a special mission to Egypt; but the particular arrangements for that mission have not yet been determined upon. The right hon. Member for Portsmouth was, I believe, a Director of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank and of the Land Mortgage Company of Egypt; but I am informed that his connection with one of these Companies has for some time ceased, and that he resigned his connection with the other before any notice of his appointment was given to him. The Government have, of course, considered the position of the hon. Member and his public actions, and they have seen nothing in his public actions to debar him from usefully performing the duties of

such a commission. On the contrary, they have reason to believe that his appointment will be acceptable to the Khedive's Court. [*Laughter from the Opposition.*] I make that statement on authority. I understand that the hon. Member has never publicly condemned the sending of Commissioners to Egypt who are personally or pecuniarily interested in Egyptian affairs.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

MR. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is aware that the National Portrait Gallery is a non-fireproof erection of very slight character, with roof partly of slate with skylights, and the remainder of boards covered either with zinc or tarred felt; whether it is not in an equally hazardous condition with the International Exhibition, which it adjoins; whether this invaluable collection is not exposed to the greatest risk from fire; and, whether this deplorable state of things is to be allowed to continue, or whether he is prepared to adopt such remedies as may secure the Nation from an irreparable loss?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET): In answer to my hon. Friend I beg to assure him that I fully recognize the importance of the subject to which he has called attention. I have for some days been inquiring into it, and I am glad to be able to inform him that the actual danger to the National Portrait Gallery is not as great as his Question seems to imply. The building is of ordinary construction, with brick walls and wooden joists and floors; the roof is slated, and has skylights; it is not covered with tarred felting; and it is separated from the wooden corridors outside by brick walls and iron doors; it cannot be said in any sense to be in an equally hazardous condition with the International Exhibition, which is built entirely of wood, covered with asbestos paint. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the risk of fire has been to some extent increased by the proximity of the Exhibition; and I am not satisfied with the condition of the building, which contains a collection of such immense value to the nation. I have asked Mr. Scharf, who is the keeper of the collection, and the secretary to the Trustees, to give me the great advantage of his advice, and I hope within a short time to be able to make some further statement to the House, should my hon. Friend be inclined to put another Question on the subject.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY wished to know whether the information the right hon. Gentleman had just given to the House was derived from the Board of Works; whether he had sent anyone to make a special inspection of the building; and whether he would assure the House that his statement really and accurately described the building? He was astonished at the answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER, in reply, said, the information he had given was, of course, received from official sources; but he hoped in a day or two to examine the building himself. He had no doubt in the world that the information which he had already given was perfectly correct.

EGYPT—THE MILITARY EXPEDITION—VOTE OF THANKS TO THE FORCES.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is intended to propose a vote of thanks to the Home, East Indian, and Colonial Forces of the Crown, of the Navy and Army who have been serving, under such trying circumstances, in the Soudan and on the Nile, and have fought with such courage and devotion at El Teb and Tamanieb, and at Abu Klea, Gubat, and Kerbekan?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH): We do intend later in the Session to propose a Vote of Thanks to the officers and men who in the recent campaign so gallantly maintained the reputation of the British Forces. The precise form of the Vote will be more conveniently considered in connection with the rewards to be given for this campaign, the recommendations with regard to which we expect to receive shortly.

PUBLIC HEALTH—THE CHOLERA—PREVENTIVE MEASURES.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, having regard to the serious increase of the cholera epidemic in Spain, and its possible approach to England, the Government have taken

any steps of a preventive character, through the various port sanitary authorities and other local authorities?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR): In the latter part of last year an inspection was made of the principal ports of England, with the object of seeing how far the local Sanitary Authorities were prepared to execute the regulations of the Board with regard to cholera. During the present year a more extended inspection has been undertaken by six Medical Inspectors of the districts of England where cholera may be more especially expected to prevail. This inspection is now almost complete as regards the port and riparian districts of England, and is being pursued in other districts which there is reason to suppose would be most likely to suffer from cholera in the event of its introduction into this country. As a part of this inspection, Sanitary Authorities are met and counsel taken with them, and their more immediate duty of preparation against cholera as well as their general sanitary duties are impressed on them by the Board's Inspectors, and, where necessary, by subsequent communication from the Board. The regulations which were in force during the prevalence of cholera in France and Italy are still in operation. As regards rags, an Order has been issued prohibiting until the 1st of November next the importation of rags from Spain.

POLICE SUPERANNUATION BILL.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will consider the Police Superannuation Bill of the late Government, with the view either of re-introducing it in the next Parliament or of bringing forward a measure which, whilst not increasing local burdens, will satisfy the just demands of the Police forces throughout the Country?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): It is quite impossible for us to go on with this Bill this Session, and, therefore, when the Order is called, I shall move that it be discharged. If, however, at any other time, I can see my way to meet the just demands of the police without increasing local burdens, I shall be only too glad.

PROVISION FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY —A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government adhere to and adopt the promise given by the First Lord of the Treasury in the late Government, upon the occasion of the vote of an annuity for Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice, that early in next Session a Committee shall be appointed to consider the question of provisions for members of the Royal Family and other than the Sovereign and the Heir to the Throne?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): The promise of the right hon. Gentleman which is referred to in the Question deals with a subject of great importance, but it is one to which we have not yet had time to give our attention. I am afraid, therefore, it will not be in my power to give the House any undertaking with regard to it this Session.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE CHANCERY DIVISION.

MR. INCE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, considering the fact that the suitors of the Chancery Division cannot select the Court in which to try their causes, and that there is a great variation in the rate of speed with which causes are tried in different Courts, there is any likelihood of such a change of practice being established by authority, either by way of a rota of judges, or otherwise, as will give to each suitor an equal chance of having his case heard within a given time?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Mr. WEBSTER) said, the hon. Member was no doubt aware that a Committee, presided over by the Master of the Rolls, had been investigating the question; and as their Report would shortly be laid before the Lord Chancellor, it would be unwise to express an opinion on the point until that Report was presented.

THE STATIONERY DEPARTMENT—CONTRACTS.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether complaints

had reached the Treasury as to the mode of issuing contracts by the Stationery Department, whereby competition had been practically reduced to a few firms; and whether some system would be adopted enabling firms paying the full trade wages to compete for Government work in the future?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND), in reply, said, he was happy to inform the hon. Member for Stoke that new draft forms of contract had been prepared and would be submitted to the Treasury in a few days. Very large alterations had been made in the schedules and prices, and the prices were now so arranged that anyone could understand them. The intention was, he believed, to publish these prices about September, and ample time would be given to anyone tendering to make the necessary arrangements.

MR. BROADHURST asked whether the terms of contract and the form could be issued before the rising of the House, to allow of any suggestions being made as to the alterations?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY said, he should certainly hope so, though he should not like to give any distinct pledge on the subject.

NAVY—THE STEAM RESERVES.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the case that a fresh classification of the ships in the Steam Reserve has been made, of which the Fourth Class is to consist of ships unfit for further sea service, if so, whether the names of the ships in this class are to remain upon the Navy List?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON), who replied, said: A fresh classification has been made, of which the fourth class will consist of ships unfit for further sea service. It is not contemplated to remove the names of these ships from *The Navy List*, as many will be employed on harbour work; but instructions have been given to place against their names in *The Navy List* an intimation that they belong to the fourth class.

NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES—PENSIONS OF NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the daily rate of pension for Non-Commissioned Officers of the Royal Marines has yet been assimilated with that of Non-Commissioned Officers in the Army?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. RITCHIE): The rate of pension of the non-commissioned officers of the Royal Marines has not been assimilated to that prevailing in the Army; but the difference is only small, and the Marines enjoy some advantages that are not open to the soldier. The present Government has not, however, had the opportunity of investigating the subject; but I can promise the hon. and gallant Gentleman that inquiry shall be made into the matter, with a desire on the part of the Government to do full justice to the claims of so gallant and distinguished a corps.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—RESOLUTION.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH), in rising to move the following Resolution:—

"That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other business; and that, for the remainder of the Session, including this day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government Orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday,"

said: Mr. Speaker, in the statement which it is now my duty to make, I wish, in the first place, to guard Her Majesty's Government against any possible misconception of their motives in making the proposal which I have put on the Notice Paper. Sir, I need not, I hope, dwell upon the rather remarkable assumption of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) that this proposal is intended as a kind of Vote of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government. I need not, I think, Sir, say it is nothing of the kind. It is merely the proposal which we venture to submit for the convenience of the House, and, as we believe, for the advantage of the country, in the arrangement and transaction of the remaining Business of the Session. Her Majesty's Government have not the

least desire, in making this proposal, to deprive private Members of anything beyond that which they have in former years surrendered to the Government of the day under similar circumstances. Much less do we wish to do anything that would deprive this House of its complete liberty of action with regard to Her Majesty's Government. We do not desire for one moment, either in proposing this Motion, or by anything we may do if this Motion is adopted, to screen ourselves from any criticism of our policy, or of our actions, which may be offered from any responsible quarter of the House; and if there be any desire to make such criticism, it will certainly be our duty to provide the necessary opportunity for the purpose. What we desire to do is simply this—to ask the House to consider its position with respect to what may be called the necessary Business of the Session, and to make such arrangements as may best be made for winding up that Business at the earliest possible day. It will be universally admitted, I think, that it is desirable, in the interests of the country, of Parliament, and of the Government of the Queen, that an appeal to the new constituencies should be made as soon as may be; and, therefore, it necessarily follows that we should lose no time in completing the work of the present Session and of the present House of Commons. What is that work? In the judgment of Her Majesty's Government the main Business of the rest of the Session should be the Business of Supply and of Ways and Means. I hope that will be a proposition which will commend itself generally to the House, and I rather gather that it received the adhesion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) in the few words he addressed to the House yesterday. At the end of the first week in July, I do not think I need put forward any arguments in favour of the proposal that, as this Business has to be transacted, it would be better to utilize our time by transacting it, than by discussing abstract Resolutions, which, even if adopted, could not be carried into effect, and which certainly would not be binding on our Successors; or, by dealing with the Bills which now stand on the Order Book for Wednesdays, and which, even if fortunate enough to obtain a second reading, would certainly not be able to advance beyond that stage. I do not think that, in itself, the request which I make is in any way exceptional, if hon. Members will only consider what has been done in the last five years. The Business of Ways and Means is notoriously backward at the present time. I do not wish to go into the reasons for that fact; but it is a fact, and a fact of great importance, as the unsettlement of the financial arrangements of the year is certainly a matter of injury to the country. Supply, until last night, was quite as backward as at a similar date in 1883 or 1884. Last night, no doubt, the House was very generous to us, and considerable progress was made; but much remains to be done. I would like to state the proposals made by the late Government and adopted by the House in the last five years, with a view to the more rapid progress of Business at this period of the Session. I will say nothing as to the continued Morning Sittings in June and July, which were resorted to by the late Government, except to point out that the system of Morning Sittings is almost as effectual in practically depriving private Members of the opportunity of bringing forward their Motions as if the whole time of the House had been devoted to the Government Business. In 1880 the right hon. Gentleman opposite moved, on July 12, that Wednesdays should be devoted to Government Business, and that Tuesdays from July 20 should be devoted to Government Business. Those Motions were both adopted, and so were the others to which I will allude. In 1881, on June 28, the Government obtained the entire time of the House for the Irish Land Bill on all days it was set down, and in 1882 the same privilege was obtained for the Irish Arrears Bill from June 20, and on July 24 Government Orders were given precedence on Tuesdays and Wednesdays for the rest of the Session. In 1883 the right hon. Gentleman obtained Tuesdays and Wednesdays from the 11th of July; and, in 1884, Tuesdays from the 4th of July, Wednesdays from the 15th of July, and on a later day the Standing Order with reference to Notices of Motion on going into Committee of Supply on Mondays and Thursdays, and which permits you, Sir, to leave the Chair without Question put, was ex-

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tended to Tuesdays. I confess that we have been anxious not to make any proposals with regard to Morning Sittings. It has no doubt been customary that proposals with regard to Morning Sittings should precede a Motion such as I am making to-day; but we have thought that not only would Morning Sittings be inconvenient to the House, but that they would practically fail to effect the object we have in view. It is also evident that without the extension of the Standing Orders with regard to Supply to Morning Sittings, the whole result of such a proposal would be that hon. Members would bring forward their Motions on going into Committee of Supply, instead of in the manner customary on Tuesdays. We have considered it insufficient on the present occasion to make any proposal with regard to Morning Sittings. We have instead asked the House to give us Tuesdays and Wednesdays to be devoted to the purposes which I have mentioned, under the belief that by so doing we shall be best promoting the convenience of the House and the rapid progress of the work which the House, I believe, is most anxious to get through. It is, no doubt, a fact that, in previous years, the Government of the day were not only anxious to promote their financial measures and Supply, but also to complete important measures of legislation. That is not the desire of Her Majesty's Government on the present occasion. We do not think that we can be fairly expected to make ourselves responsible for the more important measures which were proposed by our Predecessors in Office; and, even if we could, I would venture with all deference to the House to submit this consideration to hon. Members. The great measures relating to the reform of the House of Commons have now become law, and that is a fact which I think we must all feel has made a material difference in the position of the House. I do not think it would be satisfactory, or for the advantage of the country, that, under the circumstances in which we are now placed, the present House of Commons should undertake legislation upon any subjects, except those which are urgently necessary to be dealt with on this particular occasion, or are of a non-contentious nature. This is the principle governing the proposal which Her Majesty's Government now make to the House. I will venture to name a few of the measures coming under these heads, with which it is our intention to proceed. In the first place, of course, we have to proceed with the necessary financial Bills of the year; then there is the Federal Council of Australia Bill, the East India Loan Bill, which passed through a stage last night, the Labourers (Ireland) Bill, the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Bill, the Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers) Bill, the Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill, and some other Bills, with which I need not weary the House, of a purely Departmental character. There is also a Bill of great importance now under consideration in "another place"—namely, the Secretary for Scotland Bill, which we hope to be able to pass into law; and there is a question relating to Ireland on which we are extremely anxious to place our proposals before Parliament in the hope that it may be possible to deal with them. That is the question of land purchase in Ireland. Of course, it is a matter of very great importance; but I would also add that it is a matter on which I believe the necessity for legislation has been unanimously admitted by all parties in Ireland. It is a subject on which legislation has been promised, I think twice by our Predecessors in Office, and last year a Resolution on the subject was unanimously agreed to, proposed by my noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton). Although it is a matter of great importance, yet we certainly are not at all clear that it will necessarily prove to be one of a contentious character. I well remember that when we were last in Office we were called upon to deal with an Irish question which then appeared at least as thorny and as difficult as the question of land purchase in Ireland. I refer to the subject of intermediate education. We were fortunate in proposing a measure which passed through Parliament with scarcely any opposition, and which I believe is now universally admitted to have been a satisfactory settlement of that most important subject. I do not, of course, know whether we shall be equally fortunate in our proposals with regard to land purchase; but what we are anxious to do is to place them fairly on the

Table of this House and ask hon. Members to consider them. Then, of course, if we find that such opposition arises to them that they would fairly fall outside those two classes of measures with which I have stated it is alone our intention to deal, it will not be possible for us to proceed with them and pass them into law. I have referred to the subjects on which we should be glad to legislate. I should now like to refer to another question connected with Ireland on which we do not propose to legislate, as the House is already aware. I mean to the renewal of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act. Now, Sir, some weeks ago the right hon. Gentleman who was then Prime Minister informed Parliament that it was the intention of the Government to propose the renewal of certain valuable and equitable provisions of that Act. I do not know what those provisions were. We find no trace whatever that any Bill was prepared embodying them; but I do not say that in any way as a matter of complaint, because we do not propose to renew them ourselves. We do not propose, Sir, to renew any of the provisions of that Act, because we object to exceptional legislation of that character, unless such legislation in our minds is clearly necessary for the preservation of order. [*Laughter*, "Hear, hear!" *and* "Oh, oh!"] I quite understand, from the way in which that observation was received, that there are several hon. Members opposite who share an opinion that was expressed some little time ago by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain)—namely, that "coercion with the Tories was a policy; with the Liberals only a hateful incident." Sir, I will venture to say that, in my humble judgment, if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, in the study which he proposes to make of Irish questions, would devote a little time to researches into the history of Irish government, he would find that his idea on that subject is a complete delusion. He would find, no doubt, that it has sometimes been necessary for Conservative Administrations to introduce and carry exceptional legislation for Ireland; but I think he would find more occasions on which it has been necessary for Liberal Administrations to take that course; and he would also find, if he sought for the period during which Ireland had been most free from legislation of this character, or when such legislation had been most moderate, that those periods had occurred during the government of Ireland by the Conservative Party. ["Oh, oh!"] Now, I am very far from asserting for a moment that occasions may not arise in Ireland, or in any other country, where such a state of anarchy or social disorder may exist as existed in Ireland, unfortunately, at the end of 1880 and at the beginning of 1881, when very stringent measures of this sort may be required. But, Sir, what I would venture to say is this—that, even when required, such legislation is to some extent an evil in itself; for it undoubtedly fosters among the people who are subject to it a feeling of disaffection, which leads more than anything, perhaps, to disobedience of the law; and I am afraid it also, at any rate occasionally, induces the authorities not to exert that vigorous and vigilant administration of the ordinary law which, after all, can be the only permanent security for order and good government in Ireland. Sir, if this was true in the past, I will venture to say that it is doubly true now; and why it is doubly true now? Because Parliament has granted to Ireland complete political freedom in Parliamentary elections by the ballot and the extension of the franchise, and it is absolutely inconsistent with that complete political freedom to continue permanently the old-fashioned government of Ireland by a system of coercion. Sir, in our opinion there is but one question at issue. I do not suppose anybody would suggest that it was necessary or desirable to renew the whole of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act. The question solely is this—whether some of the milder provisions of that Act are or are not necessary for the maintenance of order in Ireland. Well, now, Sir, we have carefully considered that question; and, in our opinion, there is reason to believe that it will be possible to maintain law and order in Ireland by a firm and vigorous administration of the ordinary law without the re-enactment of those provisions to which I have referred. I would say that, as the House is aware, there has been a steady and gratifying diminution in agrarian crime. No doubt, agrarian

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crime has not reached, as yet, so low a point as we could wish it to stand at; but there is another fact, and it is this—that cases of serious agrarian crime are now very rare. There is also a matter which I feel justified in alluding to, although I do not wish to lay too much stress on it, and it is this—that I think the change of Government has not been unaccompanied with certain symptoms, pervading all classes in Ireland, of a better feeling to the Queen's Government than has recently existed. Well, then, Sir, there is another consideration which I hope may commend itself to hon. Members opposite. They have continuously put forward theories, the truth of which I do not at all now wish to discuss, on the effects of the extension of the franchise in pacifying Ireland. If there be any truth in those theories, we have good reason to expect that during the coming autumn the energies and the action of Irishmen may be turned from the evil of the past to action of a peaceful and political kind. I think it is not absolutely without some negative value that the Irish people should be free from the effect of irritating and angry discussions upon the renewal of those minor provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act—discussions which, perhaps, might do almost as much harm among the people of Ireland as the renewal of those provisions could possibly do good. Sir, I have merely to add that, considering the whole situation, Her Majesty's Government have felt that, consistently with their duty, they can rely on the ordinary law for the maintenance of order in Ireland; and they have not felt justified in proposing to this House measures which, unless their necessity were proved to the satisfaction of the House, would, I will venture to say, be odious to all Parties among us. I now turn to the question of some other Bills on the Order Book, which are of greater importance than the Bills with which I have already stated Her Majesty's Government intend to proceed. I will refer to four measures which were mentioned yesterday by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone). He alluded to the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill, to the Intermediate Education (Wales) Bill, to the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill, and to the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. With regard to the first of those measures, the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill, I am afraid that I cannot hold out any expectation that we shall be able to proceed with it. I would remind the House that it is a Bill on a subject which was carefully inquired into by a Royal Commission; but that it is not based on the Report of that Commission, but on the views of Her Majesty's late Government. It certainly, I should suppose, is a Bill of a contentious character. Although the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) asked me a Question on the subject yesterday, I remember that he himself gave Notice of an Amendment to the second reading of the Bill which, if accepted, must have defeated the measure. It is a Bill which, I think, in the minds of those who represent the feeling of the crofters, and of the crofters themselves, cannot be looked upon as a permanent settlement of the question to which it relates. [Mr. MACFARLANE: Hear, hear!] I am glad to see that the hon. Member for Carlow approves that proposition, for I cannot think that it would be for the advantage of any Party or any class that our experience of land legislation in Ireland should be repeated in Scotland, and that we should pass now, as was passed by Parliament in 1870, with reference to Ireland, a Land Bill absolutely abortive as effecting any settlement of the question. Again, I find that, even in the opinion of the Members, or at least of one Member, of Her Majesty's late Government—and that a noble Lord especially connected with Scotland—this Bill is not entirely satisfactory. I observed the other day, in a speech of Lord Rosebery's, that that noble Lord stated that if an improved system of local government had existed in Scotland, a more satisfactory Crofters' Bill might have been passed than was now before us. Then, again, the Bill relates to the interests of a large class of persons who do not possess the franchise, but who will have the opportunity to exercise it at the next Election. For all these reasons, and the Bill being, as I believe, of a very contentious character, I do not think it would be advisable that it should be proceeded with at the present moment. Now, Sir, I turn to the question of Welsh intermediate education. I do not feel able to go, even if I were quite in Order in doing so, into

the merits of that Bill. No doubt, it is a subject that has been much under the consideration of the people of Wales. No doubt, legislation with regard to it is much desired; but I observe that that legislation, although the late Government was strongly supported by the people of Wales, has been postponed for many years, and that this Bill has only, in fact, become a prominent measure in the House of Commons just when the late Government have left Office. I think, as far as I can learn, it is so full of disputed matter, that it would not be possible to pass it in the present Session. But I have to add that we appreciate to the fullest extent the importance of the question, and we shall devote our best attention to it during the autumn, and if it should be our lot, as it very likely will be, to occupy these Benches in the next Session of Parliament, we shall endeavour to deal with it. The other two subjects to which the right hon. Gentleman referred are the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill of the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. As regards the first, I stated yesterday, in reply to a Question from the hon. Member, that we were of opinion that this matter should be dealt with. I do not think that the hon. Member fully understood the purport of that reply. When I said that, in our opinion, the matter should be dealt with, I meant that it should be dealt with in the sense in which he desired, and it should be dealt with soon; because it would not be reasonable to deal with it in a way which would not allow of the franchise being exercised in the coming Election by those who would be admitted to it under such a Bill. What I would venture to say to the House on this subject is, that we will undertake, if the House gives us the control of its time for which we ask, that means shall be found to enable the House to express its judgment on the question, our view of the matter being that which I have stated. There then remains, Sir, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. This is a Bill which occupies a very remarkable position. It is the result of a very important inquiry into a very painful and difficult subject. It has been passed twice, if not three times, by the other House of the Legislature. It has been to some extent debated in this House, and I must say that there are certainly some provisions in this Bill which appear to Her Majesty's Government to be of very great importance and to be provisions which should, if possible, pass into law. I do not, in saying that, intend my remarks to apply to the whole Bill. There are parts of it which I do not think it would be possible to include in an Act of Parliament that could be passed this Session; but what we should like to do would be to confer fully and frankly on the matter with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), who has taken so much interest in it; and we should feel it our duty, if the House should give us the facilities for which we ask, to find any reasonable time for the consideration of the subject. I think it will be admitted that the catalogue of legislation which I have gone through, as that of measures with which Her Majesty's Government ought to proceed, is at least a modest one. Therefore, I shall make no apology for asking private Members who have introduced Bills to sacrifice their chances of passing those Bills into law. The very number of private Members' Bills now standing in the Order Book would, in any case, preclude the vast majority from any chance of becoming law, whether the House accepted our Motion or not. But I should like to say one word with regard to those hon. Members who have given Notices of Motion for the days which we hope to be able to appropriate to Government Business. First of all, I would venture to thank my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard) for the readiness with which he waived his right to bring forward this evening a Motion on a subject of importance, in order to afford us an opportunity to make progress with Supply. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) has obtained the first place in the list of Motions for Tuesday next for the discussion of a very important matter, in which, as the House is well aware, he has long taken a deep and a self-sacrificing interest. I would venture to hope that the right hon. Gentleman would be willing to waive his right, on condition that he should be afforded the opportunity of the discussion he desires to raise on the

Votes which still remain to be passed in Committee of Supply. I understand his desire is rather to elicit an expression of opinion, than actually to obtain a vote of the House on a Motion which, even he carried it, could not result in any legislation during the present Session. Sir, I have now only to thank the House for the patience with which it has listened to me, and to ask its favourable consideration for the Motion which I have placed on the Paper. It is, I will venture to repeat, a Motion which we believe to be for the convenience and in the interest of the House of Commons. If the House should agree to it, we should hope to be able to wind up the Session in a very moderate time, thus affording a longer interval for that rest which all of us require, though I fear a great many of us will not be able to obtain, before the time arrives when Her Majesty will be able to resort to the counsel and support of a new House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other business; and that, for the remainder of the Session, including this day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government Orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday." —(*Sir Michael Hicks Beach.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: I purposely ask, without delay, for the indulgence of the House; because, while the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has brought before us matters of rather a wide scope, and certainly of very great importance, Notice has been given of an Amendment, of which I may say that it threatens or promises to open to us a still wider field of discussion. But the two things are quite distinct, and I am bound to state at the outset that I am not able to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). Whatever proceeds from him is well worthy of our attention; and I take the opportunity of offering to him—I will venture to say in the name of the House—our very sincere congratulations on the restoration of health which has happily been attained by so patriotic, so consistent, and so able a Member of this House. But, Sir, it would not, I think, be consistent on the part of a House of Commons, which, by a majority, arrived at a vote which, in regular Parliamentary course, led to the resignation of the late Government—it would hardly be consistent in the House of Commons which arrived at that vote, and which deliberately facilitated the arrangements for the formation of a new Government of opposite politics, at the first moment when that new Government has been formed and comes forward, and before it has done either good or evil, that it should interfere for the purpose of preventing its action by procuring its dismissal from Office. I think, Sir, there can be no lengthened discussion required upon a proposition of that kind at the present moment. I now come to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and I will distinguish broadly between the prefatory portion of his speech which related to the general grounds of his Motion and the character of his Motion, and, on the other hand, to the particular reference which he made to certain subjects of importance, some of which I shall have to notice, and to a number of which I shall have to make certain additions. With regard to the general statement of the right hon. Gentleman and the Motion he has made, I think we have very little to object to. It is true that we have made particular demands for Morning Sittings during the continuance of the late Government. It is also true, as the right hon. Gentleman fairly admitted, that we have done that with reference to the special urgency and importance of very large measures of legislation; but as no such argument can be used in support of the Motion he now makes, he does not think it his duty to ask for Morning Sittings on the same ground as that on which we asked for them; he bases the request on a different ground. His ground is that, in all the circumstances of the case, the Government having just assumed Office, and having in view a Dissolution, which the present Government, in my opinion quite rightly, desire to bring about at as early a period as the action of the law will admit, the Government, in that position, think that their prime duty is to what is called wind up the Business of the Session; and such winding-up of

the Business of the Session is a proposition in respect of which they are entitled to claim the sympathy and assistance of the House. In that proposition, so stated, I concur; I only attach to it the condition which the right hon. Gentleman has, in a very great degree, fulfilled in his speech to-night—namely, that he should fully inform the House, and should satisfy the House, as regards the particular course which the Government propose to take with respect to immediate and pending subjects of legislation. In expressing my disposition, therefore, to support the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, I only make this general proviso at present—that I pay regard to the words in which the right hon. Gentleman signifies that he would feel himself under an obligation to the House to facilitate discussion where it might reasonably be asked for, either in the way of Question, of Censure, or of Inquiry, as to the conduct of the Government in its Executive capacity; and, taking notice of those words, I think they meet the justice of the case, and I have no difficulty, therefore, in giving a cordial assent to the Motion he makes. Then I come to the question of legislation, as it was touched upon in his speech, only for the purpose of saying again that I am of opinion that he is justified in thinking that it is his duty and the duty of the Government to confine itself, under present circumstances, to such legislation as falls under one of two categories—either the category of being urgent, or the category of being non-contentious. But before I go into particulars on the position of that subject I wish to say a few words—and I think it will be felt that this Motion also affords a proper opportunity for saying them—I wish to say a few words upon the part which Her Majesty's Government will have to play, both during the next few weeks and during the autumn, in the direction of the foreign policy of the country; and I refer to this for no contentious purpose, but rather under an impulse of public duty, and a desire to find that there need not be at the present time cause for raising contentious discussions between us; while, on the other hand, it is a duty incumbent on the late Government, where they believe the present Government are engaged in the pursuit, or have reason to hope that they are engaged in the pursuit, of important national objects—it is their duty to afford them such support as they can in the prosecution of such purpose. I may do this in a form which I hope will not be thought irregular, by referring to words which I believe to have been used by high authority, not within the walls of this House, but yet on the part of Her Majesty's Government. The first question which naturally challenges attention is the question of the Afghan Frontier. It has, I think, been said that the British Government has promised to secure the Pass of Zulfikar to the Ameer of Afghanistan. I am not quite sure to what words reference is made in that statement. I do not say that it is incorrect, and I am not at all disposed to quarrel with the spirit in which the words are used in making it. The main promise which I think has been made by the British Government to the Ameer of Afghanistan has been that they would, to the best of their ability, deal for him in settling the question of the Frontier as they would deal for themselves, and that they would consider his interests to be their interests—to do, in fact, the best that they could for the country and to act in that spirit. That being so, another very important declaration has been made, that the Pass of Zulfikar has been promised to the Ameer of Afghanistan by the Russian Government. Now, that is a most important statement, and I am bound to say that in my judgment, in the main and in its substance, that statement is correct. It is of very great importance, and if I repeat it I do not repeat it as an assumption, or as a matter of no consequence. If that promise has been made, at any rate, those of us who have dealt with the Russian Government deemed it our duty to deal with it on the same principle as applied to the dealing with all other regular established Governments. We therefore feel the utmost confidence that the promise will be fulfilled. It was not an unconditional engagement. It was a distinct promise on the one hand, that Penjdeh might, without injury to the interests of the Ameer of Afghanistan, be allowed to remain on the Russian side of the border, and if that were so, the Pass of Zulfikar should be, in the Russian view, a consideration to be weighed against Penjdeh, and should be secured to the Ameer. Now, in all the reasonable

efforts which Her Majesty's Government may make to bring about a settlement of this question upon terms such as have been indicated, such as, I think, have appeared to justify the expedience of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion—in all such efforts I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will receive the best support of those who have recently quitted Office and now sit on this side of the House. It has also been said, and it is a proposition of great importance, that the main matter is the defence of the Indian Frontier. I will not pretend to understand precisely some of the language in which comments appear to have been made upon that proposition, but with the proposition itself I thoroughly agree. There can be no doubt that we are engaged in a very considerable difficulty in relation to a country, the independence of which in the main we recognize; for it is only a friendly and defensive intervention that we have contemplated at any time in Afghanistan. Of course, in this I speak of the late Government. We are in a very difficult position in negotiating for the external frontier of such a country, and with a Power that is negotiating not for an ally, but for itself. And, no doubt, it is right to bear in view the great and main interests we have in this matter, after fulfilling honourably every engagement that we have made with the Ameer of Afghanistan. The main interest we have in this matter is the security of India and the defence of the Indian Frontier, which can never be regarded in this House as anything but a primary interest and an imperative and paramount duty, both on the part of the Indian Government and of the Legislature and Government of this country. Reference has also been very naturally made to that difficult and perplexed Egyptian Question, in regard to which two propositions have been laid down the justice and equity of which I should be the first to assert. The one is, that the present Government ought, as I should say, sedulously, even, to avoid committing itself too pointedly at the present moment, but that the present Government should be allowed time for obtaining the fullest and best advice in regard to a question so full of complications. That is a full and perfectly equitable demand to which I, for one, at once assent. It has also been said—and I hope that it having been said from that quarter may commend it to the judgment of Members of this House who may heretofore have doubted it—that, so far as Egypt Proper is concerned, finance is really a question of the first importance, and until that is settled nothing can be done. It is to be borne in mind that delays have occurred in regard to the settlement of general questions connected with the occupation of Egypt which have been most reluctantly submitted to by Her Majesty's Government. They were ready 18 months ago with their full plans for dealing with Egypt both as to finance and as to occupation; but delays of which I do not seek to discuss or investigate the causes have brought us to this point—that although, in the main, we have arrived at an Agreement with the Powers of Europe which is absolutely binding and which suffices for the settlement of the whole question of finance, yet some of the executive provisions necessary to give full effect to that Agreement have not been completed in all the countries, and at once coming down to the present moment, the finances of Egypt cannot be said to be absolutely settled, although the essential engagements which involve the settlement of that question have been agreed to and signed by united Europe. Sir, with regard to this important subject, an expression has been used as to which, I think, there has been some misapprehension—that, in the case of the Soudan, we had to deal with a triumphant enemy, or, at least, an enemy that believed himself to be triumphant. I am not at all convinced that, even in the limited application of it, that is a proposition to which we need subscribe. The rumours which appear in the papers upon this subject, when they refer to movements of wild tribes, and persons seeking for ascendancy among those tribes, at great distances beyond the sphere within which regular and authentic intelligence habitually circulates, ought to be received with considerable distrust. When I look at the result of all these engagements that have taken place in the Soudan, which may from some points of view be sincerely deplored, but which, at any rate, have maintained in a remarkable degree the honour of the British arms, I do not believe that the Arab tribes of the Soudan are so wanting in perception as not to be aware of the nature of the enemy

with whom they would have to come in conflict if they adopt an aggressive policy, and, therefore, I doubt whether even the Mahdi himself is to be assumed to believe that he is at this moment triumphant. I put that as an argument on the grounds of public policy, and by no means as a matter of political controversy, or as implying any reproach on the noble Person who used the expression which I have ventured to qualify and comment upon. As far as I am able to see, no intention has been formed by the present Government, since their accession to Office, which would lead them into necessary conflict with the views which the late Government have been endeavouring to act upon in the Soudan. I have seen an expression to the effect that it remains a matter to be considered how much of the Soudan ought to remain under the actual Government of Egypt; but even that expression, which I read with some question as to its exact meaning, does not come into conflict with what has been asserted and acted upon steadily by Her Majesty's late Government since they announced their intention to that effect to the House—namely, that the British military power shall be withdrawn from the region of the Soudan. With respect to any departure from that intention, it would no doubt raise a most serious question. I do not say that Her Majesty's Government has committed itself on the subject. Were I to go back to former times, I might suppose that the intention of altering or reversing the policy of the withdrawal of British arms from the Soudan might have been acted upon; but I note with satisfaction that no such intention has been declared, and that the outside of what has been declared has been to raise the mere question of how much of the Soudan ought to continue under the actual or direct Government of Egypt. I think when the affairs of Egypt come to be considered, and what will be its responsibility within the limits of Egypt itself, and on the frontier of Egypt, whenever it may become responsible for the frontier of Egypt, I suspect it will not be found very difficult to arrive at what I consider a right decision as to how much of the Soudan ought to be left to the actual or direct Government of Egypt. I am therefore glad to think that we can give our best wishes to Her Majesty's Government with respect to the prosecution of objects which are certainly of the deepest importance to the well-being of this country. I do not now go into the question connected with the occupation of Egypt itself, as distinguished from the question of the Soudan, although I must say that all experience shows me more and more how necessary it is for the interests of the country that, when once this great and insurmountable impediment of financial difficulties has been put out of the way, a decisive and early determination should be arrived at by the Government and Parliament of this country with respect to the occupation of Egypt itself, not in order to make sacrifices of British interests to other Powers, and certainly not without a due regard to the arrangements to be made for the security and practical independence of Egypt hereafter, but for the purpose of placing this country in a position of real independence of every Foreign Power, and relieving it from sources of embarrassment which have been, as will be understood by those who have practically to deal with them, and will be found to be, of a most serious character as long as the present state of things exists. Before I rose in my place it was with the hope that I should not introduce into this debate matters of a contentious or polemical character, and so far as I have gone—while indicating opinions of my own without endeavouring to force them prematurely on the Government, and giving them time for consideration, with the advice of the best authorities, as to the course they would have to pursue—I hope that I have, down to the present moment, fulfilled that intention, and have not raised any matters of contentious or angry controversy. I was desirous of going on as far as I could without the smallest deviation from that course of proceeding, and of making the full concession which I have made to the right hon. Gentleman as to the general spirit of the proposition which he has laid before us, and of the explanation with which he has accompanied that proposition. I am sorry, I own, that at a single point of his statement, the right hon. Gentleman deviated from the line of his general remarks, and somewhat impaired the spirit of his speech. It was at the point where he touched the important

subject of special legislation for Ireland, and contested the proposition, which he perhaps truly ascribed to my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Chamberlain), that with the Tories coercion was a policy, with the Whigs or Liberals it was an incident. I was sorry that anything of the kind should have been mentioned, and I cannot believe that Whigs, Tories, or Liberals have been properly introduced into this question. We shall have time enough when we join issue on practical matters to enter into questions raised by the right hon. Gentleman; but, after that, I must, in no controversial spirit, say a word upon this subject. I am far from thinking or asserting that no errors have been committed by Liberal Governments as regards the proposal of coercive measures for Ireland. I shall not hesitate to join in the freest discussion, neither shall I deprecate the heaviest censure, of their conduct in that respect; but I think that historical justice compels us to admit that in the case of the severest proposals which have been made by Liberal Governments for the introduction of repressive measures for Ireland, in the interest, or supposed interest, of public order, there has always been a disposition, so far as I know, to couple with those measures remedial propositions, with the object of conciliating the people of Ireland and of laying more solid foundations of concord between the two countries. I think that the very first important legislative measure which it was my fate to hear discussed in the House of Commons was that severe Coercion Act of 1833 proposed by the Government of Lord Grey—that historical and, perhaps, I ought to say, illustrious Government, fresh from the great struggle and the great triumph of the Reform Bill, all full of Liberal sympathies and desires with Ireland, but thinking, and consciously thinking, themselves bound by the necessities of public order to make stringent proposals for restrictive measures in Ireland. But immediately after that coercive measure was proposed and carried into law, a Bill was introduced, upon which we now look back as a Bill of very moderate dimensions—what was then called the Church Temporalities Act—but which I can assure hon. Gentlemen opposite was opposed by those who preceded them, and was denounced as the destruction of the Constitution, as the dismemberment of the Empire, and as involving the most subversive consequences. Then, at the risk of detaining the House, I will remind it that when we found it our duty to take the reins of power, our first act was deliberately to waive any application to this House for the enactment of coercive legislation for Ireland. And though I am sorry that this question has been touched, I must ask the right hon. Gentleman himself what kind of assistance we received from him and his Friends, who are now Her Majesty's Government, in that attempt? I think he will find it very difficult to say. I do not know that there has been a more famous historical document placed before the eyes of the people of this country, for many years, than the letter of the Earl of Beaconsfield to the Duke of Marlborough at the time of the General Election in 1880. What picture did that letter give of the position of Ireland, of the intentions of its popular Leaders, and of the necessities laid on the Government of this country for dealing strongly with them? I do not know any document more important; I do not know any document that I have seen so frequently alluded to with triumph—aye, and with exultation—by hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, as the true setting forth of what ought to be the Irish policy for the guidance of the Government of this country. I may say we thought it our duty—whether rightly or wrongly is an historical question fairly open to discussion—we thought it our duty to recommend the introduction of a severe measure in the Session of 1881 for serious restriction of personal liberty in Ireland; but whether that measure was, as I have said, right or wrong, at any rate it was accompanied with a measure to which the character of remedial could hardly be denied. And here I must say that the right hon. Gentleman surprised me when he said that the Land Act of 1870 was an abortive measure. I never heard a more strange expression used in this House. How was it an abortive measure? If the right hon. Gentleman had said it proved an insufficient measure, that would be a very different affair; but I do not hesitate to say, and I believe I cannot be contradicted, that the immediate effects of the Land Act

of 1870—effects which lasted for a period of not less than seven years after the passing of the Act, before the failure of the crops and all the difficulties connected with the last years of the Administration of Lord Beaconsfield and the first years of our Government—were in a high degree satisfactory, and were welcomed as satisfactory in a high degree by the people of Ireland. But when we proposed to make this coercive proposal, it is something to be placed on record that we acted as the Predecessors of our Party traditionally acted—we endeavoured to introduce at the same time what we believed, and still believe, to be a remedial measure of the utmost importance for the advancement, the comfort, and the happiness of the people of Ireland, and for laying the foundations of a better feeling between Ireland and this country. Unfortunately, this topic, which to my regret has been opened, suggests to me many reflections. We introduced, as I have said, a Coercion Bill for the suspension of *habeas corpus*, and we also introduced a Remedial Bill—the amendment of the Land Law. Were these two Bills similarly treated? I remember the enthusiastic support given by hon. Gentlemen opposite to the Bill for the suspension of *habeas corpus*. I remember a pretty pointed and prolonged opposition, certainly not unattended with the most vehement denunciations, of the Bill for the reform of the Land Laws and in restraint of the power of the landlords. But, Sir, I will now leave this subject, which I am sorry has been introduced, and turn to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, in which he has said, with what I must admit to be excellent sense, a great deal upon the subject of special legislation. No doubt, special legislation is, in itself, an evil. It is a thing which every Government, either on accession to Office, or at any other time, ought to feel the desire to get itself rid of if it possibly can. The right hon. Gentleman has said, and said truly, that we do not, in this case, propose to get rid of special legislation. He says that he does not know of what we were to propose, and that he found no Bill prepared upon the subject. Well, I must say that I have known a great many changes of Government and transfers of important questions from the hands of one responsible Executive to the hands of another; but where those questions have been of a contentious character, I am not aware that I ever recollect the handing over of Bills which were in preparation, or which had been prepared, to the Successors in Office of the existing Government. I stated in this House that, in our opinion, there were certain provisions of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act which were valuable and equitable. I will not now enter in detail upon those provisions; I will only mention one by way of illustration, and that is the provision which may be described as the provision for prior inquisition. That provision is the law of Scotland at the present moment, and has been from time immemorial; and I believe I am correct in saying that, for England also, it was proposed by that very eminent lawyer, Sir John Holker, to insert that provision into the great measure which he prepared for reducing to order the mass of our Criminal Law. There is nothing very violent or special in such legislation as that. Without going into further detail, what I would say is this—the provisions of the Act fall into two classes. One of them consists of a set of clauses which, more or less, narrow personal liberty. The others are clauses which do not narrow personal liberty, which do not alter in substance the Criminal Law, but which may be described as rendering its procedure more certain and effectual. That was the distinction which we proposed to draw. On that ground I always protested against those who sought to put into my mouth—and I think the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is one of them—the avowal that we had intended to introduce a Coercion Bill. We believed that the remedial part of that Act was perfectly separate from the coercive part; and it was the remedial part of it which, under conditions I will not now describe, would have had a most important effect. That was what we had in view, and not the renewal in any shape of the coercive provisions of the law. But, however, we now have a Government bolder than we were, and a Government the Leader of which in this House does not scruple to avow that it is within his knowledge and belief that he will receive assistance in the government of Ireland from an important following, in consequence of the improved feeling that I suppose he

has reason to believe, although not known to us, exists—that he will receive assistance which we should not have received. I think, Sir, that is highly probable, and I shall not found on that probability any of the offensive imputations, any of the sweeping and outrageous charges and condemnations, which have at times been frequent in the mouths of others. The Government are responsible for the peace and order of Ireland, and, looking forward to the coming winter, they have made up their minds that they can be responsible for it without any special legislation whatever. It is obvious that, in saying that, they incur a great responsibility. There can be no doubt that, after all that has occurred since 1880, after the views they expressed in 1880 about the suffering of such legislation to drop, and after the experience of the great anti-rent conspiracy since 1880, they do incur a great responsibility; but, although they incur that responsibility, it is not our business to wish that they may fail in their bold undertaking. A bold undertaking it is; but they are the Ministers of the Crown, and it is their business as such not to plead Parliamentary difficulty—not to plead being in a minority—not to plead anything except their absolute duty; and if they conceive that with the present ordinary law properly administered they can protect life and property, I say that, whether I myself, with my Colleagues, might be as bold or not, whether we might have been able to reckon with the same assistance or not, I bid them God speed in their career. There is nothing which, at any time, I have more desired than to see Ireland free from special legislation in any form whatever. The Government are the proper judges, in the first instance, whether this can be prudently attempted. They say that it can. With all my heart I wish that they may prove to be in the right. I pass from that subject with one other observation. The question of special legislation for Ireland is a question of very great importance; but when we have got rid of special legislation in the sense of coercion or repression, or of the improvement of procedure, or anything else—when we have got rid of all special legislation, there comes the question what legislation Ireland requires, not merely negative but also positive in form; and for my own part I must say that, important as this question of special legislation is, it is not, according to my convictions, the main question for Ireland. The people of Ireland have not enjoyed local self-government in the same degree as England and Scotland—whose enjoyment of local self-government, I am bound to say, is, in my judgment, very imperfect and requires to be largely extended—the people of Ireland have not enjoyed even that limited measure of local self-government, and the application of local self-government in a complete sense and upon a large scale is, in my judgment, the primary want of Ireland, without which no mere cessation of repressive legislation can help the country far onward on the road towards political peace and happiness and union with this country. That, in my opinion, is the main question for Ireland, and here I am led to notice a subject with which the right hon. Gentleman dealt, and with regard to which I will endeavour to give him such limited assistance as is in my power. I mean the question of land purchase. The right hon. Gentleman is very desirous of dealing with that question; but he feels, and he justly feels, that his prospect of dealing with it in a legisilative sense during present Session depends upon his being able to keep it out of that category of contention which would be, at the present moment, to such a Bill political death. I may tell him that which appeared to us necessary on this subject, and it will enable him to judge how far—in relation, at least, to us—he may be able to keep his Bill from assuming a contentious character. It appeared to us that, as regarded the clause which related to land purchase and its just extension to a state of efficiency, there was no great difficulty in the way; but when we came to consider the financial questions connected with the wide operation of a Land Purchase Bill, the dangers which would arise out of any plan which goes to make the State upon a large scale the immediate or virtual creditor of the people of Ireland became apparent, and the greatest difficulties arose. In my own opinion, and I think also in that of my Colleagues, to a large extent the ultimate solution of the difficulties of the situation is to be found in the question of

good and adequate local institutions. Consequently, the plan which we contemplated was this—we contemplated clauses which, as far as the terms of the transactions are concerned, might have been permanent in their operations; but we intended to ask Parliament to provide a sum of money adequate only to carry the Bill into operation for its first year, so as not to raise any large political question in connection with the creditorship of the Imperial Exchequer in our relations with the people of Ireland. We should have done that, believing that this question of local institutions for Ireland is the great and immediate necessity of Irish legislation, and believing that the next Session of Parliament cannot fail, humanly speaking, to afford a proper and even necessary opportunity of dealing with that subject, as it would afford the only solution of the financial difficulties of the case. Our object would have been to place Parliament in a position to resume, with a free hand, the consideration of the case in the view of such institutions as it might propose for Ireland, and thereby to bring about what would be an extensive operation of the Land Purchase Clauses in Ireland, and, at the same time, to provide against the very serious danger which any needless tampering with that question as regards the Imperial Exchequer might involve. We should have left it to the next Parliament to consider how far the local institutions might be made available for providing security in connection with the pecuniary supply which it would be requisite to propose. The right hon. Gentleman will now be able to judge whether we can march together or not in the endeavour to deal with this question; and I must say I would not have gone so far—I would not have given this explanation—had I believed that I was proposing anything from which it would be incumbent upon the right hon. Gentleman to dissent. The right hon. Gentleman has mentioned various other Bills, and upon these I can touch very shortly indeed. The right hon. Gentleman has also spoken of the Intermediate Education (Wales) Bill; and, upon the whole, I must in fairness accept the plea he has made. I do not believe, though I greatly regret it, that the Government can be expected, under the circumstances, to go forward with that Bill at the present moment. He has also spoken of the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill, and upon that I must say one word. He says it is a contentious Bill. Well, I do not know to what extent that is true. It is true there are those who would wish to go further; but I never heard that there were any who intended to oppose the late Government in going so far, or that they intended to reject the plan that we offered. On the other hand, I believe there are those who sit on the right hon. Gentleman's side of the House who have well considered this subject, and who, either being wholly, or to a very great extent, cognizant of the facts of the case, are disposed to accept the provisions of that Bill. But the Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill was not, on our part, a piece of amateur, or even mere volunteer, legislation. We took up the subject as a question of grave public urgency for the peace of the country; and the question arises whether this Bill be even in some respects contentious — although I am inclined to hope it may not be so; whether it be or be not urgent, we thought it was urgent, and it was represented so to us from every portion of the House when the subject was debated. There was not a single voice raised in any other sense. In my opinion, this question clearly comes under the same category as the question of replacing the Prevention of Crimes (Ireland) Act It was for the maintenance of the peace of the country that my right hon. Friends near me (Sir William Harcourt) and the late Lord Advocate devised this measure for the consideration of the late Government. The right hon. Gentleman will therefore forgive me for saying it is his duty to take into consideration whether he is prepared to be responsible for the peace of these districts, and for the regular working of the social machine without legislation in regard to the subject of the crofters. The right hon. Gentleman does not incur here a responsibility of the same kind as that he incurs in respect of the Prevention of Crime Act in Ireland. For without the provisions of the Act, if, in that case, it be found that public order is not compromised, and that the recovery of civil rights remains effectually secured, then the right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, will stand justified; but I am not so sure that he

will stand justified in refraining from prosecuting a piece of remedial legislation, if it should unhappily prove that something is required to improve the condition of these crofters, not only on the general merits of the case, but even in order to maintain the primary conditions of peace and order in the land. I urge this the more because, in the case of the Irish Bill, the question was one of dropping a repressive measure. I certainly am desirous, as far as I can, without assuming undue responsibility, to give all the encouragement I can to the Government in dropping any repressive measure whatever; but this is a question of dropping a remedial measure, not only as urgent as the Irish legislation in the views of some might be, but beneficial in an eminent degree to the holders, the cultivators of the soil, and, therefore, having the very highest claims upon the consideration of the Government, even under present circumstances. I must, therefore, upon this one subject, reserve some discretion, I hope, to my Friends and myself. I hope we shall be allowed to consider this matter further; and I even hope that it will be considered further by Her Majesty's Government; and, if the necessity should arise, we should not scruple to ask for some opportunity of stating our views to the House. Undoubtedly we have always stood to this proposition—that not only was the measure we proposed a beneficial measure, but it was one eminently of an urgent character in the highest sense, in reference to the primary duty of the Government as to the maintenance of peace and order. On the other subjects I can speak with great satisfaction. The right hon. Gentleman has made two exceptions—the Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill—in a spirit as liberal as I could possibly have expected. There is just one other point, and one only, on which I find it necessary to say a word. It is not a Bill, but a Resolution. There now stands on the Notice Paper of this House a Resolution, I think, for this day week, relating to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. This Motion which we are now going to carry will displace the Resolution, and I am not going to ask for an exception on behalf of it. It is an abstract Resolution. It could not be acted upon in the present Session, and it would be unreasonable, I think, to ask the right hon. Gentleman that he should waive the application of his Motion on account of the Resolution being on the Paper. But there is another side to the case, which I think he will admit it is quite equitable to approach. There is, at the present moment, an intermediate provisional state of things adopted by the late Government upon grounds which we felt to be sufficient and intelligible—that is, the established state of things now—and if the right hon. Gentleman says, as I think he will probably say, or the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) may say, that he cannot legislate upon this subject, that he must refer it to the consideration of Parliament in another Session, I conclude it would be a fair request to make to ask for an assurance that no substantial change—I do not speak of changes of detail—will be made in the state of things now provisionally established, which amounts in the main, and for most purposes, to a complete suspension of the operation of those Acts. That point I wish to press, and I think the suggestion I make is a fair one. Well, Sir, I have been obliged to detain the House for a considerable time; but I hope the explanation I have made will not be thought to have been made in a narrow and grudging spirit. I wish to fulfil literally the declarations made outside—that every reasonable assistance shall be given, so far as we are concerned, to Her Majesty's present Government in their efforts rapidly to wind up the Business of the Session, to discharge them from all unnecessary subjects, and, above all—and here I give a special promise for myself—to discharge them from all unnecessary speeches and debates. To that great end, either by persuasion, or, what is more important, by good example, I shall give my assistance. I now sit down, and, trusting them in matters wherein Her Majesty's Government are going to act upon the principle of trust in the people and are going to maintain the undoubted interests of the Empire in a calm and wise, but at the same time perfectly firm spirit, I heartily wish them success in their endeavours.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): I think the House and the Government

and my right hon. Friend will be of opinion that, after the valuable and exhaustive remarks of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, it would not be at all consistent with the high position which he occupies in the House if those remarks were not immediately acknowledged and commented upon respectfully by some Member of the present Administration. I am sure I am only speaking the sentiments of those who sit near me when I venture to thank the right hon. Gentleman for the considerate, and, indeed, I may say magnanimous, treatment which he has given to the proposal of my right hon. Friend. I will only say that, as far as the right hon. Gentleman was concerned, not one of us ever expected anything else; and although, owing to certain events which immediately followed the fall of the late Government, Lord Salisbury, with the full assent and approval of all his Colleagues, found it necessary to ask for some kind of guarantee against unnecessary disturbance, in the attitude which the right hon. Gentleman assumed in the negotiations which then took place, I do not think that any one of us was inclined for a moment to assert that his attitude was not perfectly Constitutional, and one which might not serve as a valuable precedent when the Government of this country changes for the future. Perhaps the House will allow me to make one or two brief remarks upon the observations which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman. With regard to what fell from him as to the Frontier of Afghanistan, I understood the right hon. Gentleman to suggest some doubt as to the absolute and literal accuracy of the statement made in the House of Lords on Monday by Lord Salisbury—that the British Government had promised the Ameer security for the possession of the Pass of Zulfikar. Well, Sir, having seen all the transactions that have taken place, and having seen also the subsequent telegrams from the Viceroy of India, I am of opinion that that statement was literally and accurately true, and that the Ameer of Afghanistan placed himself entirely in our hands—that he offered to accept any Frontier which we might think advisable for his interests and security provided that we secured to him three places, one of which was the complete possession of the Pass of Zulfikar. And I can also say that Lord Dufferin considers himself absolutely bound to the Ameer on that point, and that, in so considering himself bound, he also considers that he has acted with the entire support, knowledge, and approval of the late Government. But, Sir, I wish particularly to acknowledge with much gratitude the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman confirming Lord Salisbury's statement that the Russian Government are under a promise to concede the Pass of Zulfikar to the Ameer. Such a declaration from the right hon. Gentleman cannot fail to have the most marked effect upon the negotiations which are now going on. I know no reason why those negotiations should not terminate in a manner satisfactory to the country; but they will, at any rate, have this advantage—that they will be supported by a practically united House of Commons. Of course, the right hon. Gentleman will understand that none of the Members of the Government think it necessary to withdraw in any way from the criticisms which they felt it their duty to make on the negotiations as conducted by the late Government up to the time they left Office. We certainly apprehend the nature and the drawbacks of the inheritance which we have received from the late Government in that part of the world. We shall try to the utmost of our power to bring it to as satisfactory a conclusion as is possible; and in this work undoubtedly the support of the right hon. Gentleman, which he has stated he is prepared to give us under certain circumstances, is literally invaluable. I am sure that the earnest words which fell from him with regard to the immense value of the security of our Indian Frontier will bring that fact home far more to the minds of the people of this country than anything that Her Majesty's present Ministers could say, and will do much to tranquillize the apprehensions and to rejoice the minds of our fellow-subjects in India. With regard to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman on the subject of Egypt, I do not propose to make more than a very brief remark. We took note of the words of wisdom which fell from the right hon. Gentleman; but one reason why I do not wish, on this occasion, to go into the question of

Egypt is because I do not wish in any way to be the cause of any contention, and of course that remark would specially apply to anything that may be said about the Soudan. The right hon. Gentleman said he did not believe there was any intention on our part to come into sharp conflict with the views of the late Government with respect to their late Soudan policy. I do not wish that remark to pass without comment, because it might be taken that the present Government approved the evacuation of the Province of Dongola. That is going a great deal too far. It is not necessary to say positively whether we approve or disapprove of the evacuation; but this we may say—that it entails upon Egypt the loss of a fertile territory to which Egypt was undoubtedly entitled; that it reduces that fertile territory to a state of utter uncultivation; that almost the entire cultivating population is withdrawing northward with our army, and that which for many years has been a smiling and prosperous land is now totally devastated. I should be sorry if anyone were to think that the present Government approve of the evacuation of Dongola, especially when it is borne in mind that such evacuation was carried out in the teeth of the most remarkable opposition—in the teeth of the advice of Lord Wolseley, Sir Evelyn Baring, General Buller, and Nubar Pasha; and, that being so, I merely wish to guard the present Government from any responsibility for the evacuation of Dongola. No departure from the policy of the late Government, however, is possible, for when we came into Office the decision to evacuate Dongola had been carried out too far for us to alter it. Turning now to the question of Ireland, I was surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman charge my right hon. Friend with having made controversial remarks on this subject. I am sure my right hon. Friend would never have thought of making any observations in regard to Ireland of a controversial character if it had not been for the rather mocking interruption which greeted him when making a very serious and deliberate declaration of the policy of the Government in regard to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman declared that when the Tory Party introduced coercion they trusted to it alone, and that when the Liberal Party introduced coercion it was always accompanied by a remedial measure. Well, supposing the Tory Party did so, which I do not admit, who was the Member of the Tory Party who in 1833 objected when the Church Temporalities Bill was introduced? Might I respectfully ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, in those dawning days of a career which has proved so illustrious, he set a bright example to the Tory Party?

MR. GLADSTONE: I was then 23 years of age, and I admit I did not.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: Whatever the age of the right hon. Gentleman may have been, I am sure that so remarkable is his genius now that it would not be extraordinary if at the age of 23 he had been able to set an example to the Tory Party. I desire to point out the difference between the position of Ireland in 1880, when the late Government decided to do without extraordinary powers, and the position of Ireland now. Lord Beaconsfield's letter has been the object of many a bitter sarcasm from hon. Gentlemen opposite; but, at the time it was written, Ireland was suffering from one of the severest famines that ever visited the country, and the people were tortured by starvation and want. Have you ever heard of any country suffering under calamities so widespread and grievous where you have not had a rapid increase of crime? Not only was there at the time a severe famine, but crime was actually increasing—and increasing largely; and it was under these circumstances that the late Government determined to rely on the ordinary law. What are the circumstances now? Since 1883 crime in Ireland has been steadily diminishing. There is no famine in any part of Ireland, and I am not aware that there is any abnormal distress. These are the very different circumstances, the essentially normal circumstances, under which the Tory Party consider it to be their absolute duty to endeavour, at any rate, to govern Ireland by the ordinary law. The right hon. Gentleman found fault with my right hon. Friend for having described the Land Act of 1870 as "abortive." But, having regard to the fact that the utmost the right hon. Gentleman could say for the Act of 1870 was that it had continued in opera-

tion for seven years, I do not consider that the epithet was uncalled for. If I wanted to excite controversial feelings, I might refer to the bitterness with which the late Government and their supporters evidently regard the action of the Tory Party in resolving to attempt to govern Ireland without coercion. I might boldly say that I believe that if Lord Spencer had been given 50 Coercion Acts he could not have governed Ireland successfully or peacefully for any length of time. I do not make that statement, but it is one which I might have made. I want to show my extraordinary moderation in refraining from making any Party attack. I desire to enter my *caveat* against the doctrine laid down by the right hon. Gentleman that the right of holding special previous inquiries before the arrest of a prisoner should be incorporated into the general law of the Kingdom.

MR. GLADSTONE: I mentioned it as the suggestion of a high authority. I am myself no authority upon this matter.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: Well, I would certainly protest against any such provision. The right hon. Gentleman commented on my right hon. Friend's statement that he thought he saw certain indications in the state of Ireland which showed that the change of Government was not altogether unacceptable to the general population of that country. The right hon. Gentleman almost insinuated that that was due to some specific understanding or agreement with certain special parties in this House. For all I know, indeed I may say I do know, that statement refers to nothing more than to certain incidents which have recently taken place in Ireland—the terror of the Irish Press; but, more than that, to a remarkable incident which took place only the other day when Lord Carnarvon, after having been sworn in as Viceroy, rode to the Viceregal Lodge, and on the following day rode to the Westland Row Station in a manner totally unprecedented for four years in Ireland. During four years no Viceroy in Ireland had been able to move about without an escort. On this occasion dragoons and mounted police were conspicuous by their absence, and their absence did not seem to excite any displeasure among the Irish people. I hope in the policy we have decided to pursue we shall receive the support and assistance of the Irish people. We know perfectly well what we have undertaken to do; it has been perhaps one of the most deliberate and carefully considered decisions any Government ever came to. We know well that it is our duty to protect life and property, not only in Ireland, but all over the United Kingdom. I again thank the right hon. Gentleman for the support he so generously promises, and for the good wishes he evidently desires to bestow upon us in our efforts; but if we fail, you may depend upon it we shall plead no excuse either as regards Parliamentary circumstances at the present moment, or as regards the fact that we are in a minority. We have come to this conclusion, to endeavour to govern Ireland by the ordinary law, because we believe it to be a Constitutional doctrine that special legislation must not be applied except in times of great emergency. We believe it was the duty of the Tory Party to adhere to that Constitutional doctrine. We believe that, taking all the circumstances of Ireland together at the present time, weighing the one against the other, the times are not exceptional; and, that being so, we decided for good or evil to abide by the ordinary law of the country. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the Land Purchase Bill. His remarks on that subject will be most carefully considered, not only on account of their merit, but also on account of the quarter whence they come. If by any chance the Government can see an opportunity of making legislative proposals which secure the support of the right hon. Gentleman, and which are especially agreeable to the Representatives of Ireland in the direction indicated, we shall most eagerly avail ourselves of it. With regard to the Crofters' Bill I have only one remark to make. I wish to point out to the right hon. Gentleman for his consideration whether the Crofters' Bill is not eminently a question for the new Parliament. I suppose any Government legislation on the Crofters' Question at this time could not be final. Can you by any possibility attain finality on the question when the crofters themselves are not directly represented in this House? It is more than probable that

in the new Parliament the crofters will be strongly represented, and any proposals on this subject will be discussed by their Representatives and decided upon by them; and it is, therefore, clear that more of finality would surround such legislation than any attempt to deal with the question now. With reference to the Contagious Diseases Acts and the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), I imagine that no public object of any importance can be secured by setting aside a day for the discussion of the subject. The opinion of this Parliament on the question is known. It has been ascertained three or four times, and the question was one eminently fitted to be relegated to the consideration of a new Parliament. But I am authorized by the Secretary of State for War and by the First Lord of the Admiralty to say that there is no intention on the part of the present Government to interfere in any way with the provisional arrangements of the late Government, though we were no parties to those arrangements. I thank the House very much for the great indulgence it has extended to me on this, the first occasion I have addressed it from this position. In conclusion, I would say that I believe the policy of the Government as regards domestic legislation is to clear up and get out of the way of the new Parliament certain arrears of legislation upon which no great controversy arises, the settlement of which may confer great social and political boons upon the people of the country, and to reduce the great number of subjects which will have to be dealt with by the new Parliament. Their policy in foreign affairs will be, as far as they may and as far as they can, a policy animated by one object only, that they may by a firm, vigorous, intelligent, and consistent policy so extricate our country from the numerous foreign difficulties, anxieties, and complications which now beset us, as to bring about a state of foreign order and freedom from foreign alarms that the new Parliament from which we, as well as those on the opposite side of the House, hope great things for England, may be able to concentrate its attention on the political and social future of our people unembarrassed, unimpeded by any foreign danger.

MR. STANSFELD said, he concurred in the claim which the Leader of the House had made in general terms with respect to the general Business of the House. He thought it was their duty towards the present Government to support them in the application which had been made for the time of the House. He thought it was for the public interest that the affairs of this Parliament should be brought to a conclusion without any unnecessary delay; but he wished to call the attention of the Government to his position with regard to the question of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and to its position in the House itself. He had a Notice referring to the question standing on the Paper for that day week. The agitation to which he had been a party, and which had been conducted with immense sacrifice of time and labour on the part of numerous men and women, had now lasted for 18 years. A Resolution had been carried by a large majority in the House practically condemning those Acts. Two-and-a-quarter years had elapsed since then, and no endeavour had been made by any hon. Member to procure the reversal of the Resolution. The late Government took the strong measure of suspending, to a great extent, the operation of the Acts in deference to the decision of the House of Commons. It could not be justified except on the grounds of the impossibility of legislating on the question during that time; and this was the ground taken by the late Prime Minister and his Colleagues. But the consequences of the action of the late Government had been, so far as he was concerned, to leave the Acts on the Statute Book for the present Government, when it chose to do so, to re-enforce them. In the circumstances he felt he should be within his right if he endeavoured to ascertain the point of view of the Government before they were all dismissed to a General Election. It was true that the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India concluded his speech with an expression of opinion; but that expression of opinion was unsatisfactory to himself, and also, he believed, to the bulk of hon. Members on that side of the House. The noble Lord told them that Her Majesty's present Advisers would not upset or interfere with the determination of the late Government to suspend to a large ex-

tent the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts; but he added that the present Government must not be held to approve that course. That was a statement with which he could not be satisfied; and he trusted, therefore, that someone sitting on the Treasury Bench would be able to inform the House that the present Government frankly accepted the conclusion arrived at by the late Government in reference to suspending the operation of the Acts.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. W. H. SMITH) said, he thought he should have no difficulty in satisfying the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Stansfeld) on the points to which he had drawn attention. The right hon. Gentleman had said that in deference to a Vote passed by the House in 1883 the late Government virtually suspended the action of the Acts of Parliament, and that that was a course much stronger than the introduction of a Bill to repeal those Acts. He entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman. It was a strong exercise of power on the part of the Government to suspend the operations of Acts of Parliament simply in deference to a Resolution passed by one House in circumstances of considerable emotion. The present Government must not be held to approve of the course adopted by the late Government; but he had no hesitation in giving an assurance that the course pursued during the present Session by the late Government would not be altered by the present Government. The late Government had not thought it their duty to follow the procedure of last year, and had, in making their arrangements, omitted any provision for enforcing the Acts to which objection was taken, and it was certainly not the intention of the present Government to give life and vitality to those Acts. The right hon. Gentleman would understand, however, that while the present Government respected the *status quo* in which they found themselves they could not say what legislation might become necessary in the next Session of Parliament.

MR. MACFARLANE said, that he had never considered the Crofters' Bill which had been introduced as one entitled to be regarded as a final settlement of that question. He himself had put down an Amendment on the subject; but his right hon. Friend was mistaken in supposing that he did so in opposition to the Bill. His object was to improve the Bill, and not to destroy it—[*a laugh*]—and he could assure the right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench who had laughed at that statement that on the night on the second reading of the Crofters' Bill was to have been taken he had received an assurance that if he altered one word of his Amendment he would have received the whole support of the Conservative Party. He therefore regretted the decision of the present Government not to proceed with the Bill; for though he had not regarded the Bill as a very valuable one, he did look at it in this light—that if the present Government had brought it in as a skeleton Bill the Liberal Party in the House would have clothed it in Committee with flesh and blood, and made it a valuable measure. He was now going to make a practical proposal, for he looked upon the Crofters' Bill as lost. He believed that when the reformed House of Commons came back there would not be two or three Members representing crofter districts, but that nine-tenths of the whole representation of Scotland would be pledged on the question; for it was one which had been recognized as affecting the interests of towns quite as much as the country. Therefore it was that he did not deplore very grievously the loss of this Bill. He should say that the result of the unbiassed consideration by the people of the late Bill had been its rejection by them. There was in the Order Book a Bill, consisting of six lines, introduced by himself, for the purpose of suspending evictions in Scotland pending the settlement of this question. The Prime Minister had denied that the urgency of this Bill was a matter which affected the peace of the country; but experience had clearly shown that the sooner this question was settled the better, and that, in the meantime, the only way by which the peace of mind of the people could be assured was by suspending the power of eviction. It had been stated that the landlords did not want to evict. Well, if so, the suspension of this power could do them no harm, while it would reassure the minds of the people, for he could assure the right hon. Gentleman there was a great deal of alarm on that point, and the public opinion was so

acute on the subject that if there should be anything in the shape of public eviction there would be an outbreak of the public. Such would certainly be the case if the landlords exercised to any extent the power of eviction which the present state of the law gave them. Therefore, he would appeal to the Government to have this small Bill of six lines passed into law during the present Session, and he would guarantee that they would have peace and quiet, and rest, and law and order throughout the Highlands.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE desired to say a few words on the subject of the Telegraph Bill. From what had fallen from the noble Lord that evening he had gathered that it was the intention of the Government to drop that measure. The announcement that the Government did intend to drop that measure would cause surprise and regret throughout the country. For many months past the expectation had been held out that a considerable change would be effected in the telegraph rate during the late autumn; and he desired to bring under the attention of the Government the financial effects of dropping that measure. He could not help thinking that the Government had not sufficiently considered the fact that £500,000 had been spent upon new plant which would be necessary in case the cost of telegrams was lowered from 1*s.* to 6*d.* Moreover, a very large staff had been taken on at the Post Office with a view of introducing the new tariff during the coming autumn. Twelve hundred persons had been taken into the service of the Post Office within the last few months in view of the reduction of the tariff and the increased work which that would throw on the Department, and their salaries would amount to £61,000 per annum. Those persons, who were now learning their business, could not be utilized in any other way in the Post Office; and as they could not be dismissed the money expended upon their salaries would be altogether thrown away. The noble Lord had given two reasons for abandoning the Bill. In the first place he had misdescribed the Bill, because he had said it was a Bill for charging the addresses. That was a misdescription of the measure, which was a Bill for altering the tariff and for enabling a short telegram to be sent for 6*d.* instead of for 1*s.* In order to confer this very great boon of 6*d.* telegrams upon the public it had been found necessary not to allow the addresses to be free. If free addresses were allowed it would involve a very great loss to the Revenue, which, taken together with the reduction of price, would amount to some £200,000 per annum. Among the other reasons which the noble Lord had given for abandoning the proposals contained in the Bill was that he had received information from the Department that if the change was carried out in the manner proposed by the Bill the increase of business which would result from it would occasion an expense of an additional £1,000,000 to the country in the course of the next three or four years. For his own part, he thought there must be a misunderstanding on this point, as he had received no information from the Department to that effect. He was under the full impression, in consequence of the information which he had received from the Department, that the £500,000, which had been asked for during the current year would amply suffice for purchasing the plant rendered necessary by the anticipated increase of business which would be caused by the reduction of the tariff. It had been calculated that that increase of business would amount to about 30 per cent on the present business; and he believed that the new plant which had been provided would be amply sufficient to meet that increase in the amount of business. Should there, however, be in successive years a still greater increase of business than that now anticipated, there would also be a corresponding increase in the profits of the Department, which would amply suffice to meet any additional charge for plant that might be rendered necessary by the increased business. If the Bill were to be now dropped all the expenditure which had already been incurred during the present year would be lost to the country. He suggested that the noble Lord should proceed with the Bill, and introduce in Committee any alternative tariff which he might desire to propose; but he must say that he did not believe that within the financial limits which would be sanctioned by the Treasury the noble Lord could propose any other tariff than that set forth in the Bill. Should, however, the noble

Lord think fit to propose any alternative tariff he could promise him that it should receive his most favourable consideration. He was satisfied that there was a general desire on the part of the House that the Bill should become law, and that the reduction in the tariff to 6*d.* should be made as soon as possible. He thought it would be desirable that the Government should give one day to discuss this Bill in Committee. He rather thought, however, that now the noble Lord was responsible for the Department, and had an opportunity of discussing the matter with the very able officers at its head, he had discovered that it would be impossible to comply with the rule that the Telegraphic Department should be a paying one and at the same time to propose any alternative tariff. There was only one other argument—namely, that in the General Election it would be a great boon if this reduced tariff should be brought into effect. There would then be a good opportunity of testing it, and he believed the system would be enormously availed of.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Lord JOHN MANNERS) said, that he wished to remove an erroneous impression from the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. He had no intention whatever of removing the Bill from the Orders. He proposed to let it remain on the Orders, so that the right hon. Gentleman could bring it forward if he could get an opportunity, and then the Government would state their views.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked would the noble Lord give him an opportunity of proceeding with the Bill ?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL said, upon that point he must consult his Colleagues ; but as he had no wish that the Bill should be withdrawn, he should do all he could to give the right hon. Gentleman the opportunity he desired. He recognized the value of the suggestion that if he, in the short time now at their disposal, could not succeed in preparing a scheme that would be satisfactory to himself and the Treasury, they should then fall back on the tariff suggested by his right hon. Friend, and see whether that could not be adopted. But it had taken the late Government two years to prepare their tariff, now under discussion, and it was hardly to be expected that in about as many days he should be able to prepare an alternative one. He reminded hon. Members that he took objection formerly, not to the tariff, but to the abolition of free addresses. He had said that whatever was suggested the addresses should be free. He was still of that opinion, and that the abrogation of free addresses would be a very serious loss and inconvenient. The right hon. Gentleman had again spoken of the introduction of 6*d.* telegrams. But the Bill would do nothing of the kind. It would introduce an 8*d.*, a 9*d.*, or a 10*d.* telegram. No doubt that would be a very good and useful diminution ; but he protested against it being spoken of as a Sixpenny Telegram Bill. As to the outlay, the right hon. Gentleman was aware that it was not the practice in the Office to prepare Estimates for three or four years in advance. When he came to inquire into the question on the basis of the increased business which the right hon. Gentleman himself anticipated, he found that it was calculated that at the end of three or four years an outlay of about £1,000,000 for underground wires and other matter would have to be incurred. That was the statement he had before him, and it came upon him with great surprise ; but he never supposed or suggested that the right hon. Gentleman was in possession of those figures when he made his statement to the House. He thought it well, however, when the question arose as to proceeding with the Bill in the present Parliament to state the facts to the House.

DR. CAMERON desired to refer to one or two observations of the noble Lord the Postmaster General. The noble Lord had told them that he did not mean to remove the Telegraph Bill from the Order Book, but that he left it open to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) to take charge of it; although, at the same time, he would not afford him any facilities for doing so. Well, that was the precise course which the Government in "another place" had told them they intended to take with respect to the Secretary for Scotland Bill. Now, he should say that that was a very bad course. As to the Scotch Secretary Bill, he thought the House ought to be told specifically whether the Bill was to be pressed by the Government, or was to be given up when

they came forward to ask hon. Members to give up all their time to the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) explained that the hon. Member was under a mistake as to the statement of Lord Salisbury. When the Secretary for Scotland Bill reached the House of Commons the Government would take it up, and in the other House the Government would afford it every facility.

DR. CAMERON said, that was so far satisfactory. As to the Telegraph Bill, he thought the proposals of the noble Lord and the ground for abandoning it were not adequate. It did appear to him a very questionable policy to render useless an annual income of £75,000 for the purpose of avoiding a future possible expenditure of £1,000,000, which, however, would only be required in the event of our developing an enormous, but a paying, increase of business in that Department. As to the Secretary for Scotland Bill, it would have been very advantageous to the House had they been told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer what the Government proposed to do with that measure. There was no use shutting one's eyes to the fact that there were two opinions with regard to one point in it—namely, whether the Minister for Scotland should have charge of the system of primary education in Scotland or not. He (Dr. Cameron) was under the impression that the difficulty in the Cabinet as to making up their minds on the subject was one of the objects which had actuated them in leaving charge of the Bill in the House of Lords to Lord Rosebery. Now that the Government meant to take it up in the House of Commons themselves, he (Dr. Cameron) trusted they would tell the House whether they intended to deal with it in the manner it was supported by some of their (the Government's) Friends in that House and "elsewhere," or in the spirit advocated by others of their Party. Upon the information which the House should receive on this point would depend the fact whether the measure introduced by the Government would be regarded as of a contentious character or not. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was aware, no doubt, that there was considerable difference of opinion as to whether the Secretary for Scotland should be intrusted with the charge of primary education; but Lord Rosebery supported that view in the other House of Parliament and in Scotland. The Bill had been introduced by the late Government in various shapes, and they were driven to accept it in its present form in consequence of their inability to make progress with it when education was left out of it altogether. Considerably less difficulty would be felt if the Bill were adopted by the Government in its present shape, pure and simple, than if they attempted to cut and carve it, or excise from it a provision which was regarded by a large section of the people of Scotland as its most valuable one. As respected the Crofters' Bill, the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) had stated that he regarded it as necessary for the preservation of peace in Scotland. Well, some legislation on the subject he (Dr. Cameron) believed was necessary—absolutely necessary—for the preservation of the peace in the Highlands, unless they were to have constant recourse to military expeditions to that part of the country. But if anyone imagined that the Crofters' Bill introduced by the late Government would have been accepted as a final settlement of the question, the sooner such an idea was banished the better. He was not particularly sorry that the Bill should have been dropped, although if it had been persevered with he would have given it his hearty support. The fact of its having been dropped would create a terrible amount of indignation in the Highlands of Scotland, and would rouse that feeling to which expression had been already given in many places that the measure on the Table of the House was utterly inadequate for the purpose which it professed to accomplish, and that the next Parliament must deal with the matter in a much stronger fashion. He had no doubt that the effect would be to educate the candidates before the constituencies up to a robustness in dealing with land questions which was unknown to the present Parliament. Therefore he would say that his regret at the abandonment of this Bill was not altogether unmingled with hope for the future. The measure was a small one, and would have been chiefly valuable because it would place on the Statute Book a certain great and valuable principle. It was

gone, but at all events this remained of it—that the introduction of that principle on the Statute Book had been sanctioned by the great Liberal Party when in power, and that its introduction in a more practical, workable, and valuable form, and its being placed in the Statute Book in that form, could not, in his opinion, be much longer deferred. He trusted they might receive some further information and some assurance from the Government that should their Party remain in power after the next Election they would deal with the matter, and that in a spirit which would justify the words of a Member of the Government, that the Bill had been put aside not from any dislike of it, but from a desire to facilitate in some near time in the future the introduction of a Bill which would be really worthy of Parliament, and of the important question which it was designed to settle.

MR. BUCHANAN said, that it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of doing something to settle the Crofter Question—an importance which had been added to by the agitation in the Highlands, and by the Report of the Royal Commission. Now, as far as he could gather, the present Government objected to going on with the measure on the ground that there was no finality about the Bill, and also because it should be dealt with by the next Parliament, when the crofters would be represented by their own Members. He admitted that the Bill was not one that could be regarded as final. There was certainly one important point that was not dealt with in the Bill—namely, the demand of the crofters for an extension of their holdings. But if the matter were put off till the next Parliament, and if the present Government found themselves in the majority, would they then be prepared to bring in a Crofters' Bill that would be final in that sense, and would contain a provision with that object in view? He hoped the Government would reconsider the matter, and that they might be able to make arrangements to go on with the Crofters' Bill. He also wished to know what course the Government intended to take in regard to the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, which was now before a Select Committee of the House of Lords? He desired further to ask the Government whether they could state how they proposed to deal with the Scotch Universities Bill, a measure of very great importance? Certainly, many objections had been taken to the financial portion of that Bill, and there were also objections to other parts of the measure; but these might possibly be got over, and it would be very acceptable if the Government could see their way to forward that Bill with the necessary modifications and Amendments.

THE LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. DALRYMPLE) said, he must demur to the expression the hon. Member who had just sat down had used as to the abandonment of the Crofters' Bill by Her Majesty's Government. That was not a correct description of what had occurred. The question had been of the adoption of the Bill of the late Government; but there was no abandonment. For his own part, he wished it could have been possible for the Government to have seen its way to take up this Bill, and he was yet in hopes that they might see a Bill dealing with this question under the discussion of the House this Session, as the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the late Government had stated that he intended to push forward the subject. Before passing to the other subjects mentioned, he would refer to the speech made by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), who on this occasion posed as the friend of the Crofters' Bill. He (Mr. Dalrymple) held the hon. Member was chiefly responsible for the impression that the Crofters' Bill would be strongly opposed, not merely by the Amendment upon the Paper, but because of the tone he had adopted all through in reference to the subject, which appeared to indicate that he would oppose the measure on the ground that it did not go far enough. That being so, it would not do for the hon. Member to profess regret at the fate of the Bill, when the hon. Member, as much as any man in the House, had been responsible for the delay in reference to legislation. His hon. Friend (Mr. Buchanan) had referred to the Burgh Police Bill. He was very glad that his hon. Friend was so much interested in the progress of that Bill; but he recollected that he was not as favourable to it last Session as he seemed to be now. That Bill was now before a Select Committee of the House of Lords, which had thought right to

take evidence from some of the burghs interested. After that, the Bill, as he understood, would be turned out in some amended form; but whether it would be possible to proceed with it this Session or not he could not say. Although the Bill was of enormous proportions, he should be glad if it were possible to deal with it this Session, as there was much in it of extreme value to Scotland. He also believed that many of the objections raised to it last year had now been removed. A widespread interest, he knew, was also taken in the Scotch Universities Bill, and his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary would be extremely glad to have the opinion of the Scotch Members as to that measure; and if it was true, as he was inclined to believe, that the points of contention in regard to it had become few in number, he still entertained a hope that the Bill might pass this Session. That, however, would really depend on the attitude taken by the Scotch Members.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he felt bound to vindicate the hon. Member for Carlow from the charge of throwing obstacles in the way of proper legislation in regard to the Scotch Crofters. The hon. Member had taken immense pains and trouble on that question for years past, his exertions having done more than those of any other man to bring about the appointment of the Royal Commission which had inquired into the subject.

MR. WOODALL said, he must protest against the arrangement by which it was proposed to sacrifice the rights of private Members, especially in respect to the Wednesdays. He had had the good fortune to secure one of those days for bringing forward the subject of women's suffrage, which was no longer a Party question; and he appealed to the noble Lord the present Postmaster General, who had so consistently supported a measure for the removal of the disabilities of women householders, to assist him in obtaining an opportunity for the discussion of that important proposal. He hoped that before the close of the Session an opportunity would be afforded to the House of expressing its opinion on this important question. He admitted the force of what had been said by the Leader of the House, and that this subject was still one of a contentious character. If he could not secure next Wednesday week for a discussion, he trusted that another opportunity would be found.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That this House, not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House,"

said, that in no place were men more friendly and kindly disposed in giving up rights than in the House of Commons, and that disposition was shown by the attitude of the Liberal Party on this occasion. The late Prime Minister had said that it was not right to thwart the Government before they had done either good or evil. But he contended that it was an evil to be a Tory, and it was a great evil that a Tory Government should have the welfare of the country in their hands. Of course he had, to use a vulgar expression, brought on this question "on his own hook." No one had incited him to do so, and he did not know whether anybody was going to support him, or even second him; but he trusted that an independent Liberal, one who really was a Representative of the people, would do so. He knew from the cheers behind him that the Irish Members were not going to support him. It was said that he ought to have waited till he knew what the policy of the new Government was to be. But he knew their policy perfectly well. He had watched them for five years, and he had read almost all their speeches. Everybody ought to know what their policy was. He was sure that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would not be surprised that he was the person to bring forward this Motion, for what was it that stirred the arm of the right hon. Gentleman when he overthrew the late Government? It was the beer interest and the Radical teetotaler. Now, the right hon. Gentleman met the Radical teetotaler face to face. He thought the House of Commons stood in a very peculiar position politically, for, contrary to all established maxims, the minority were in power, and the majority were in Opposition. His hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) had last winter preached a crusade in favour of the representation of minorities; but nobody would say that it was desirable the minority should rule. It was proper that the majority should rule; and as

the majority were on the Liberal side of the House, he contended that the majority should be true to their Party and to their principles, and assume the Government of the country. He presumed the Tory Party were what they had always said they were. He had heard no Liberal speaker get up and say that it was the duty of Liberals to keep a Tory Administration in power; and therefore he had been obliged to look in the daily Press to see what the reasons were why a majority of Liberals were called upon to support a minority of Tories in power. He had not seen any arguments in favour of that proposition; but in *The Daily News* of that morning he saw a very strong argument against it. *The Daily News* said that the Tories had no moral right to be in power, and they scarcely had any technical right. If that were the case, surely he had the right to attack the Government. It was said the late Government had ridden for a fall. It certainly looked very like it. It was funny that one man should have caught a cold, that another should have lost the train, that a third should have got wet—outside, of course—and that a fourth did not know a division was going on. But there was no proof of actual collusion, though the removal of the late Government did remind him of the verdict which was once found by an intelligent Dorsetshire jury—"That the deceased died by the visitation of God under very suspicious circumstances." It was said the Tories came into Office because the Liberals were unable to form a Government. The recent negotiations between the late and the present Prime Minister showed that was not the reason. It would be much nearer the mark to say that the Tories took Office because they thought that if they did not the late Prime Minister might be prevailed upon to return. There were people who considered it only just that the Tories should stew in their own juice. That might be desirable, but he was afraid that they would stew somebody else. Other people contended that it was only fair the Tories should have a chance as well as the Liberals. That would be an excellent argument if politics were merely a game of cricket got up for the amusement of the public outside. But he took a more serious view of politics, of which, in his view, to use the words of Mr. Disraeli, the sole duty was to provide for the social welfare of the people. The two great curses of the country were fighting and drinking—fighting abroad and drinking at home. So far as he had read, the Tories would do little to counteract those tendencies; and, speaking politically and not personally, he feared that the Government would be a fighting and a drinking Administration. The country that had fighting abroad and drinking at home would never enjoy the blessings of prosperity. He hoped some independent Liberal would get up and explain why they ought to support the Government. He did not like the aspect of a case of harmony which the House presented at this time, and to his mind it indicated that there was something wrong. If the Tories had not changed their policy—and he did not think that they had in their hearts—then it was the duty of those who sat on the Opposition side of the House not to support them, but to oppose them, and to displace them at the earliest opportunity. There could be no appeal to the country until about the middle of November, and that was given as a reason why the Tory Government should not be disturbed. In his opinion, that was the very reason why they ought to disturb them, because after the House rose in August hon. Members would have no control whatever over the Government, who would be able to do anything they liked. Knowing what the last Tory Government did, he was not disposed to leave them to themselves for three months. He might be told that he could do no good by pursuing that kind of argument, because there was no Government to take the place of the present Tory Government. He knew nothing about that; but he was quite sure that if they could turn out the present Government, Providence would provide a new one somewhere or other, and it would probably be a much better one than the last Liberal Government. For the majority to keep a Party in power from whom it professed to differ was a most undesirable, and, he might almost say, an unusual state of things, and went far towards making representative institutions a farce. He would not further detain the House, but would conclude by moving the Amendment which stood in his name.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson

MR. HEALY : I rise to a point of Order. I wish to draw your attention, Sir, to the fact that on a former occasion, when a Motion was made by the late Government to take certain days, my hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Sheil) objected to particular days being taken; and the rule was then laid down by the Chair that on the Motion to take days no Motion after the word "That" could be proposed. My hon. Friend was therefore ruled to be out of Order. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) now proposes to move a Vote of Want of Confidence on the proposal of the Government to appropriate certain days; and I myself cannot see on this occasion any distinct difference between the Motion submitted now and the Motion of my hon. Friend, which on the occasion I have referred to was ruled to be out of Order. I wish to ask, therefore, whether, according to the ruling of the Chair in the case of my hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Sheil), who desired to exempt from the operation of the Resolution proposed by the late Government a Motion in reference to the Irish National Schoolmasters, the hon. Baronet is not out of Order in submitting the Amendment which he has just proposed?

MR. SPEAKER: Before I reply to the question of the hon. Member a preliminary question arises—namely, whether the Amendment of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) has a Seconder?

MR. LYULPH STANLEY seconded the Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER: The Amendment of the hon. Baronet is not on the face of it an Amendment which may be called a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government; but it indicates that in the opinion of the hon. Baronet the Government are not such as he can trust with the distribution of the Business of the House in the way they propose so far as the interests of private Members are concerned. There is nothing on the face of the Amendment, so far as I can see, which raises any difficulty, or anything to warrant me in debarring the hon. Baronet from moving it.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he wished to express his acknowledgments to the right hon. Baronet the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the position he had taken up with regard to the Medical Relief Bill. He also shared the feelings of the Radical section of the House in regard to statements made by the right hon. Baronet as to other questions. Two sections of the House must have had their feelings somewhat mixed during the delivery of the right hon. Baronet's speech. He referred to the old Conservative section and the old Whig Party. He fancied that these sections hardly knew where they were, or whether they existed at all, when listening to the right hon. Baronet; and they must have been very much astonished, he would not say at the Radical state of things, but at the most revolutionary state of things which existed on the Treasury Bench. The Radical section of the House had cause for great thankfulness that the present occupants of the Ministerial Bench had cleared away very many of the difficulties which afflicted Members on the Opposition side of the House; and when the Liberal Government did come back to Office, it must be with a Radical policy, or not at all. He was a long way from being downcast at the existing state of things, because the Liberal Government would be able to come back with a clean slate with regard to many matters which had embarrassed them. All things worked together for the good of those who held sound Radical principles, and would persevere in them. If the state of things which had lasted for the past three weeks would teach anything to future Liberal Governments, it was this—that they must inside the House, as they would, no doubt, outside the House during the next few months, trust to their own real supporters, and not be led away by the loud claims and the fancy and fictitious strength which the so-called Whig Party had advanced. He was quite sure that a Whig policy could not be possible in the future. He

had had a great deal of experience so far as the rural constituencies were concerned——

MR. SPEAKER: I must call the hon. Member to Order, and remind him that his remarks are not relevant to the subject of the Amendment.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he begged to apologize to Mr. Mayor. [*Laughter.*] He assured Mr. Speaker that in this mistake he did not intend to be disrespectful. He would only add that he simply rose to express his acknowledgments to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the manner in which he had dealt with the question of medical relief and other matters, and to say that, as far as the Radical section of the House was concerned, they were not at all dismayed by the course which events had taken.

MR. LEWIS said, he very much regretted that, in consequence of the observations which had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India, it was absolutely impossible to allow the discussion to close without saying something on behalf of persons who, like himself, felt strongly that neither Party in that House had done its duty to Ireland in respect of the Crimes Prevention Act. Whatever might have been the statement made by the late Government before going out of Office, or which had been made to-night by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), all must come to the conclusion that the renewal of the Crimes Act had been practically abandoned by the late Government. If they had had any real intention to renew the Act, it was idle to suppose that they would have played with the subject as they had done during the Session. So much for the late Government. But what was the announcement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that night on behalf of the present Government? Had he told the House that the Government had consulted, as they were bound to do, the leading authorities who were capable of giving them information and advice before they took upon themselves such a grave responsibility? Nothing of the kind. Neither from the statement made in that House that night, nor from the statement made "elsewhere," was it possible to come to the conclusion that, in this most serious matter, they were acting upon the advice of persons competent to give it. Was this a question on which the Government were entitled to act upon their abstract judgment, or was the possession of Office for the last week or 10 days, during which the Chief Secretary had made two journeys to Ireland, staying in Dublin for a few hours on each occasion, enough to convince them that they could do without the Crimes Act? Or were they making one of those "leaps in the dark" for which Conservative Ministries had been too famous in times past? What had been the one cry heard in the House and out of the House, on every platform of the United Kingdom during the last few years by the Conservative Leaders, but a condemnation by them, in the most extreme terms, of the late Government for their conduct in 1880 in relying upon the ordinary law for the preservation of life and property in Ireland? The result of that reliance, as admitted by the late Government, was a disastrous failure. And now the House was told by the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Ministerial Bench that the present Government had taken the same course advisedly. Surely the same result would follow from that fatuous proceeding as followed from the action of the late Government. They ought to have considered, before adopting such a course, the lives that might be sacrificed, the property that might be destroyed, for which there was no ransom and no recompense. In Ireland, within the last six weeks, there had been the dreadful murder of Cashman, near Millstreet, in the County Cork, and though the murder had been committed in broad daylight there had been no conviction for the crime. A week or so before *The Freeman's Journal* described a dastardly crime committed in the neighbourhood of Tullamore, when a party of men went to the house of a caretaker and fired revolvers at him. And so late as the 16th of June *The Times* contained an extreme case of Boycotting, and another attack by armed men near Killarney. What did the Chancellor of the Exchequer say when justifying the course of the Government? He said—"We object to such legislation unless we are assured that it is necessary for the protection of life and

property." That was an abstract proposition which they all understood; but the policy of the Government ought to depend, not upon abstract propositions, but upon the history and experience of the last few years. It should be remembered that there was a considerable responsibility on the present Government for acting regardless of the views of their Predecessors, as there was on the late Government for having done the same. It was true that they had not now the powerful letter of Lord Beaconsfield to the Duke of Marlborough; but they had the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, when Prime Minister, getting up in his place and telling the House that it was necessary to renew some of the valuable and equitable provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act. Could anyone doubt that that was a conclusion opposed to the wishes and the political prospects of the right hon. Gentleman, who would have been delighted if, as a responsible Minister, he could have informed the House, after an experience of five years in Ireland, that he had come to the conclusion that it would be safe, in the interests of law and order, to allow the Act to expire? Then the Chancellor of the Exchequer went on to say that the present Government relied upon the general feeling in Ireland, owing to the change of Government. Now, he had read, during the last month, many speeches of Irish Members; and he was bound to say that their maledictions and denunciations were most impartially applied to Whig and Tory alike, to the Government that was, and the Government that had been. Unless he was greatly mistaken, there was not the smallest ground for the assertion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that, because a Tory Government had come into power, there would be a greater disposition on the part of the disorderly classes in Ireland to respect life and property. The right hon. Gentleman would very soon find himself disabused. For a long time past the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) had openly expressed the opinion that it was for the interests of the Conservative Party that coercion should be thrown overboard, and that a good system of local government should be given to Ireland in order to win the affections of the Nationalists.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL): The hon. Gentleman says that I have expressed these opinions openly. Will he oblige by quoting the particular passage in which I have done so?

MR. LEWIS said, he did not bring passages with him; but if the noble Lord told them he had never said anything of the sort he would apologize and withdraw. But the noble Lord knew perfectly well that he openly, in and out of the House, had advocated opinions as to Irish affairs directly opposite to those held by the majority of the Conservative Party. If the present Government were to be maintained in power by the repetition, even on a small scale, of the Kilmainham Treaty, he thought the Conservatives of the country would have preferred that the Conservative Party should not have entered into power at all. What was the position of those who maintained that the Crimes Act should not be allowed to expire? They said that the perpetrators of the Phœnix Park murders and of other atrocious crimes would never have been discovered had the Act not given magistrates the power to hold inquiries without having the prisoners before them. It was only by the operation of the clause conferring that power, and of some other clauses of the Act, that the administration of justice was rendered possible after the time when witnesses refused to give evidence and juries would not convict. The clauses to which he referred were not coercive; they were clauses requisite for the due administration of justice. If the abstention of the Government from renewing these clauses resulted in a repetition of the deplorable events which took place after the accession of the late Government to Office, Her Majesty's present Advisers would not be able to plead as an excuse that there was no time in which to pass a Bill this Session. They would not be able to do so because they had shown no desire at all to submit the matter to the House. They surrendered this legislation, in fact, because they thought that there was no necessity for it, and that they could rely on the ordinary law. No one would be more pleased than himself if the view of the Government should turn out to be right. No one would wish the Government more fervently "God speed." The Government did not say they were

acting on the advice of those who were the permanent Irish officials, and who were best able to know the requirements of Ireland. On the contrary, it was a well-known fact that the advice of those officials was that the Prevention of Crime Act should be renewed. Supposing the Conservatives had still been in the cold shade of Opposition instead of occupying the distinguished Treasury Benches, and the late Government had proposed not to re-introduce a Crimes Bill or to renew the Crimes Act, what would have been said from the Front Conservative Bench? Why, the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) and his Colleagues would have been going from Dan to Beersheba condemning the conduct of the wicked Government of 1885. He represented an independent constituency, which desired that on all such subjects he should act free from mere Party views. He knew it was not a popular thing for a man to stand up when a new Ministry had come into power and stand aside from his own Party.

MR. HEALY: What have they refused you?

MR. LEWIS said, that those who knew him knew that he did not attempt to curry favour with any Party, and that what his constituents expected from him and received was the expression of honest opinion. Unfortunately, the small minority whom he represented had nothing to thank Her Majesty's Government for. He contended that, inasmuch as the late Prime Minister expressed the opinion, when sitting on the Front Treasury Bench, that it was necessary to renew the Crimes Act, the judgment of the House should have been sought on this important question. It was the duty of the Government to face any difficulty arising out of the situation, and to propose the necessary measures—it was all that they could do—for the protection of life and property in Ireland.

MR. LABOUCHERE remarked that misfortune made strange bedfellows. He certainly never thought that he should arrive at the same conclusion with the hon. Gentleman who spoke last; but he entirely agreed with him so far as to feel an entire want of confidence in Her Majesty's present Advisers. It was perfectly true they had arrived at that conclusion by different roads, for the hon. Gentleman opposite complained of the abandonment of the Crimes Act, while he himself considered that the only bright spot in the present juncture was that they had both the present and the late Government insisting that they hated, abominated, and abhorred the hateful incidents of a Coercion Bill. He was very much surprised at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, though he had observed that whenever a Ministry came into Office, the outgoing Ministry considered it a point of etiquette to praise and laud them as much as they could. He was surprised, too, when the right hon. Gentleman had said that the House had decided against his Government. The House never decided anything of the sort, though there was a sort of snap division. Some Gentlemen on that occasion had headaches, some missed their trains, and one said he was wet; but it was only by a mere accident that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian found himself in a minority. The right hon. Gentleman had said they ought to act in a conciliatory spirit, because they had consented to the arrangement which had placed hon. Gentlemen opposite in power. But he really was not aware that the House had ever had the chance of expressing its opinion on the subject. The hon Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had moved an Amendment which he considered an excellent one. He was a Radical, and believed it to be part of the duty of a Radical Member of the House to keep hon. Gentlemen opposite out of power when they were not in power, and to turn them out when they were in. Why should they have confidence in the present Government? The country had sent a Liberal majority to Parliament at the last Election because it had no confidence in the Gentlemen who formed the present Administration. They were in power for five or six years; but during that time they committed so many mistakes that they left the country in a pretty muddle. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] That was the opinion of the country at the last Election, or how was it that hon. Gentlemen opposite found themselves then in a minority? Why should that opinion of the country be reversed? Hon. Gentlemen opposite had never lost an opportunity of bringing forward Votes of

Want of Confidence in the late Ministry. What did they say of things abroad? They said a little while ago, when they heard that war was not going to break out with Russia, that it was terrible news; and the present Prime Minister spoke of Russia, a country with which this country ought to endeavour to live amicably, as either a bankrupt or a swindler. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, of course he spoke of it as a commercial illustration. How, then, was it possible to have confidence in these Gentlemen so far as foreign affairs were concerned? When the late Government proposed proper and legitimate taxes hon. Gentlemen opposite, without bringing forward any counter scheme, voted against those taxes. How, then, could they have confidence in their management of internal affairs? Let them look at the composition of the Cabinet. No doubt the individuals in it were able and wise; but no less than 13 Members of the Government were Peers, or the sons of Peers. Let it go out to the country that that was the outcome of their Tory Democracy—that a simple Committee of the aristocracy, representing a majority in the House of Lords and a minority in the House of Commons, were to be the Rulers and Governors of the country for goodness knew how many months. What had hon. Gentlemen done to inspire the House with confidence during the past crisis? The first thing they did was to quarrel among themselves, and the next episode was to attack their own Leader, and drive him into the House of Lords. They next demanded specific guarantees from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian as a condition of their taking Office. Those guarantees were not given, and yet these hon. Gentlemen were on the Treasury Bench. It was perfectly true that while Parliament was sitting the House could exercise some sort of control over the Government. The Liberal majority in the House were a Committee of Public Safety, and it was their business to see that the Government did not carry out their own political views, but those of the majority. But the proposal made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the Government should have facilities for finishing off the Session as soon as possible; but on occasions like the present the Members of the House ought to sacrifice their pleasures and sit there until November. For what might not take place during the four months between August and November? During that time the Ministers in power would be absolutely without control, and he would ask reasonable men whether they ought to leave such power in the hands of men in whom they had no confidence? He did not know if his hon. Friend intended to divide the House. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Certainly.] He was very glad to hear it, for he considered it to be their bounden duty either at once to turn the present Government out, or at least not to give them facilities to finish the Session, and to make the interregnum as short as they possibly could, and to remain in the House as a Committee of Public Safety, and keep a watch over hon. Gentlemen opposite.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that it was not his place to answer the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). Still, he must congratulate him on his very appropriate comparison of the Opposition to a Committee of Public Safety. He rose, however, to express a free and independent opinion on the Irish policy of the Government. No one who knew him would, he thought, accuse him of having attempted to conceal his opinion of the late Government for having allowed Ireland to lapse into the state of anarchy into which it fell. He had expressed his opinion pretty freely at many meetings which he had attended in England. He was one of those who was the first to congratulate the Government, when at last they had the courage to grasp the nettle boldly; but he was never one of those who believed that Ireland could be kept in order for ever by means of drastic measures of coercion alone, or that coercion would be permanently necessary to secure peace and order in that country. He did not think he had made a single speech during the whole of the time when the matter was under discussion in which he did not express his confidence in the noble qualities of his countrymen, and his belief that after the time of excitement had passed away, and the wave of agitation had ebbed, they would be found to be as peaceable and law-abiding as any people in the United Kingdom. Whether that time had now come was, of course, a matter of opinion. He had himself lived in one of the most disturbed districts in the

country. During the whole of the disturbed time he and his family lived there in peace with their neighbours; they did not run away, and they had not been interfered with. They stayed at home, and spent money among the people, and he was prepared to do the same when Her Majesty's Government dropped the Coercion Act and resolved to govern the country by the ordinary law, though if anyone was to suffer in consequence he was the most likely man. He would go back, however, with an undiminished sense of security and a greater sense of enjoyment than before. He did not believe the Irish people thought the worse of him, though he did not much care whether they did or not, for having had the courage to speak out against them and their leaders when the country was in a state bordering on civil war, and he did not believe they would think the worse of him when he said he thought they might be trusted without a Coercion Act. He believed that the people were weary of outrages—that the leaders who led them on to crime had mostly left the country, and that those who remained were mistrusted, and that the people would be glad of the opportunity of living in obedience to the laws of humanity, reason, and religion. There was no doubt an undercurrent of conspiracy; but the returns of crime did not show any necessity for a drastic measure of coercion. Therefore it was that he thought the present a favourable opportunity of offering them the right of living as people ought to be allowed to live in a free country. If it should, unfortunately, be proved that he was wrong the Government could still return to the Coercion Act. Force was only necessary as a remedy where there was disease; and he did not believe in continually drenching a man who was in perfectly good health because the doctor happened to be called in.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE): Sir, I hope I may be permitted to say a few words before the debate closes, and they will be only a few words; for although the debate has travelled over a great deal of ground it would be unbecoming in me to follow it closely. I think that for any man undertaking an Office as arduous as my own he could find no better tonic to brace his nerves than to listen to criticism such as I have heard from my hon. Friend behind me the Member for Derry (Mr. Lewis). He is, it seems, rather hard to please. He is satisfied with no Government—neither the past nor the present. He joins with myself and many others in dissatisfaction with the Irish policy of the late Government. At this hour I will not discuss that policy, except to say, as I have often said, that during the disastrous time which led to the Crimes Act which has been so much discussed to-night, I am of opinion, and many of my hon. Friends beside me are of opinion, that an efficient and energetic administration of the ordinary law might have prevented the necessity for that Act. With reference to the case as it now stands, my hon. Friend the Member for Derry has brought a serious charge against the present Government. He says that they propose to take the most serious step that any Executive could take without due consideration, or without having taken due steps to investigate the facts of the case. My hon. Friend has alluded to some journey of mine to Dublin and back, and has announced to the House of Commons that this is the hurried and scamping way in which a new Government just returned to power deals with vast and difficult problems. I am afraid he is not quite accurate as to the facts. Yesterday week I left London for Dublin, returning from Dublin on the Friday night following; and, so far from the facts urged by my hon. Friend having any semblance of truth, I am bound to tell him from the time I left England on the Monday till the time I returned on the Friday the one thing uppermost in my thoughts, and in which my investigations were steadily pursued, was the endeavour to find out the position of Ireland exactly in regard to the state of crime, and the necessity or otherwise of renewing the Crimes Act. My hon. Friend forgets that there is, at all events, a vast amount of information for any willing man with reference to the state of affairs in Ireland. I have been in daily and constant communication with a much respected Member of this House who has gone to "another place," the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in regard to this and other matters. I also received intelligence from some of the ablest men in Ireland in reference to these matters; and it was

after due consultation with them, and due investigation of the facts, that I, for one, came to the conclusion that it would be for the benefit of Ireland that the Crimes Act should not be renewed. My hon. Friend seems to think that we are not aware of the responsibility under which we find ourselves. I say most freely to the House that there is no man who feels the weight of responsibility more than I do. It is a great matter for any man to deal with; and with regard to Ireland, I feel that I have some special interest in the country, for it is now 30 years since I paid a visit to Ireland, and on all matters connected with Ireland I feel most strongly that if the great mass of the English people, and especially the middle classes of Englishmen, were more interested in Irish questions and took a deeper interest in the success and welfare of the country we should be able to deal with Ireland in a more practical, just, and successful manner. I do not intend to detain the House longer on this point; but there is one question referred to by the hon. Member for Derry to which I should like to allude. He compared the time when the late Government came into power in 1880 with the present time; but I contend that there is no strict comparison between 1880 and now as to the condition of Ireland. In 1880 there were, no doubt, signs of growing discontent and difficulties in Ireland. The letter of Lord Beaconsfield has been referred to; I pass it by; but I say that the state of affairs, so far as I have been able to learn them, during the past week or 10 days is entirely different from that time. Having taken the greatest pains to investigate the matter, I maintain that there is no parallel between the state of affairs now and the state of affairs in 1880. I will give a practical reason for not detaining the House longer. However anxious a man may be to fulfil the duties of the post which I have the honour to hold, he would show a want of common sense if he were to attempt to discuss the difficult and complex problems connected with the future government of Ireland. I yield to no man in this House in my honest desire and hope for a better future as to the condition of Ireland. So long as I hold this Office I shall consider it as of very little importance, almost as a drop in the ocean, what may happen to me or to my reputation, as to whether I am successful or not, compared with the vast and difficult problems to be solved as to the future condition and prosperity of that country.

SIR FARRER HERSCHELL remarked that he and his hon. Friends who sat on that side of the House had been much gratified to hear the speech which had just been delivered by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. It had long been insisted upon by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite that when the late Government took over the administration of Irish affairs, after it had been exercised for five or six years by the Government of the Earl of Beaconsfield, it was in such a condition that it was absolutely criminal for the new Government, as one of their first acts, in 1880, not to have brought in a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Since 1880 there had been five years of Office by a Liberal Government; and according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman opposite the condition of Ireland had been so completely changed, and was so different from what it was then, that it was now positively criminal for any Government to bring in a Coercion Bill. He wished to ask the House what could be more gratifying as a contrast between five years of Tory and five years of Liberal Government? What had been the cause of that difference? The Liberal Government had introduced, during the present Parliament, not only a Coercion Bill, but remedial measures, dealing with the improvement of land tenure in Ireland. The House had been told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that those measures were of no use for the pacification of Ireland. They were told that, although they might bring in the best Land Bill which it was possible to construct, Ireland would be as rebellious as ever, and would require repressive legislation just as much as before. Now, however, they had the confession of those who had succeeded the Liberal Government, when they came into the calm sense of responsibility, and examined into the real condition of Ireland, how mistaken they had been. How often had they heard from Members of the Conservative Party, and especially from the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, that coercion was absolutely necessary? And yet, now that a Conservative Government came to inquire into

the real condition of Ireland, they said it was not the Prevention of Crime Act which had pacified Ireland, and that no coercion was necessary for the pacification of Ireland, but that the legislative measures which had been passed by the late Government had produced such a change in the condition of the country that no repressive legislation was now necessary. That change of view could not fail to be most gratifying to those who had always been of opinion that the best remedy for Irish wrongs was remedial legislation to remove those wrongs and to redress existing evils. Liberal Members were confirmed in their views by what had taken place that evening. They had learned that their contention was successful, and that the result of their legislation had been to render a Coercion Bill unnecessary. He would remind the House, however, that whenever Liberals pointed out that the Land Act had produced a pacifying effect they were told that the pacification was due, not to the Land Act, but to the Prevention of Crime Act. Whenever they pointed to remedial legislation as the real source of improvement in Ireland, they were told first of all by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the correctness of that contention might be doubted, and then they were told that it was not the remedial legislation, but if the Prevention of Crime Act ceased to be in force for one moment they would find out their error, and that remedial legislation would be found to have been of no use at all. They now had a recantation of that view, and it was fully admitted that remedial legislation had been of much use after all. They welcomed hon. Members opposite as converts to the view that, after all, remedial legislation was the best means that could be devised for insuring the peace of Ireland.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS said, he felt bound to join issue with the hon. and learned Gentleman the late Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell) in his contention that coercive measures had had nothing to do with the pacification of Ireland. It must not be forgotten that upon the accession of the late Ministry to power they declared that the warning they had received from their Predecessors was futile and unnecessary, and they proceeded at once to allow the existing Acts which had hitherto been of great service in controlling affairs in Ireland to lapse. But what he wished to point out, and what he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken with so much force to recollect, was this—that in the Guildhall of the City of London the Lord Chancellor declared that law and order were to be observed, and that the Government, of which he was a Member, at once refused to enforce law and order by means of the ordinary law, in consequence of which the subsequent confusion in that country was brought about. He maintained that the late Government had been guilty of dereliction of duty in not enforcing the ordinary law, and in allowing a state of anarchy and chaos to be produced. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, who had been a legal functionary of the late Government—[*Cries of* "Withdraw!"]—contended that it was the remedial legislation, and not coercion, which had produced a satisfactory state of affairs in Ireland. He hoped the remedial legislaton would prove as effective as the hon. and learned Member seemed to anticipate; but it must not be forgotten that it was the Prevention of Crime Act which had brought about the existing state of quietude in Ireland. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but could they deny the fact? Was it not the fact that the quietude of Ireland at the present moment had been created by the measures of coercion which had been passed? He agreed in, and was prepared to accept from the Front Bench, the assurance that the worst thing which could be done for England and Ireland would be to re-enact the Coercion Bill. He had had occasion to speak many times on this question of Ireland, and hon. Members could not find a single instance in which he had not denounced that Coercion Bill. It was the most unjust and oppressive Bill ever enacted in that country. But what he maintained was that if the declaration of the Lord Chancellor on the part of the late Government had been carried out, the Common Law of Ireland would have been quite sufficient to maintain law and order. It must not be forgotten that at a time when Ireland was in a state of disorder the City of London stepped forward, and, with the assent and support of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), took

measures with regard to their own tenantry in the North of Ireland, which were so successful that it was declared that it was the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London who would in future govern Ireland, and thereupon the late Government took measures for sweeping them away altogether. The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite said it was the remedial legislation of the late Government that had brought about the pacification of Ireland. Now, what was the result of that legislation? He had had a long experience of Ireland, and it had often been said if they only got rid of the middleman Ireland would be happy. The middleman had, indeed, been got rid of; but he had been recreated in another form by the granting of leases for an indefinite term of years, and they would find the middleman stronger than ever. That was a question which had yet to be considered. He unquestionably agreed, however, with the suggestion of the Front Bench, that the Prevention of Crime Act should not be re-enacted. On the whole, he was satisfied that the ordinary law was sufficient to maintain order in Ireland, and he was full of hope that the trust reposed in their Irish fellow-countrymen by the Government would be heartily responded to. He was satisfied that the Irish people would decline to raise a flag of violence when they knew that the English people were prepared to received them in a full spirit of friendliness and brotherhood. For those reasons, he was satisfied that it was not necessary to proceed with the Coercion Bill; but it would be a mistake if the Irish people were allowed to believe that the Government would not be prepared to carry out in that country, most thoroughly, the Common Law which ought to govern the Three Kingdoms.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 151; Noes 2: Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 211.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolved, That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other business; and that, for the remainder of the Session, including this day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government Orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—MARRIAGE PORTION OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): Sir Arthur Otway, the proposal which I have now to submit to the Committee—namely, that the sum of £30,000 be granted for the marriage portion of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice—is not only one which is in itself in complete accordance with a considerable course of precedents, but I think it will be felt by the Committee that it is dependent on and governed by the reasons which induced the House to give its sanction, by an overwhelming majority, to the larger proposition for an annuity of £6,000 to Her Royal Highness on the auspicious occasion of her marriage. Therefore I do not propose to trouble the Committee with a repetition of the arguments which the right hon. Gentleman the late Prime Minister placed before the House in making that proposition. I will only express my belief that this proposal will be received by the Committee as the necessary and customary complement of the other, and will be welcomed generally with the same cordiality with which the proposal of an annuity was received. And I may even express a hope that those hon. Members whose feelings of duty in this matter induced them to oppose the grant of an annuity will, on this occasion, consider that they have sufficiently protested against the principle to which they object, and that they will not now press their opposition to a division.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the sum of £30,000 be granted to Her Majesty, for the marriage portion of Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice Marie Victoria Feodora."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the right hon. Gentleman had employed a somewhat singular argument against any opposition to this Vote. The right hon.

Gentleman said that he hoped those who opposed the grant of £6,000 per annum to Her Royal Highness would be content with having opposed that Vote on principle, and would not oppose this additional grant. Now, this was not only a question of principle, but also a question of finance, and it seemed to him that there was no valid reason why they should vote £30,000 to Her Royal Highness to-day because they had voted an annuity of £6,000 to Her Royal Highness a short time ago. In his opinion it was rather the reverse. When they voted the annuity of £6,000 nothing was said about a lump sum of £30,000 in the form of a dowry; and he confessed that he and other hon. Members had been under the impression, at the time the annuity was proposed, that the sole amount they would be asked to give would be £6,000 per annum, and they were, therefore, much surprised to hear afterwards that a further demand was to be made for £30,000. He thought an indication to that effect ought to have been made on the previous occasion, and he certainly did not remember that any suggestion of another grant had been made. He had opposed several of those grants to the children of Her Majesty, and he had done so because he had been told on more than one occasion that a bargain was made with Her Majesty which implied, in some sort of way, that those grants should be given to the children of Her Majesty. He had asked over and over again where he was to find any such engagement; but he had not received an answer. In point of fact, there was no such engagement at all. On the contrary, when the Civil List was voted to Her Majesty the amount was calculated to cover everything required by Her Majesty. In addition to that the sum of £60,000 a-year was voted from the Privy Purse, and a sum of £40,000 per annum was received by Her Majesty as the revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster, and there was also an unappropriated balance of about £8,000 in addition. It was obvious, therefore, that Her Majesty received a sum amounting to more than £100,000 in excess of all that was considered requisite to maintain the state of the Sovereign, and out of that sum there must have been very considerable accumulations. It was not denied by the right hon. Gentleman the late Prime Minister, when he proposed the Vote of £6,000 per annum to be granted to Her Royal Highness, that Her Majesty had very large accumulations. He asked what those accumulations were? and he maintained that they ought to be applied in making provision for Her Majesty's children. Her Majesty's received the revenue of the Duchy of Lancaster and an annual sum from the Privy Purse for the very object of doing what the House was asked to do now—namely, providing for Her children. He contended that they had provided for Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. They had given her £6,000 a-year, and it was monstrous that they should be asked to give, in addition to the sum of £6,000 a-year, a lump sum of £30,000. He did not understand what those large sums were asked for. It was stated in the public journals that Her Royal Highness and Prince Henry of Battenberg were going to live with Her Majesty, and he presumed that they would inhabit one of the Palaces which was kept up at the expense of the country, but which belonged to Her Majesty. What he objected to, therefore, was that this sum of £30,000 was intended, not only to provide for Her Royal Highness, but Her Royal Highness's husband, and to give him and his heirs a perpetual pension of £900 per annum, which was the equivalent of Consols to the amount of £30,000. He strongly objected to provide a perpetual pension to the heirs of His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg. He sincerely hoped that in this matter hon. Members would pluck up a little courage. At present Parliament appeared to be too ready to accept whatever the Ministry chose to propose. That had not always been the case. In former times Parliament had not been so subservient as they were now expected to be in matters of this kind. During the Reign of George III. there had been frequent Motions to reduce the amount of the grants proposed to be given to His Majesty's children. He thought he could remember three such Motions; but certainly two. In the first or second Parliament of the present Reign a proposal was made to give a large sum per annum to the Prince Consort; but the proposal was opposed by an independent Member who sat on the Conservative side of the House (Colonel Sibthorpe), and the reduction in amount

which that hon. and gallant Member moved was agreed to by the House. The House of Commons in former Reigns did not consider it their duty to vote large sums of money merely because they were asked to do so by the Ministers of the day; but they looked into the matter fairly and honestly for themselves, and if they considered the sum asked for too much they refused to grant it. That was not the case now. He had opposed the grant of £6,000 per annum to Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice on the ground that the Royal Family were already amply provided for, and it was a mistake to give more. But the case against the grant now asked for was much stronger, inasmuch as they had already voted £6,000 per annum for the maintenance of Her Royal Highness; and, therefore, there was no necessity for calling upon them to vote an additional lump sum of £30,000. He had read the argument against the opposition to this grant by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). The right hon. Gentleman said that when they were expending millions upon war they ought not to stop at the expenditure of a few thousands for the maintenance of the Royal Family. The right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that it would be far better to put a stop to the larger expenditure of money on war instead of interfering with so small a matter as these grants to the Royal Family. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that they ought to put a stop to the expenditure upon war; but because they threw away millions upon war, that was no reason why they should throw away thousands without asking why and wherefore. He was of opinion that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman would not hold water. He had stated that the Royal Family were amply provided for, and that the House of Commons ought not to be called upon to make any further provision for any Member of the Royal Family. What he asked now was whether the money was wanted? Had Her Majesty the means at her disposal to make provision for her children? If Her Majesty had—and he did not think it would be denied—ample means of providing for her children out of the sum now voted by Parliament annually as provision for Her Majesty, then he thought this demand ought not to be made upon the House. At any rate, after voting an annuity of £6,000 they ought not to be asked to vote a lump sum of £30,000. It might be said that it was a proposal on the part of the late Government, and that he and other Liberal Members ought, therefore, to support it. But the money which had been asked for by the late Government it had been intended to meet by taxes. The present Government had refused to vote those taxes, and they were now going to undertake to borrow the money to meet the deficit in the taxation of the year. The country, consequently, was not paying its way, and under such circumstances it was undesirable to add to the deficit of the year. They had fallen into arrears, and they had a Government in Office who refused to meet the expenditure by taxation, and that Government now came forward to borrow money, not only to meet the deficit, but to meet also this sum of £30,000 as a gift to a lady to whom they all wished a happy life, but for whom there was no necessity for granting the sum now asked for. He therefore begged to move the rejection of the Vote.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, he was not aware whether the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) proposed to waste the precious time of the House for the benefit of himself and a fellow-Teller by going to a division; but he must say that the hon. Member rarely missed an opportunity of showing his dislike to the Throne and the Constitution. It would be in the recollection of many Members of the House that the hon. Member for Northampton took the chair on one occasion at a meeting which was addressed by Mr. Henry George, who passed a gross insult on our gracious Queen, which insult remained unrebuked by the chairman.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Allow me to contradict that statement. Mr. Henry George did nothing of the kind.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I rise to Order. Mr. Henry George, Sir Arthur Otway, is a gentleman with whom I am acquainted.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of Order.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: My point of Order is this——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call upon Sir Frederick Milner to proceed.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, that undoubtedly those discussions had had a bad effect upon certain sections of the community of the country, as was shown by certain Petitions which had been sent from certain Radical clubs to Her Majesty, praying her not to ask for a grant for Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. He thought that Petitions of that kind were a gross outrage and insult upon the Queen, and that they ought not to pass unrebuked. Most people in this country would be prepared to admit that the Royal Family was one of the least expensive in the world. No doubt the hon. Member for Northampton would be gratified if the money spent on the Royal Family could be expended in finding salaries for himself and certain other Members who sat near him for the very questionable services which they rendered to the country in that House. Such a proposition would not, however, find much support during the lifetime of the present House of Commons. He felt certain of this—that if this question were placed before the country, it would vote by an enormous majority that this money should be given to a Royal lady who had already earned the affections of the people, and who was the daughter of a Queen who had always shown her own sympathy with the people, and who had always displayed the greatest wisdom in ruling the country in critical times. He trusted that the Committee, if the hon. Member went to a division, would, by an overwhelming majority, show what its feeling was with regard to the contentious and obstructive Amendment which had been moved.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he did not intend to detain the Committee, especially after the specimen the hon. Member for York (Sir Frederick Milner) had given of the manner in which the time of the Committee might be wasted. He thought, however, that he would be justified in making a few remarks. The hon. Member for York evidently appeared to imagine that it was his function in life to appear as the champion of the honour and dignity of everything and everybody. Only a short time ago the hon. Member, as the Committee would recollect, undertook to maintain the honour and dignity of the House of Commons, a task which the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) proved very conclusively the hon. Baronet was by no means in a position to perform. To-night the hon. Member had taken on himself the duty of maintaining the dignity and honour of the Royal Family. He (Mr. Redmond) congratulated the Royal Family of England in having won to their side the services of a redoubtable champion so eminently qualified to waste the time of the Committee himself, and then to accuse other people of doing it. The hon. Gentleman said that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) was actuated in his opposition to this Vote by an idea that the public money might be better devoted towards paying himself and other hon. Members who agreed with him in opinion for the very questionable services they rendered to the State. Now, he (Mr. Redmond) thought it would be a very advantageous thing if it could be put forward in support of the Vote that Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice, or her husband from Germany, performed any services to the country at all. As far as he was aware, they did nothing whatever to promote the interests or honour of the country; and he was certain of this fact—that the vast bulk of the people, not only of Great Britain, but of the Empire generally, were thoroughly adverse to this unnecessary squandering of the public money. The hon. Member for Northampton had spoken that night in the consistent manner which he had always adopted in exposing the fallacies upon which public grants of this character were made. The hon. Member had pointed out that the Vote could not be supported on the ground of its necessity. In the first place, Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice had already had voted to Her by Parliament an annuity of £6,000; and, in the second place, the Princess Beatrice's Royal Mother was notoriously possessed of £7,000,000 or £8,000,000. He did not believe that Mr. Henry George, at the meeting presided over by the hon. Member for Northampton, had ever spoken in disrespectful terms of Her Majesty; but it was notorious that she was possessed of this large amount of money. It was all very well to be sentimental and superstitious about Royalty—and, undoubtedly, a great amount of sentimentality and superstition did exist about Royalty—but he did not think that

the people of England, who sent Members there to represent them, and to take charge of the money that was levied in the shape of taxes, would be satisfied that this lady should not give to Her daughter enough to support her when she married. The Queen of this country was even described as a lady who, in every respect, and in every walk of life, was the model of a mother, as well as of a Queen. Now, what was the first duty of an honest man or woman who was a father or a mother? [*A laugh.*] If hon. Gentlemen opposite would pull themselves together, and listen to what he said, they would see that he had spoken in a perfectly correct manner. Her Majesty was supposed to be the model of what a woman ought to be. But what did the poorest mother in the country do when her child was leaving her home in order to get married? Even if she pinched herself, and stinted herself of the necessaries of life, she invariably gave to her daughter something to maintain her in her new sphere of life. Even a washerwoman gave something or other to her child under such circumstances as a dowry, and the wife of a costermonger did the same. Was it, then, to be said that the Queen of England, with her £8,000,000, failed in that duty towards her child, which the commonest of her subjects did not omit to perform, because she found it much more convenient to squeeze money out of the hard-worked people of this country? ["Order!"] He was not out of Order; and what he ventured to say was literally and accurately true. If hon. Members would be good enough to examine the state of the case, they would see that what he said was absolutely true. He desired to say nothing disrespectful or untrue in regard to Her Majesty. He merely stated that if she refused to provide her daughter's dowry, she failed in that duty which the commonest person in the Realm invariably performed. She had her £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 put by, and yet she refused to make provision for her daughter, nor would she do so as long as she could get Parliament to pay what the Chancellor of the Exchequer told them was a customary complement. He congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon having invented for the poor working people of England so nice a phrase as "customary complement" for that grant of £30,000; but he was very much mistaken if the time would not very soon arrive when the people of England would come to the conclusion that they could do better with their money than pay "customary complements" of this kind. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had omitted to put forward the only decent argument used by the late Prime Minister in moving the grant of an annuity of £6,000 to Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) had brought forward as his only argument—an argument by which he (Mr. Redmond) was certainly struck at the time—that if the House consented to vote the annuity of £6,000, it would probably be the last time that such a request would ever be made in that House. That was the only decent argument that could have been put forward to justify the Vote. The right hon. Gentleman said in substance—"Pray, Gentlemen, do not discuss this proposal, for it is the last time that it will ever be made. Therefore, do not let us have a fuss about it. Let us give this to the Queen's child, and when it is all over it will never happen again." That was the only argument the late Prime Minister put forward; but it was not the argument put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He rejoiced that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had followed a consistent course. The hon. Member was unlike a good many of his Radical brethren, who went down to large centres of civilization, and talked to the Democracy about the rights of the working classes, and who, when they got elected, came to the House of Commons and seemed to care nothing whatever about the taxes which were imposed upon the people. He should only be glad to see many others of those so-called Radicals as consistent as the hon. Member for Northampton in this matter. If they were consistent, they would come forward and oppose the present Vote. The Leader of Her Majesty's Government, who had expressed an expectation that the Vote would not be opposed, would find himself very much mistaken, for a considerable number of Members, both English and Irish, would go into the Lobby against the Vote in order to place on record their opinion that grants

of this nature were nothing more nor less than absurd superstition and humbug of the grossest kind to keep up the semblance of Royalty. He did not think that persons who voted for money being taken out of the country in this way were the true friends of Royalty; but there were many others who were doing their best to bring about the day when the people of England would arrive at the conclusion that the cost of Royalty was far too great. He should certainly vote with pleasure against this grant, and so long as he remained a Member of the House he should continue to do so.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD regretted very much that the hon. Member for York (Sir Frederick Milner) should have set the bad example, of which they had now seen the consequences, of making this proposal of a dowry to Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice a matter personal to Her Royal Highness. He would remind the Committee that the best mode of approaching the consideration of a subject of this kind was that which was suggested many years ago by one of the most Radical Members who ever sat in that House—Mr. Grote—who stated that those were not the best friends of the Monarchy who approached the consideration of a proposal of a grant of money to the Crown without thinking, in the first place, of the effect which would be produced on the minds of the taxpayers of the country. His (Mr. Arnold's) special object in rising was to make a further appeal to the right hon. Baronet, who was now the Leader of the House, in regard to a matter of very great importance which had occurred earlier in the evening at Question time. He referred to the proposal which, after due deliberation among the Members of the late Cabinet, had been made on the responsibility of the First Minister of the Crown a short time ago, and communicated to the House when the grant of an annuity to Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice was made. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) said on that occasion that the Cabinet had arrived at the conclusion that early next Session they would propose the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the question of secondary provision for Members of the Royal Family. He had hoped that upon a plain, simple, and straightforward question of that nature, it would have been one of the first duties of a responsible Minister of the Crown to have expressed a distinct and definite opinion; and he must confess that he had been greatly disappointed with the reply which had been given by the right hon. Baronet earlier in the evening. He hoped that even now, upon a matter which would certainly affect his vote, and probably that of many other hon. Members, the right hon. Gentleman would assure the Committee that, in face of the promise which had been given—for it amounted to a promise—in regard to the future provision of Members of the Royal Family, he adhered to the wise and moderate proposal of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. The right hon. Baronet had told them that evening that he was likely to be in power in the next Parliament. He (Mr. Arnold) admitted that it was possible, and in view of that possibility he hoped the right hon. Baronet would not think him importunate if he said that it was his duty to have a distinct policy on this subject. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give some assurance to the Committee that he would adopt the course which the late Prime Minister had indicated.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH): I do not at all underrate the importance of the question which was raised at an earlier period of the evening; but what I do venture to say now is this—that though, no doubt, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to form a definite opinion upon a question of such importance, it is impossible to form that definite opinion until we have had time to consider it fully, and at present we naturally have a multitude of matters to occupy our attention, considering the short time we have been in Office. I would remind the hon. Member who had just spoken that the late Prime Minister did not, as far as I could gather from what fell from him, give any very definite promise. [*Cries of* "Yes!"] If the right hon. Gentleman gave any definite promise, it only amounted to this—that if he was at the head of the Government he would propose a Select Committee to consider the subject next Session. It will be the

duty of the present Government to consider the matter between this time and the next Session of Parliament. I think that the hon. Member has spoken with some want of fairness with regard to the hon. Baronet the Member for York (Sir Frederick Milner) in accusing him of making this a personal question to Her Royal Highness the Princess Beatrice. I would venture to say, in answer to that accusation, that those who make it a personal question to Her Royal Highness are rather those who object to a grant which is proposed merely in order to place Her Royal Highness upon an equality with the other Princesses of her Family.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 153; Noes 32: Majority 121.—(Div. List, No. 212.)

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(2.) £71,135, to complete the sum for Law Charges.

MR. MOLLOY said, he rose to ask for some information with regard to the fees paid to the Attorney General and Solicitor General. The sum charged for the Law Officers of the Crown under the head of fees for non-contentious business was severally £7,000 and £6,000 per annum. He wished to ask the Attorney General what was the amount paid last year to the Attorney General and Solicitor General in respect of business that was of a contentious character; and what other fees were payable to those legal Gentlemen over and above the contentious and non-contentious business? Then there was another point on which, if possible, he desired to have some information. A very large sum was annually paid for the Public Prosecutor, and he should be glad if the hon. and learned Gentleman would state how many public prosecutions there had been during the last 12 months. Further, he would like to have some explanation of the item printed in italics—"Editor of Irish Ante Union Statutes £400"—how far the work had been carried?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) said, he regretted that he must plead ignorance in respect of almost the whole of the questions raised by the hon. Member, a circumstance due to the fact of his having for so short a time held his present Office; but he did not doubt that some other Gentleman on the Treasury Bench would be able to give the hon. Member the information he desired.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND), in answer to the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Molloy), said, the Committee would probably be aware that an important change had been made with respect to the Office of Public Prosecutor, which was now merged in the Solicitor to the Treasury. He was unable to state how many public prosecutions had taken place within the last 12 months, but would make inquiry and communicate the result to the hon. Member. He was informed that the number of such prosecutions in the last three years was about 8,000. An increase would probably arise under the new Act of Parliament and Regulations, which would make it the duty of the authorities of police districts to furnish an account of offences committed in each district to the Public Prosecutor in order that he might decide what cases should be taken up or not, and keep some kind of check upon the work. He was informed that the work of editing the Irish Statutes referred to by the hon. Member had been completed, and that, therefore, no change was necessary.

Vote *agreed to*.

(3.) £109,135, to complete the sum for Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c.

MR. WEST said, he observed by the Estimate that the amount of charge for criminal prosecutions in the shape of repayments to counties and boroughs was for the forthcoming year £140,000, as against £145,000 in the year 1884-5. It would be extremely satisfactory to the Committee to find that there was some diminution of charge in this respect, and he might remind hon. Members that there was also a diminution of charge in the previous year 1883-4. He had taken the opportunity last year, when this Vote was under discussion, of calling attention to a matter connected with the Vote from a financial point of view; and he had pointed out that the cost of prosecutions at the Sessions, as compared with the cost of prosecutions at the Assizes, was about one-half. But after discussion had taken place on the

matter he had had the advantage, by the kindness of his hon. Friend the then Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), of seeing a Return which showed him that his own experience in this matter had led him to a wrong conclusion, and he found that the real difference was as between nearly one and three, instead of one and two, the difference between the two descriptions of trials being, of course, due to the heavy expenses at the Assizes which did not arise at the Sessions. Although it was, of course, gratifying to find that there was a diminution in the charge, he did not think that diminution was at all proportionate to the number of cases tried this year as compared with the year before. He could not help thinking that the reason why the diminution was not very much greater arose from an evil which Her Majesty's Government might remedy—that was to say, the unfortunate practice which had lately sprung up of the Judges trying Sessional cases. The expense occasioned by that to the country was very great; and he would, with the permission of the Committee, give an instance from his own experience of what took place. The Judges, for their own convenience, went down to places and held Assizes without any regard to the public convenience at all. At the last Winter Assizes at Manchester the Judges who went there had 72 cases for trial, 56 of which were Sessions cases. That practice had been adopted to a very considerable extent. Of course it might be said that cases might be better tried by the Judges than by Recorders, and other Judges of an inferior status. But he objected to this new rule of the Judges trying all the prisoners in gaol, whether committed for trial at the Sessions or at the Assizes. He thought that another course ought to be adopted. Either the jurisdiction should be taken away from the Sessions, or the Judges should not be allowed to try this vast number of Sessional cases as they did at present. He was glad that they had in the present Home Secretary a Gentleman familiar with those matters, and he was sure that they would all be grateful to the right hon. Gentleman if he would turn his attention to this practice. Everyone connected with the Northern Circuit would recognize that the right hon. Gentleman was extremely well qualified to deal with it; and he trusted that he would be able to apply some remedy to an evil that was, he believed, generally admitted.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished briefly to point out that the delay of legal business in London was very great, in consequence of the Circuit arrangement of the Judges. He had intended to go into that matter more fully; but, understanding that the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken intended to deal with it at a later stage, and feeling that the question would be better handled by him, he should postpone the remarks he had to make upon it.

MR. HICKS said, he ventured to detain the Committee for a short time while he drew attention to the Petitions presented to that House from many counties complaining not so much of Sessional cases being tried at the Assizes, but of the very great hardship which all those connected with the administration of the Criminal Law were exposed to by there being four Assizes every year, at which grand jurors, common jurors, and witnesses had to attend, although, as was very frequently the case, there were only two or three cases to be tried. He himself, last Thursday, was on the Grand Jury for the county he had the honour to represent (Cambridge), and within three days of the Assizes there were only two cases for trial; and of these two, one was a Quarter Sessions case. He considered it a very great hardship that jurors and witnesses should be called from long distances at all times of the year. He thought that a smaller number of Assizes, as was the system before the last change, would be sufficient to meet the exigencies of the Criminal Law in nearly all the counties of England.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) said, that the cause of the arrangement complained of by the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks) was the rule under which the Judges had to try a very large number of Quarter Session prisoners. With regard to the point raised by the hon. and learned Member for Ipswich (Mr. West), it would not be easy to remedy it without legislation.

MR. BULWER said, he had not quite understood what was the precise objec-

tion of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Ipswich. His hon. and learned Friend had pointed out that the expenses of trial at the Assizes were greater than the expenses at Quarter Sessions, and he had given an instance of the Winter Assize at Manchester, in which case the Judges, out of 72 cases for trial, had 56 Quarter Session cases; but, as the hon. and learned Gentleman below him (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had pointed out, that was due to the Act of Parliament, which required the Judges to deliver the gaols every quarter. Everyone was aware that a trial at the Assizes cost more than a trial at Quarter Sessions, because witnesses had to remain longer in attendance, and the trials, as a rule, occupied more time. But if the present arrangement were changed, and if the Judges did not try Quarter Session cases, the result would be that the prisoners would have to remain in gaol until the next Session, and he did not know that that would be a saving to the country. He did not know how the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. West) made out his case by showing that the prisoners who were not tried at the Sessions were tried at the Assizes.

MR. WEST said, he had intended to give an answer on a subsequent Vote; but, with the permission of the Committee, he would raise the question on this Vote as well as on the subsequent one. He would give an explanation of what his views were as to the existing evil and the remedy that ought to be applied to it—a remedy which ought to be applied to this evil, but which would also prove a remedy for other evils even greater than that of expense. As he had said, he had intended to wait for a subsequent Vote, but——

THE CHAIRMAN: As the hon. and learned Member has given Notice of a Motion in reference to this subject under a subsequent Vote, it would be more in Order for him to wait for that Vote.

MR. WEST: Certainly, Sir; I will abide by your ruling and wait for the subsequent Vote.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he should like to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross) on a subject which the hon. and learned Gentleman the late Solicitor General, whom he saw in his place opposite (Sir Farrer Herschell), would remember was raised last year. He wished to know whether steps had been taken to insure the trial of all the prisoners awaiting trial when the Judge opened the Assizes in a town? He believed that the Judge had gone down to Lewes to try prisoners. Having sat several days, although there were still several prisoners untried, the Assizes were adjourned, and the remaining prisoners were sent back to gaol to be tried on a future day. It had been stated by the late Attorney General (Sir Henry James) that this state of things was going to be remedied. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would ask whether provision had been made so that when a Judge went to try prisoners at an Assize in any town he would try all who were there before going to other towns?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS): I was under the impression that a Judge was bound to try all the prisoners awaiting trial. I cannot understand how a case such as that referred to by the hon. and gallant Baronet can arise, and I will promise to make inquiries in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £291,673, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."

MR. INCE said, he rose to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £5,000. He did that because he took that to be, roughly—he did not pretend to have the right amount—the sum that enabled the Government to employ one of the chief clerks and his staff in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice. He desired, in moving this reduction, to call attention to the unsatisfactory, and, as he thought, wasteful mode in which the business of the Chancery Division was in this respect conducted. The Committee were, no doubt, aware that the Chancery Division consisted of five Judges. All of those Judges had attached to their Courts a staff, consisting of a chief clerk and his officers. Well, the Judges had different degrees of aptitude. They were all very eminent and

very learned men; but one Judge would, unhappily or happily, as the case might be, go through his work a great deal faster than another Judge. He (Mr. Ince) was not talking entirely without warrant. He had looked into the matter and had ascertained—and here he might say that, for obvious reasons, it was not possible for him to give names—that at a period in the present year, whilst one Judge was disposing of 11 witness cases, another had got through 30 or 40. And, so far as he could discover, the cases, which were not tried by witnesses in Court which came before those two Judges were in about the same ratio. The result of that, and other causes combined, was that in some of the Chambers of the Judges there was a large amount of work, and in others a smaller amount. This difference in the amount of work from time to time did not arise from temporary causes, and yet every Judge had precisely the same staff and precisely the same number of clerks and assistant clerks. Now, he ventured to suggest to the Committee that a much more rational and reasonable plan would be to make the chief clerks chief clerks to the Court generally without being attached to any particular Judge. In that way the business would be distributed equally amongst them; and here, again, he would give the Committee an instance to show that he was not speaking without book. Again, he would ask them to excuse him, for obvious reasons, for not mentioning names. There was lately, in one of the Courts of Chancery, a nuisance case, which, he believed, affected, in some way or other, the private residence of one of the chief clerks—at all events, he was very much interested in the case. To his (Mr. Ince's) knowledge, this hard-working gentleman contrived to be 18 days in attendance in Court in order to be present during the hearing of this case. No doubt, suitors were not damnified by this gentleman's absence from his official post. Doubtless, someone else did a little more work in order to supply the place of this chief clerk; but the moral of the thing was this—that sometimes in one Division they had too many men to do the work, whilst in another Division they had not men enough. If they equalized the work, so to speak, and appointed a certain number of clerks to the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice without attaching them to individual Judges, no one would be overwhelmed with work, and no one would be underworked. They could not do that at once; but he was sure that, in course of time, they would be able to reduce the present staff. The course he suggested would enable the Government of the day to effect another and a greater improvement, which there could be no doubt, as regarded the actual trial of cases and final disposition of matters in dispute between plaintiff and defendant in each particular case, was very much delayed in Chancery. It was clear that they could not dispense with a single Judge. On the contrary, he was of opinion that they needed an additional Judge. If they adopted the course he suggested they would derive from it this advantage—that they would be able to always spare a Judge to sit in Chambers and to keep control over the officials there. This system would, furthermore, enable them to hand over to Chambers many matters now disposed of in Court—matters which now came on in the shape of motions, and which cost a vast sum of money. Those matters, instead of costing many pounds, could be settled for a few shillings. He would give an instance of what he meant. The Attorney General would, he was sure, accede to the accuracy of what he was about to say. There was a class of cases that many Members of that House were acquainted with which were known as "patent cases." When a patent case came on the first thing done was to move for an injunction. The Court invariably granted that injunction unless the patent in question was an old one, or one that could be easily established. But yet they always had, solemnly, a motion for an injunction, and on that motion a leading counsel was briefed, a junior counsel was briefed, and there was brought in a sort of expert counsel on one side which necessitated the bringing in of an expert counsel on the other side. Well, the point to be decided by all this array of legal talent was one which could be settled by two lawyer's clerks in Chambers at a cost of a few pounds. Under the present process a motion for an injunction cost something like £100 or £200. If they had a Judge constantly sitting in Chambers they might relegate to him a great

deal of business, and thus relieve the Court of Chancery which, nine times out of ten, was occupied with interlocutory proceedings, and endeavouring to see how not to decide the matter in hand. Those cases would, by Judges being liberated from these matters, go as quickly as possible to trial by action. He commended those views to the Committee, as he believed that a vast saving might be effected in connection with Chambers and the internal arrangements of the Courts. There were many details that it would not be right for him to go into, and which he would not go into—there was a vast deal of technical matter which would have to be gone into in order to render the matter intelligible to the Committee. He would content himself with saying this—that, having taken some pains to investigate the matter, from his knowledge he could say that there was a vast amount of saving to be brought about by the system he advocated—that was to say, if the whole of the chief clerks were made one body, and Chambers were left for a particular Judge. They would improve their administration of justice by allowing one Judge to be always sitting in Chambers disposing of interlocutory matters cheaply and easily. In that way they would do that which he confessed, to his regret and shame, was greatly required in the Chancery Division—they would be expediting the hearing of cases. He moved the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £286,673, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."—(*Mr. Ince.*)

SIR FARRER HERSCHELL said, he thought it would save time if his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Ince) would allow him to interpose for a minute, because the question raised was undoubtedly one of considerable importance. It was whether chief clerks should be engaged for all the Judges together, or remain, as at present, attached to particular Judges, one Judge retaining a cause with his chief clerk throughout. There was a deal to be said for his hon. and learned Friend's view, and there would be, in one way, a great deal of advantage in appointing chief clerks and their staffs for the whole of the Judges. But, on the other hand, there was a great deal to be said for the other system—for a Judge having the same chief clerk, who would be familiar with the business which had been brought before him, and would be able to remind him of circumstances attending cases. He (Sir Farrer Herschell) did not wish to express an opinion one way or the other; but he thought it would save time if he stated that the question had been under the consideration of a Committee appointed by the late Lord Chancellor, over which the Master of the Rolls had, for a considerable time, presided. He felt sure that the Committee would think that, until they had a Report from that Committee, they were not in a position to discuss the subject.

MR. GREGORY said, he hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press his Amendment, as the matter was one of much difficulty, and his proposal would give rise to a good deal of confusion, and, if he did, great antagonism would be caused. He (Mr. Gregory) was not wedded to the system the hon. and learned Gentleman proposed. He thought it was more desirable to keep chief clerks in touch with the Judges to whom they belonged than to associate them with the Judges collectively. One thing which made the Court of Chancery efficient was that the Judge had control over his chief clerk, and that the suitor had ready access to him.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that, before the Vote was put to the Committee, he wished to ask whether there was any prospect of certain items, which he would mention, being either omitted or reduced? He saw, under the heading "Personal Officers of the Judges," such items as "Secretary of Presentations, £400;" "Secretary of Presentations for Expenses of Office, 3 and 4 *Will.* IV. c. 84, s. 4, £50;" "Secretary of Presentations for Expenses of Office of Clerk of Dispensations and Faculties, 3 & 4 *Will.* IV. c. 84, s. 4, £50." Who were those Secretaries of Presentations—what were their functions? Then there was an item, "Pursebearer and Clerk of the Chamber, £400." Was he a necessary official—what did he do?

There was another questionable item, "Trainbearer, £200;" another, "Messenger of the Great Seal;" and another, under the head of "Chancery Division," "Clerk of the Petty Bag." Other items were for "second-class clerks" and "third-class clerks." Surely they should have modern phraseology for appointments entailing payments of this kind. There should be something, at any rate, to account for what appeared to him to be a mass of mediæval rubbish. He did not know who those appointments were reserved for—whether, for instance, such a man as the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) was going to be made "Messenger of the Great Seal."

Mr. WEST said, he rose to move a reduction of the Vote.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Member for Hastings (Mr. Ince) has not withdrawn his Amendment.

Mr. INCE said, he should perhaps be voted a nuisance by the Committee if he pressed his Motion to a division. He must say, however, that he was not satisfied with the explanation that the matter was "under consideration." To his own knowledge, it had been under consideration nine months, and he did not know how much longer it was likely to remain so. The recent change which had transferred the Liberal Party to the Opposition side of the House would not tend to hasten matters, and there would doubtless now be fresh meetings of the Judges and reconsiderations. His hon. and learned Friend opposite the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) would have to be taken into counsel, and he was afraid it would be some considerable time before any result would be arrived at. If he thought he could do good thereby he should certainly go to a division. As to the statement made by an hon. Member opposite (Mr. Gregory) with regard to the chief clerks being "in touch" with the Judges, he thought there was a great deal of superstition talked about that. The hon. Gentleman must remember that a Judge in Chancery had not merely one or two or a dozen cases to attend to. He had scores of cases to dispose of; and to suppose that in his leisure moments he was always thinking of the matters he had to dispose of in his Chambers, and discussing those matters with his chief clerk, was to suppose him to be a much more simple-minded man than one generally found by experience that he was. The active superintendance of a Judge over a particular case was one of those nonsensical ideas which were handed down from time to time, and were not worth consideration. It was absurd to suppose that the Judges were in the habit of talking over cases with their chief clerks for the purpose of refreshing their minds and keeping themselves alive as to the progress of certain cases; and even if they did that his contention was that the plan he recommended would be the better, inasmuch as a Judge would be likely to reap more advantage from having fresh minds and fresh intelligence brought to bear upon the matters he was considering. He begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. WEST said, the Vote the reduction of which he was about to propose was a comparatively new one. It was one which the Committee was not familiar with, as it had only arisen within the past few years, and he thought it required some explanation. On page 198 they would see the item, "G. Circuit Allowances and Expenses, £16,680." One part of this was new, and this year was £6,500 as against £2,500 last year, a substancial increase, which, no doubt, could be easily explained in some way or other. It was not to that part of the case which he wished to call attention. He desired to direct the attention of the Committee to this new Vote. The way it had arisen he believed to be this. No doubt, the Committee were aware that in former days the Judges were paid from the ordinary revenues of the Crown; and that in the Reign of William IV. an Act was passed fixing their salaries. Those salaries had since that time been in several instances considerably reduced; but the salaries of the ordinary puisne Judges had been fixed at £5,000, at which sum they, nominally, remained at the present time, for none of the intermediate changes which had taken place bore on the question of the salaries of what were called the puisne Judges. The salaries were fixed at that sum on the understanding that each of the Judges appointed at that time should go two Cir-

cuits a-year and pay his own expenses out of his own pocket; and it had been calculated as a rough kind of estimate that that would cost him £500 a-year, and, therefore, that his net salary would be £4,500 a-year. After that, as many hon. Members were aware, the number of Circuits was increased from two to three, and then from three to four, in the course of the year. Then it was thought desirable that as the salaries of the Judges had been fixed on the calculation that they were only to go two Circuits a-year, their salaries were so fixed by Parliament—in 1876 he thought—as to cover the expenses they were put to in the two extra Circuits. After that the Judicature Act passed. It was considered necessary that all the Judges should go on Circuit—one or two exceptions being made with which he need not trouble the Committee. That arrangement was carried out for some time. It was found to be extremely inconvenient, however, for gentlemen of great experience at the Chancery Bar who were appointed Judges; though very good Judges for Chancery business, they were not so well able to deal with criminal matters or *Nisi Prius* cases, as gentlemen of experience in those branches of the Profession. It was, therefore, found to be advantageous that Common Law Judges should go on Circuit and that Equity Judges should not. Then there arose this difficulty. Common Law Judges naturally said—"It is rather hard that we should be compelled to go on Circuit and receive only £5,000, without having our expenses paid for us, whilst the Chancery Judges, who do not go on Circuit, receive the same salary—virtually £500 more than we." An arrangement was made with these Common Law Judges, the nature of which he would explain. It did not seem to occur to the Judges, when they came to consider the question of these salaries, that one way to equalize them would be to reduce the salaries of those who did not go on Circuit to £4,500 and keep the salaries of those who did at £5,000. They took the other view and said—"Do not level down, but level up, and let the Common Law Judges have the expenses of all the Circuits paid for them." He could not help thinking that that ought to have been done openly and in an Act of Parliament, if done at all. He did not think it consistent with the character of the Judges to make a bargain with the Secretary to the Treasury for the time being by which they obtained an addition of £500 a-year to their salaries. That, however, was what they did. Those old enough to remember Lord Denman and the Judges of his day, would not be able to understand the possibility of any of them going privately to the Government to arrange for an addition to their salaries. No doubt, in the case he was referring to, the addition to the Vote necessary in consequence of the increase was discussed in the House of Commons; but it was not brought forward in the regular way in the form of a Bill. He thought it would have been better if the additional payment had been made on a distinct footing. An arrangement, of which he could not approve, had been made, whereby a certain sum per day was now paid to the Judges on Circuit for their expenses. He did not complain of the expenditure on the administration of justice. He did not think they should administer it too cheaply, or should attempt to administer it too cheaply; but what he did say was that he should be able to show to demonstration that the public had lost considerably in the conveniences accorded to them by the Judges in consequence of this arrangement. In the first place, it was not a dignified way to pay the Judges to pay them by the day. In the first place, it led persons of vulgar minds, who believed that Judges were liable to the same temptations as ordinary mortals, to think that they prolonged the Circuits unnecessarily. There could be no doubt, whatever the cause of it might be—and he should be corroborated on this point by Members on all sides of the House—that the Circuits had become extraordinarily prolonged since those daily allowances were given. He would give an illustration of that. When he was young, and when his two hon. and learned Friends opposite first went on Circuit, the Judges always sat at 9 o'clock in the morning. Well, he would call attention to the Assizes held at Manchester last winter — for one example was better than 1,000 general statements. The Judge there had been in the habit of sitting at half-past 10 o'clock in the morning, a circumstance which had increased the length of the

Assizes, and had put all the parties brought together to great inconvenience. He knew very well there was an answer to that—the answer that Charles Lamb gave to his employers when he was employed by the South Sea Commissioners—he being a clerk in the office of the Commissioners. Lamb had become extremely irregular in his hours of attendance, and at last the Commissioners felt themselves bound to call upon him for an explanation. Those gentlemen liked him—as we all liked the Judges—and were reluctant to find fault with him; but his irregularities were so serious that they felt bound at last to take notice of them. They said to him—"We are obliged to complain to you about your attendance, it is so irregular; we must call your attention to it." In a way that was characteristic, he replied—"I must confess I do come down very late indeed in the morning; but, then, I always go away very early in the afternoon." The Judges had that excuse, no doubt. As they now sat later in the morning, they rose much earlier in the afternoon than they used to do formerly. Let him show the Committee how that system operated. Before he did that he would quote a great authority for the proposition he would make, which he thought should be adopted. After the Judicature Act was passed, Earl Cairns—whose loss all law reformers deeply deplored—thought that a great object would be gained if all Circuits and local sittings of Courts could be fixed at the commencement of the year, and included in a Calendar. The noble and learned Earl had been unable to carry the good object he had in view into effect. The late Government wished to carry it out, and, therefore, under several Acts of Parliament they advised Her Majesty to pass an Order in Council on the 26th of June in last year. In the observations he was about to make on that Order in Council, he did not wish it to be supposed that he thought that Order was a well-considered or a wise one. He did not think it was a good scheme, but it had become the law of the land. What did it say—and he would here, again, beg pardon of the Committee if he happened to speak of one part of the country only. He believed that other parts could be referred to, but he limited himself to that part with which he was specially familiar. With regard to the Order in Council of the 26th of June, he especially drew the attention of the Attorney General to the matter, because, though he was not going to ask him to give an opinion against the Judges, he could not help thinking that they had rendered themselves liable to an indictment for breach of the Order. No doubt his hon. and learned Friend, who would defend them, would find some words at the end of the Order which would defeat any indictment which might be brought against the Judges for having violated the Order. The Order said—

> "The Assizes shall be held at Manchester and Liverpool at times to be fixed, as far as may be practicable and the business to be done may allow, according to the scheme of the second Schedule hereto attached for the Summer and Winter Assizes."

That Schedule stated that these dates should be February 15th at Manchester and March 1st at Liverpool. There was a note at the end stating that the dates might be altered by the Judges at a meeting held for the purpose of fixing dates. He was sure his hon. and learned Friend, whose candour he relied upon, would not for a moment contend that it was for the convenience of the public that the dates of the Assizes in Manchester and Liverpool contained in the Schedule of the Order in Council were altered in the way he was about to mention. The dates were altered in direct opposition to and in violation of that Order in Council. The Judges were determined not to obey that Order in Council, which he supposed had been prepared by persons for whom they had no great respect. The Judges deliberately met together, and, instead of fixing the Assizes as they were bound to fix them according to the Order in Council, they fixed them quite differently. The consequence of that in South Lancashire was that the public experienced very great inconvenience. The public naturally assumed, in the absence of any reason to the contrary, that the Assizes would be held in accordance with the Order in Council—would be held on the days appointed in that Order. He (Mr. West) himself, even with his experience of Judges and the law, had certainly thought that on the first occasion on which the new law came into operation it would be obeyed by their Lordships. He had the honour

of holding several Courts of some importance in Lancashire, and he had fixed the dates of his sittings in accordance with the Order in Council. He was sorry to detain the Committee, but this was really a most important matter as affecting the administration of justice throughout Lancashire. On the 22nd of December—and he hoped hon. Gentlemen would mark the date—there appeared in the newspapers an announcement to the effect that the Judges had decided to hold Assizes at Manchester on the 24th of January—in direct violation not only of the words of the Order in Council, but of the meaning of that Order, which was that the Judges who went on the Northern Circuits should not start until the other Judges had finished their Circuits, so that the whole of the Judges might not be away from London at the same time. What was the consequence? Why, as everyone familiar with the matter was aware, the 22nd of December, the date on which the announcement appeared, was on the eve of the Christmas holidays. How was it possible that people could be ready to go on with cases on the 24th of January? He ought to add that his Court was appointed to be held on the 9th of February, in order to enable the Judges to hold their Assizes, which should have been held on the 15th of February, and so have enabled him to clear the gaol for the prisoners who came to be tried before the Judges. As it was, he had been unable to clear his Court. When the Judges came down, only 56 out of a total of 72 prisoners had been tried, and the Judges managed to spin the period of their stay to over a fortnight. Naturally enough, that circumstance excited a considerable amount of attention and discussion in Lancashire, and he was given to understand that it had been alleged by someone in defence of the Judges that they had acted for the convenience of the public, and not for their own convenience. For that reason he had taken the trouble to investigate the matter. The Judges who thus altered the law and made this change would, one would have thought, have consulted some person capable of giving an opinion on the question of public convenience. As he said, he had made inquiries on this head, and he had been informed that the Chairman of Quarter Sessions in Lancashire was never consulted, nor was the Recorder of Liverpool. He (Mr. West), holding two Courts in Manchester, was never consulted, and the Mayor of Manchester was never consulted. He understood that the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) was consulted, as well as another gentleman, but their advice was not taken. So far as he could learn, that was all the consultation which took place. More than that, the Assizes sat on Saturday, and the Grand Jury and the Petty Jury being summoned on that day enormous inconvenience was occasioned to the public. All that inconvenience, so far as he knew, was wholly and solely occasioned out of consideration for the convenience of particular Judges. He hoped that in making those observations it would not be supposed that he was referring to all the Judges. He was very much obliged to the Committee for allowing him to address them at such great length; but he did think that there were no more ill-used people in the country than the unfortunate litigants. They never knew when the Assizes were coming on, or when they were likely to be called upon to try their cases. He considered that to be an injustice, and he hoped that a settlement would be arrived at some way or other. He was quite sure that if the Judges were not paid those large sums for Circuit expenses, and were not paid at all unless they fixed the Circuit to suit the convenience of the public rather than their own personal convenience, much good would come of it. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £4,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £287,673, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1886, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."—(*Mr. West.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, he did not think that any useful purpose would be served, certainly at that time, if they followed his hon. and learned Friend through all the various matters he had gone into. The hon. and learned Gentleman was no doubt aware that, as far as the system which he had complained of was in force, it was in consequence

of the Treasury Minute of June, 1884, and he could not think that that Minute was made without due consideration. The present occasion was not the time to go into the general question as to the grounds upon which the Minute was made. With respect to the particular transactions of last February, to which his hon. and learned Friend had referred, he did not think there was any real grievance to complain of. He had no doubt that after consultation amongst the Judges it was found necessary to fix certain days, and that that was done to the best of their ability and with a view to the convenience of all parties. He did not think, therefore, that attacks should be made on Her Majesty's Judges or on a particular Judge, in this manner, for having made certain fixtures, or that it should be suggested that the arrangements were made solely with a view to the personal convenience of any Judge.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, if that was not a proper occasion to bring on a matter of this sort he did not know what was. All those Rules and Regulations for the guidance of the Judges were based on Treasury Minutes. The hon. and learned Member seemed to think that the salaries of the Judges should be cut down; but he (Mr. A. O'Connor) did not think so at all. He did not consider that the Judges were too highly paid when the nature and the importance of the offices they filled were taken into consideration. For instance, an Attorney General received more than the Judges, and a minor Secretary of State got as much as any of them. Some time ago, Mr. Digby Seymour proposed in the country a system which seemed to him to be a very reasonable one. He proposed that the country should be divided into districts, and that a Recorder, with similar powers as those possessed by the Recorder of London, should be appointed over each district, thus saving the expense and inconvenience of the periodical departure of the Judges into the country. By that means the Judges would get rid of those small cases for which at present the suitors at the Law Courts suffered. Under the present system, it was impossible also for a suitor to know when his case was coming on. If anyone looked at the list, they would see that there was a miscellaneous sort of business before each Judge which went on each week. On one day there would be petitions, on another cases with juries or cases without juries. Then, again, it sometimes happened that 50 witness cases were transferred from one Judge to another, and later on they were transferred back again to the first Judge. By that process it might occasionally happen that cases which stood very low down on the list, came on first, in consequence of those cases which were before them having been transferred. He knew of one particular case in which a cause was listed and transferred backwards and forwards in that way for many months. The grievance was that the amount of expense which suitors were put to by those delays was out of all proportion to the interest involved. Under the present system, moreover, great expense was caused in regard to motions. As the senior members of the Bar had certain rights of priority in bringing on motions, younger men had no chance, and the consequence was that the whole of the work came into the hands of a few men, and ridiculously high expenses were charged for the simplest matters. If each Judge took motions every day for a certain time, that absurd custom would be got rid of, and those eminent lawyers would be able to be occupying their time with work more worthy of them. Last year the then Attorney General (Sir Henry James) had promised him to make inquiries into the delay which occurred in the Taxing Office; but he was not aware if anything had been done in the matter.

SIR FARRER HERSCHELL said, an extra Taxing Master had been added to the Office.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked that, however that was, nothing seemed to have resulted from the additional appointment, and the delay was the cause of much expense and annoyance to solicitors.

SIR FARRER HERSCHELL thought it only right, after the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who had moved the reduction (Mr. West), that he should make a few remarks as to the departure from the scheme regulating the days of the departure of the Judges for Circuit. On the whole, the regulation had worked well; but it was only meant as a temporary arrangement, and not intended to be a cast-iron rule. It was not in-

tended to fix absolutely the dates at which the Judges should go on Circuit, but to fix dates which would indicate the period about which they would take their departure. When the Rule was made, he knew that there were a great many complaints from the members of the Circuit which included Liverpool and Manchester, and with whom he had come in contact. It was in consequence of the difficulties of the work in London that it was thought well to depart from the scheme in some cases. The scheme was really departed from because it was believed that the work could be done very much better by such departure, and not for the convenience of the Judges, as his hon. and learned Friend seemed to believe. Any one day might have been altered for the convenience of an individual Judge; but the alteration in the scheme was certainly not done by one Judge, but with the consent of all the Judges, and it was acquiesced in by the Lord Chancellor. If they were to propose legislation on the subject, they would be met by all sorts of difficulties, and possibly those gentlemen who now complained would be loudest in their criticisms. In the meantime, until they could get a Bill through Parliament, no better arrangement could be made than that which had been made.

MR. WEST entirely agreed with what had fallen from the late Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell); but his point was this, that this Order ought to be adhered to, or repealed if it was not of any use, and not absolutely set at defiance as it was. With regard to legislation, he did not think that any was necessary for it, for if another Order in Council, properly drawn up and considered, were issued, all the difficulties would be got rid of. He was much obliged to the Committee for having listened to him. He did not desire to detain them further, and would not put them to the trouble of a division. He wished to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, his hon. Friend the Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) had pointed to several sinecures included in this Vote, on which he hoped to receive some explanation from the Government. He asked the Attorney General whether he would do his best to suppress the offices to which his hon. Friend had alluded—namely, that of Trainbearer, Pursebearer, and Clerk of the Petty Bag? It was all the more essential that that should be done now, because they had a new Lord Chancellor who would probably be enjoying a pension of £5,000 per annum after the next three months. He did not ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to explain to the Committee what a trainbearer was, but only that he would look into the matter in order to see what offices of that kind could be suppressed. Then there was the charge of £225 for the Preacher of the Rolls Chapel. Could the hon. and learned Gentleman say who the preacher was; whether he preached to the Master of the Rolls, and why they were called on to pay for these religious duties in connection with the Master of the Rolls? Then there was the Clerk of the Petty Bag. It was thoroughly admitted that that clerk had nothing to do, and that he would disappear from the Estimates; but instead of that, it appeared that the charge had increased. Perhaps the Attorney General would excuse him for saying that "a new broom sweeps clean," and for again expressing the hope that he would sweep away some of the sinecures in those Offices.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MR. SEXTON rose to Order. He understood the Clerk to read the third Order of the Day, the second Order not having been disposed of.

MR. SPEAKER: In consequence of the Resolution passed this evening, the third Order has precedence, and the remaining Orders follow in their proper sequence.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [6th July] *reported.*

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he should like to have some information with regard to the Secret Service money. He pointed out that there was no audit in respect of the Vote from the Consolidated Fund. The balance of that money that was not used was surrendered; but although for many years the Secretary of the Treasury had been drawing these £10,000 on his receipt,

he had never rendered any accounts. It appeared, therefore, that there was probably a large amount of unexpended Secret Service money in the hands of the Treasury; what the amount was, of course, none but the authorities could tell. But the balance had to be surrendered when a Government went out of Office, and he presumed that the present Secretary to the Treasury would be able to inform the Committee what was the amount at present in the hands of the Treasury. He did not ask for a scrap of information as to what was done with the money which was handed over to the Department for application. In the old days it was used for the purposes of corruption; but it was, of course, impossible to suppose that anything of the kind took place now. He asked the Secretary to the Treasury to say whether there was any reason why he should not state what was the amount of the unexpended balance at present in the hands of the Treasury?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) said, the hon. Member was probably aware that the subject was before the Public Accounts Committee, one of the points which they had to consider being whether there should be an audit, and to what extent, of this £10,000. It was, of course, impossible that the Comptroller and Auditor General should be made acquainted with the details of the expenditure of the Secret Service money; it stood to reason that if he were it would no longer be Secret Service money; and it was, therefore, only a question what was the nature of the voucher with which the Comptroller and Auditor General should be satisfied under the Exchequer and Audit Act.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR explained that he did not ask for any information with regard to the expenditure of this money. But the Public Accounts Committee had reported last year that the amount received by the Patronage Secretary was not audited at all. His question did not, however, refer to that, but to the amount of unexpended money in the hands of the Treasury. Did it, or did it not, amount to the sum of about £140,000?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY: That is, of course, a question which I am unable to answer.

Resolutions *agreed to.*

Mr. Arthur O'Connor

BEER ADULTERATION BILL.—[BILL 14.]

(Mr. Storer, Mr. Hicks, Sir Herbert Maxwell.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. STORER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was a very short Bill, but it had excited approval in many parts of the country. It proposed to remedy a grievance which had been long felt by the consumers of beer. He need not say that it was a very important measure, inasmuch as beer had been held by no less an authority than the late Prime Minister to be a necessary of life to the working man. No doubt, brewing of beer had not increased at all of late years; but in spite of the efforts of toototallers, beer still held its own. In the opinion of the great majority of the people of the country—[*Cries of* "Move!"] He merely wished that some little reason should be given why the Bill should be read a second time. The Bill provided that persons who sold beer brewed from or containing any ingredients other than hops and malt from barley, should show that the beer was so brewed, and that in default of giving such notice they should be subjected to certain fines. Some of the ingredients now used made very inferior beer, and it was to prevent adulteration that this Bill was introduced.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Storer.*)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press the Bill at that time. He sympathized with the object the hon. Gentleman had in view, which was to prevent the adulteration of beer; but the Bill appeared to go on the assumption that beer which was composed of other materials than hops and malt was necessarily adulterated. Different opinions were held on the point, and he believed that by an existing Act of Parliament the use of sugar in the brewing of beer was already allowed. Moreover, it was not possible by any test known at present to detect whether sugar had or had not been used in the production of beer. He thought that those facts would cause his hon. Friend

to pause before he asked the House to accept the second reading of the Bill. Besides, the subject was one of a controversial character, and therefore it was questionable whether it should be considered at that time of the morning (1.45).

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR moved that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

MR. HICKS said, he thought he could adduce reasons why the debate should not be adjourned. The question had been before the House and the country for some time; it had arisen in consequence of the action taken by the late Prime Minister in the year 1880 in changing the Malt Duty into a Beer Duty. It was perfectly true, as was said by his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour), that sugar had been allowed to be used in the production of beer.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate, and therefore the hon. Gentleman is not entitled to discuss the Main Question.

MR. HICKS said, he was endeavouring to show the House that in consequence of the importance of the subject it was desirable that the debate should be continued; but, if he was not allowed to do that, he could only say, representing, as he did, a large agricultural constituency, and knowing how very much that interest suffered by the very Bill which was professedly brought in for its benefit —for the price of barley had fallen 3*s.* to 4*s.* a-quarter in consequence of that Bill—he hoped the Government would undertake to consider the question most seriously during the Recess, and at the beginning of the next Parliament to bring in a Bill of their own to relieve the agricultural interest from the great injury which had been inflicted upon them, and to protect the consumers of beer from having deleterious compounds imposed upon them.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD said, that as he gathered that his hon. Friend (Mr. Storer) was quite ready to drop the Bill if the Government would promise to consider the question, and if they would bring in a measure of their own, he thought the best course to pursue would be to give such a promise.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

MEDICAL ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 130.]

(*Dr. Lyons.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [30th April], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. HEALY said, that on the 30th of April the Bill came on at a very late hour of the morning, and hon. Members manfully endeavoured to get an explanation from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons). The hon. Gentleman, who was in charge of the Bill, was totally unable to afford the explanation desired, and that led certain Members to oppose the measure. At that period of the Session, and in consequence of the understanding that no contentious Business was to be taken, he hoped the Government would not give any support to the Bill. He begged to move that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Healy.*)

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) said, that the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) made some observations in moving the second reading of the Bill on the 30th of April, and therefore the hon. Gentleman could not, on the present occasion, give the explanation which was very naturally desired by the House. Perhaps the hon. and learned Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) would allow him (Mr. Plunket) to explain, in a very few words, what the nature of the Bill was. He was not——

MR. SEXTON asked if it was competent for the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) to explain the Bill on a Motion for the adjournment of the debate?

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. and learned Gentleman must address himself to the Question of adjournment.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS said, that he did not desire to speak as a Member of the Government, but as a Member of the House who was interested in this very simple Bill. He thought he could explain the object of the Bill in two minutes. It was not a Bill of any great importance except to the people concerned, and therefore he hoped the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Healy) would not press his Motion.

MR. SEXTON said, he had no doubt that the right hon. and learned Gentleman's powers of explanation were exceptional. However, the Bill was not so simple as seemed to be imagined. The only reason why hon. Members had assented to sitting till that late hour (1.50) was that the Business to be taken was urgent. He trusted there would be no further opposition to the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, because it was quite clear that at that hour of the morning there could be no satisfactory discussion of the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING (TRANSFER OF REGISTRY, &c.) BILL.—[BILL 179.]

(*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title and construction).

MR. WHITLEY said, he should like to have some explanation of the Bill. It seemed a very simple measure, providing merely for the transfer to the Board of Trade the registry of shipping. But he thought the general feeling was that the Board of Trade had already more than they could manage, and therefore he did not know why it was proposed to transfer to that Board from the Customs the registry of shipping. So far as he knew, the present system had given satisfaction to the mercantile community, and therefore he should like to hear why that change was proposed?

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) said, it had been found that the present system did not work satisfactorily; and, therefore, in order to simplify the registration of shipping, it was proposed by this very short Bill that in future the Board of Trade should be alone responsible for the registration. The Bill was brought in by the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain); it passed the second reading without opposition; and he (Baron Henry De Worms) trusted that it would not now be opposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not think the hon. Gentleman was quite right when he said that the Bill passed the second reading without any opposition. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) had some recollection of having objected to it himself. The fact was this Bill extended to Ireland a jurisdiction which did not at present exist. The Board of Trade was in Ireland only concerned with the Irish Board of Lights; but this Bill would introduce the Board of Trade into Ireland in a very different character. The people of Ireland had not a very satisfactory experience of the Board of Trade; and they had, therefore, no reason to desire an extension of the Board's authority to the other side of the water. It had not by any means been proved that the Bill was likely to improve matters even with respect to England. Seeing that in Ireland there was now a tendency to decentralize matters, it seemed to be a rather backward step to propose legislation which would centralize matters still more, at any rate in one respect. Would the Government consent to the limitation of the Bill to Great Britain, leaving matters in Ireland as at present?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS) thought that, under the circumstances, the better plan would be to report Progress.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

TITHE RENT CHARGE REDEMPTION BILL.—[BILL 181.]

(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Monk, Mr. Vivian.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SAMPSON LLOYD said, he hoped the House would allow the Bill to be read a second time. By existing Acts of Parliament permissive power

was given to the owners of certain lands to redeem tithes. The object of this Bill was to extend the permissive power to redeem tithes to all those lands which were excluded from the operation of the existing Acts. The thing was purely permissive in its character; and if it was right to give the privilege of redeeming tithes to one person, there was no reason, he submitted, why it should not be given to another person. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *committed* for *To-morrow.*

RIVER THAMES (No. 2) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 203.]

Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Elton, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Sellar, Colonel Makins, Mr. Molloy.)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Provision for preventing annoyance to riparian owners).

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE proposed to omit the words "thirty days," in line 37, and insert "forty-eight hours."

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 37, to leave out the words "thirty days," and insert the words "forty-eight hours."—(*Mr. Story-Maskelyne.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there was a great difference between 30 days and 48 hours. He did not know whether there was any objection to the adoption of the Amendment, but he should certainly like a definition of a "pleasure ground." According to the Bill, a steamer or house-boat could not anchor off a pleasure ground or garden for 30 days; consequently, a pleasure ground was not a garden. What was it? Perhaps there was some legal Gentleman present who could tell the Committee specially what a pleasure ground was. A pleasure ground might be a park—something between a park and a garden. If a park were included in the words "pleasure ground," the house might be half-a-mile or a mile from the river, and therefore it would be a monstrous thing if the owner of a park were to have the power to prevent a house-boat anchoring for more than 48 hours outside his property.

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE said, that the terms used in the Bill were legal terms. They were introduced in Committee by hon. Gentlemen of considerable legal eminence. The words "pleasure ground" were intended to include the ground around the house in which, for instance, there might be paths, but not flowers grown. They were not meant to include the whole of the ground which might be occupied by the riparian owner, such as a park or pasture ground, but merely the ground within the immediate neighbourhood of the house used, say, for purposes of recreation. He thought the words as they stood would be quite safe as excluding the idea of a park, which his hon. Friend was afraid would be included in the clause. The words in the clause had been very carefully considered in the House, especially by hon. Gentlemen who represented the riparian owners. He hoped, therefore, hon. Gentlemen would accept the Amendment.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there was one important point. The hon. Gentleman had said that the Committee was composed of lawyers, and that they understood what was a pleasure ground; but the hon. Member had not shown what it was to the House. The hon. Member said also that the riparian owners were satisfied, and that might be so; but there were many others to be satisfied besides the riparian owners. If the hon. Member did not alter the phraseology of the clause, he (Mr. Labouchere) should move to leave out the words "pleasure ground."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would suggest to the hon. Member who had just spoken, and also to the hon. Gentleman who had charge of the Bill and moved the Amendment, that perhaps the best course would be to leave the words "pleasure ground" in, and to substitute "a week" for "forty-eight hours." He thought that, from the evidence given before the Committee by those who had considered the Bill, it would be well not to exclude "pleasure

grounds." The reasons given for these words were very strong. The period of 48 hours would be a very short time, and he would suggest to substitute for it "a week."

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) that he is not able to move to omit the words "pleasure ground," as that would be going back.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he understood the point of the right hon. Gentleman's observation. He should be willing to assent to "a week" being adopted in place of "forty-eight hours." If the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would agree to that he would not move to exclude the words "pleasure ground."

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE said, that if other hon. Gentlemen did not object, he would withdraw his Amendment and propose "a week," instead of "thirty days."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 37, to leave out the word "thirty," and insert the word "seven."—(*Mr. Story-Maskelyne.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

BANKRUPTCY (OFFICE ACCOMMODATION) BILL.

On Motion of Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Bill to enable the Treasury to provide, out of surplus funds arising under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," Office Accommodation for officers appointed under the said Act, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HENRY HOLLAND and Baron HENRY DE WORMS.

POLEHAMPTON ESTATES BILL.

On Motion of Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Bill to provide for the application to charitable purposes of such portion of the property subject to the will of Edward Polehampton as is now vested in the Crown, and for the management and application of the said property, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HENRY HOLLAND and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

ARTILLERY AND RIFLE RANGES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary SMITH, Bill to provide for the regulation of land held by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State or a Volunteer Corps for an Artillery or Rifle Range, or a School of Gunnery, or like purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary SMITH and Mr. GUY DAWNAY.

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR, Bill to continue certain Turnpike Acts, and to repeal certain other Turnpike Acts, and for other purposes connected therewith, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR BALFOUR and Mr. STUART-WORTLEY.

POOR LAW UNIONS' OFFICERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE, Bill for enabling allowances to be made to the Officers of Poor Law Unions in Ireland on abolition of office, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.

PLURALITIES BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. ACLAND be nominated a Member of the Select Committee on the Pluralities Bill."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

MR. ILLINGWORTH ventured to make an appeal to the hon. Gentleman who had charge of the Bill that he would not attempt to proceed with it at that hour of the morning. It had been an understanding that contentious Bills, especially those connected with ecclesiastical matters, should be dropped for the remainder of the Session. There were objections to the proposal now made generally; but he (Mr. Illingworth) went beyond that and objected to the scheme which the hon. Gentleman had embodied in the Bill he called the Pluralities Bill. The question was brought forward at an untimely hour; it was an important question, and he would venture to move that the Committee be nominated on that day six weeks. He would point out that the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill had shown very scant courtesy to a great number of Members in the House by the particular form of Committee he

proposed. The hon. Member had violated a sound Rule laid down for the setting up of Committees. What was it he proposed? Why, to make very important changes in connection with one of their great National Institutions; and, under the circumstances, he (Mr. Illingworth) wished to ask why any class of Members in the House was to be excluded from the Committee? Every hon. Gentleman that the hon. Member had selected to be put on the Committee was an adherent of the Church of England. The hon. Member might say, as many others said, that when the subject to be inquired into was something affecting the management of the Church of England, Nonconformists had nothing to do with it; but he objected to such a doctrine being adopted by Members of that House. Take the case of Wales, for instance. The Church of England affected that country in every corner; but was it to be expected that 29 out of 30 Members of the Principality were to be excluded from the Committee, and one put on it who happened to be the minority Member for Wales? From that sole illustration, it would be seen that it would be an unseemly thing at that period of the Session—just on the close of the Business, and under very changed circumstances from those attending the commencement—to be asked to proceed with the Bill. Then, he would ask, how was it that English Nonconformists were not to be on the Committee? Were they to take it for granted that the Church was a National Institution when they saw that when anything affecting it was brought in a large class in the House and the country were told that they had nothing to do with it? He maintained that so long as the Church of England was a National Institution it was a gross injustice and very offensive to exclude from a Parliamentary Inquiry one class of Representatives of Her Majesty's subjects. Therefore, on the question of the character of the Committee which his hon. Friend had set up, he thought the hon. Member would be well advised in withdrawing the Committee for the present time, and resolving upon dealing with it in the new Parliament on different lines. But he (Mr. Illingworth) would go very much further than that. ["Divide!"] If he could only be sure that his hon. Friend would respond to the appeal he (Mr. Illingworth) was making, he should be satisfied, and would not go on further. When they had agreed that all contentious Business should be abandoned for the rest of the Session, the Bill of his hon. Friend should not be made an exception to the rule. He begged to move that the Select Committee be nominated that day six weeks.

MR. SPEAKER: The course the hon. Gentleman probably proposes to take is to move the adjournment of the debate. The Question before the House is that Mr. Acland be a Member of the Committee.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: Yes, Sir; I will move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. ACLAND said, he was very loth to take up the time of the House at that hour of the morning (2.20 A.M.). He would, however, remind his hon. Friend that the Bill had been read a second time after some discussion in the House. The hon. Gentleman was not present on that occasion; but Notice of opposition was given by one or two hon. Members below the Gangway who agreed very much with his hon. Friend's views. He (Mr. Acland) had invited one of them to become a Member of the Committee, but he had declined. He should be very glad, and he knew that those interested in the Bill would be very glad, to add to the Committee any names that his hon. Friend might wish to add; but after having had a second reading without a division, he thought it would be extremely unfair to those who were interested in the measure if they did not proceed with the proposal before the Committee.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. ILLINGWORTH: The "Noes" have it.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is too late. He will have an opportunity of taking a division on the next name.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH be nominated one other Member of the Committee."—(*Mr. Acland.*)

MR. ILLINGWORTH: I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 7; Noes 35: Majority 28.—(Div. List, No. 213.)

Original Question again proposed.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

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LONDON: CORNELIUS BUCK, 22, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

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VOLUME CCXCVIII.

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When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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(*Secretary of State for India*)
East India Loan (£10,000,000), Comm. 1783; *cl.* 4, 1790; *cl.* 15, Amendt. *ib.*
India—Bengal Tenancy Bill, 1707
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CLARKE, Mr. E. G., *Plymouth*
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Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. 1586
Parliament — Adjournment, 1583; — Acceptance of Office by the New Ministers—Statement of Mr. Gladstone, 1619
Parliament — Adjournment — Resignation of Ministers—Statement of Mr. Gladstone—Arrangement of Public Business, 1538
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COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION—Vice President (*see* MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J.)

COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION—Vice President (*see* STANHOPE, Right Hon. E.)

Commons Inclosure (Llanybyther) Provisional Order Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered * *May* 11
Read 1° * *May* 12 [Bill 175]
Read 2° * *May* 19
Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Dalhousie*) *June* 19 (No. 143)
Read 2ª * *June* 25
Committee *; Report *July* 6
Read 3ª * *July* 7

Commons Regulation (Ashdown Forest) Provisional Order Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered * *May* 11
Read 1° * *May* 12 [Bill 174]
Read 2° * *May* 19
Report * *June* 15
Read 3ª * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Dalhousie*) *June* 19 (No. 141)
Read 2ª * *June* 25
Committee *; Report *July* 6
Read 3ª * *July* 7

Commons Regulation (Drumburgh) Provisional Order Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered * *May* 11
Read 1° * *May* 12 [Bill 173]
Read 2° * *May* 19
Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Dalhousie*) *June* 19 (No. 142)
Read 2ª * *June* 25
Committee *; Report *July* 6
Read 3ª * *July* 7

Consolidated Fund (No. 3) Bill — The Vote of Credit
Notice of Motion, Sir Stafford Northcote *May* 8, 13

Consolidated Fund (No. 3) Bill (*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Resolution [May 7] reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *May* 8
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *May* 11, 166
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House, having shown its readiness to grant such supplies as may be required for the defence of the Empire, is of opinion that, before proceeding with this Bill, it is entitled to receive adequate information as to the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in respect of the purposes to which the money granted by the recent Vote of Credit is to be applied" (*Lord George Hamilton*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c;" after long debate, Question put; A. 290, N. 260; M. 30
Div. List, Ayes and Noes, 274
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee *; Report *May* 12
Read 3° * *May* 13
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Granville*) *May* 15
Read 2ª * *May* 18
Committee *; Report *May* 19
Read 3ª * *May* 20
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Consular Service—The Consulate at Tiflis
Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 11, 140

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease — Outbreak in Yorkshire
Question, Mr. Ackers; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 19, 945; Question, Colonel Gunter; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *May* 22, 1148

COOPE, Mr. O. E., *Middlesex*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1461
Literature, Science, and Art—National Portrait Gallery, 1829

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill
(*Mr. Waugh, Mr. George Howard, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Ferguson*)
c. Committee—R.P. *June* 15, 1585 [Bill 26]
Committee—R.P. *July* 6, 1790

Copyright (Works of Fine Art) Bill
(*Mr. Hastings, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Sir Gabriel Goldney, Mr. Agnew, Mr. Gregory*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 6 Bill 84]

CORBET, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow*
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COTTON, Mr. Alderman W. J. R., *London*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution)—Disqualification of Voters—Medical Relief, 24
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County Justices' Clerks Bill
(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Dr. Commins, Mr. Molloy*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *May* 12 [Bill 98]

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H., *Liskeard*
Parliamentary Elections (Mr. Bradlaugh), Res. 1695
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), 3R. 289
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 959

COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*
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Customs Department—Examination of Baggage at English Ports, 1030
Egyptian Loan—Joint Guarantee, 1152
Papal See—Diplomatic Communication with the Vatican—Mr. Errington, 32, 149, 150
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CRANBROOK, Viscount (*afterwards* Lord President of the Council)
Cart Navigation, 2R. 107
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Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. *cl.* 22, 1381; Schedule 7, 1394; Report, 1523; Schedule 7, 1526; Commons Reasons Consid. 1609, 1610
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 13, 891; *cl.* 15, 893, 895
Russia—Circular Despatch of Prince Gortchakow, 1864, Res. 308

CRICHTON, Viscount, *Fermanagh*
Ireland—Inflammatory Language — Mr. W. Johnston, Inspector of Irish Fisheries, 477

Criminal Law Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. H. H. Fowler*)
l. 2R. *May* 22, 1175; after short debate, Debate adjourned [Bill 159]

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) *May* 13, 464; after short debate, Motion postponed
Motion for Leave (*The Lord Advocate*) *May* 14, 566; Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *May* 18, 843; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 184]

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill
Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, The Lord Advocate *May* 14, 492; Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Dr. Cameron [no reply] *May* 18, 719; Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *June* 8, 1416

CROPPER, Mr. J., *Kendal*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 965
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 452
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CROSS, Right Hon. Sir R. A., *Lancashire, S.W.*
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Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 38; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1555
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CROSS, Right Hon. Sir R. A.—*cont.*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 955
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(*Secretary of State for the Home Department*)
Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Comm. *cl.* 1, 1940
"Pall Mall Gazette"—Objectionable Articles—Revelations of Gross Immoralities, 1827
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CROSS, Mr. J. K. (Under Secretary of State for India), *Bolton*
Army (India)—Camp Followers, 623
Asia (Central)—Questions
Afghan Boundary Commission—Sir Peter Lumsden, 1405
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Finance, &c.—Probable Deficit arising from War Preparations, 1397, 1398
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Suez Canal—Internationalization—Proceedings of the Conference in Paris, 1032, 1033
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(*After Resignation*)
East India Loan (£10,000,000), Comm. 1788, 1789

Currency—The Defacement of French Coin
Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 22, 1141

CURRIE, Sir D., *Perthshire*
Navy—Armament of Ships—H.M.S. "Dryad," 141

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill
Question, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 14, 478; Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June* 4, 1184

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill—cont.
The Spirit and Beer Duties—Income Tax Exemptions, Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Hibbert *May* 21, 1016

Customs and Inland Revenue Bill

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert*) [Bill 154]

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *June* 8, 1417
Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House regards the increase proposed by this Bill in the Duties levied on Beer and Spirits as inequitable in the absence of a corresponding addition to the Duties on Wine, and declines to impose fresh Taxation on Real Property until effect has been given to its Resolution of 17th April 1883 and of 28th March 1884, by which it has acknowledged further measures of relief to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 252, N. 264; M. 12
Div. List, Ayes and Noes, 1511
Main Question, as amended, put and agreed to
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Motion agreed to

Customs Department—Examination of Baggage at English Ports
Questions, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *May* 21, 1030

DALHOUSIE, Earl of
Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 987, 998

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., *Buteshire*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), 3R. 287; Lords Amendts. Consid. *cl.* E and F, 1575

(*Lord of the Treasury*)
Parliament—Business of the House, Res. 1880

DARTMOUTH, Earl of
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. Schedule 7, 1392, 1393

DAVEY, Mr. H., *Christchurch*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 387, 391, 422; Lords Amendts. Consid. 955, 958

DAVIES, Mr. D., *Cardigan, &c.*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 392

DAWSON, Mr. C., *Carlow*
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Law and Justice (England)—Irish Roman Catholic Children in English Protestant Charitable Institutions—Case of Rose Doyle, 621
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 8, 100, 102
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 414
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 442, 445; Schedule 1, 535, 538; Amendt. 540, 545; Schedule 3, 561
Registration of Voters (Scotland), 3R. 436

DEASY, Mr. J., *Cork*
Housing of the Working Classes—City of Cork—The Royal Commission, 19
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 449; *cl.* 18, Motion for Adjournment, 524; Schedule 3, 559
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 808, 814, 819
Telegraph Acts Amendment, 2R. 1174

Declaration of Paris, 1856—*Belligerent Rights at Sea*
Moved to resolve, "That it is our duty to withdraw from the Declaration of Paris of 1856, and thus maintain our ancient maritime rights so essential to the power and the prosperity of the Empire" (*Lord Lamington*) *May* 21, 1000; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Dee Conservancy Bill [*Lords*]
c. Moved, "That the Resolution which, upon the 23rd day of June last, was reported from the Select Committee on Standing Orders in relation to the Dee Conservancy Bill [*Lords*], together with the Bill and Report of the Examiner with respect to non-compliance with the Standing Orders, be referred back to the Select Committee on Standing Orders:—That the following Petitions in relation thereto be referred to the said Committee (that is to say):—
"1. Corporations of Chester and Flint, River Dee Commissioners, and others interested in the navigation of the River Dee;
"2. River Dee Company;
"3. Shipowners, Traders, and others:
"That it be an Instruction to the Committee, That they have power to inquire into the allegations contained in such Petitions, and to report to the House whether the circumstances herein stated are such as render it just and expedient that the Standing Orders ought to be dispensed with" (*Mr. Raikes*) *July* 7, 1806; after debate, Question put; A. 129, N. 155; M. 26 (D. L. 210)

DE LA WARR, Earl
India—Ameer of Afghanistan — The Rawul Pindi Conference, 108

DENMAN, Lord
Earldom of Mar Restitution, 2R. 884
Egypt (The Soudan)—Abandonment by England, Res. 698

DENMAN, Lord—*cont.*
Parliament — Adjournment — Resignation of Ministers, 1516
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), 2R. Amendt. 596; Comm. Amendt. 1364; Schedule 5, 1391; Commons Reasons Consid. 1608
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 15, 896; *cl.* 16, 900
Women's Suffrage, 2R. 1611

DERBY, Earl of (Secretary of State for the Colonies)
Africa (South-East Coast)—St. Lucia Bay, 1395
Egypt (The Soudan)—Abandonment by England, Res. 694
Imperial Defences—The Colonies—A Colonial Navy, 12

DE ROS, Lord
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. Schedule 7, 1393

DE WORMS, Baron H., *Greenwich*
Asia (Central)—England and Russia — Proposed Arbitration, 147
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Egypt (Events in the Soudan) — European Prisoners with the Mahdi, 1041
Greenwich Hospital—The Staff—Appointment of a Director General, 709
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(*Secretary to the Board of Trade*)
Dee Conservancy, Res. 1820
Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.), Comm. *cl.* 1, 1939
Supply—Post Office, &c. 1732, 1733

DICKSON, Mr. T. A., *Tyrone*
Ireland—Purchase of Land, 488

DIGBY, Colonel Hon. E. T., *Dorsetshire*
Egypt (Army of Occupation)—Foot Guards, 1336

DILKE, Right Hon. Sir C. W. (President of the Local Government Board), *Chelsea, &c.*
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland), Motion for Leave, 464, 465
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1437, 1439, 1441, 1443, 1444, 1445
Honorary Freedom of Boroughs, Comm. *cl.* 1, 875
Housing of the Working Classes—City of Cork—The Royal Commission, 19, 356
Metropolis Management Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 876, 878, 1325, 1326; *cl.* 3, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 4, 1327, 1328
Parliament—Adjournment, 1585
Order—Course of Procedure—Registration (Occupation Voters), 440
Parliament—Adjournment (Whitsuntide Holidays), Res. 952

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DILKE, Right Hon. Sir C. W.—*cont.*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 6, Amendt. 35, 36; Schedule 7, 38, 40; Amendt. 41, 42, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84; Schedule 8, 101, 102; 3R. 278; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1532, 1541, 1542, 1551; Amendt. 1555, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560; *cl.* E and F, 1579, 1580, 1581
Public Health—Reported Outbreak of Cholera, 1039
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. 385, 386; *add. cl.* 417, 424; Lords Amendts. Consid. 964
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. 441; *add. cl.* 461
Registration of Voters (Scotland), 3R. 435, 436; Lords Amendts. Consid. 971
School Board Elections—List of Voters, 1185
Water Companies (Regulation of Powers), 2R. 104
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, Consid. *cl.* 1, 103

(*After Resignation*)
London Livery Companies, Motion for Leave, 1791
River Thames (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 6, 1942

DILLWYN, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1553

DIXON-HARTLAND, Mr. F. D., *Evesham*
Post Office Sites, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1317, 1322, 1324
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DODDS, Mr. J., *Stockton*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 3R. 606, 607

DONOUGHMORE, Earl of
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 568

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Orders Bill
(*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 4]

Drainage and Improvement of Lands (Ireland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 21 [Bill 192]
Read 2° * *June* 9
Report * *June* 19
Considered * *June* 23
Read 3° * *June* 24
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Iddesleigh*) *June* 26 (No. 155)

DUFF, Mr. R. W., (Lord of the Treasury), *Banffshire*
Supply—Fishery Board, Scotland, 1742

DUNRAVEN, Earl of (*afterwards* Under Secretary of State for the Colonies)
Egypt (The Soudan)—Abandonment by England, Res. 684

DYKE, Right Hon. Sir W. H., *Kent, Mid*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—East Kent Regiment—4th (Militia) Battalion, 1408

(*Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*)
Ireland — Irish Land Commission—Judicial Rents—Estate of Captain Douglass, Co. Longford, 1708
Labourers Act, 1705
Parliament—Business of the House, Res. 1895
Supply—Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1746
Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. 1747
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1745

Earldom of Mar Restitution Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Privy Seal*)
l. Presented (by Her Majesty's command); read 1ª * *May* 8, 1 (No. 107)
Read 2ª, and referred to a Select Committee, after short debate *May* 19, 880

East India Loan (£10,000,000 Bill)
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Kynaston Cross*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *May* 21, 1042 [Bill 109]
Committee; Report *July* 6, 1776
Considered * *July* 7

East India (Unclaimed Stocks) Bill
(*Mr. Kynaston Cross, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Considered * *May* 8 [Bill 125]
3R. *May* 11, 291; after short debate [House counted out]
Read 3° * *May* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Kimberley*) *May* 15 (No. 113)
Read 2ª * *June* 5
Committee *; Report *June* 8
Order for 3R. discharged * *June* 9
Read 3ª * *June* 25

Ecclesiastical Affairs (*Ireland*)—See title *Papal See, The—Diplomatic Communication with the Vatican*

Educational Endowments (Ireland) Bill
[H.L.]
c. Read 1° * *May* 12 [Bill 176]

Education Department (*England and Wales*)
Alleged Over-Pressure at Adlington National School, Chorley, Lancashire — Suicide of Elizabeth Forshaw, Questions, General Feilden, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Mundella *May* 14, 479
School Board Elections — The List of Voters, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *June* 4, 1185
The Education of the Blind, Deaf, and Dumb —Inquiry by Royal Commission, Question, Mr. Ackers; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 18, 701

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Education Department (England and Wales)—cont.

The New Code—The Instructions to Inspectors, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 18, 701

Education—Voluntary Training Homes
Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *June* 8, 1397

EGERTON, Admiral Hon. F., *Derbyshire, E.*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 39

EGERTON, Hon. A. F., *Wigan*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 41

Egypt
LORDS
Suppression of the "Bosphore Egyptien"—Sir Evelyn Baring, Observations, Earl Granville, The Earl of Jersey; Question, The Marquess of Salisbury; Answer, Earl Granville *May* 8, 4
The Military Expedition—Occupation of Suakin, Question, Observations, The Earl of Wemyss, Viscount Bury; Reply, Earl Granville *May* 21, 1011

Egypt
COMMONS (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Army of Occupation—The Foot Guards, Question, Colonel Digby; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *June* 5, 1336
Colonel de Coetlogon, Question, Mr. Marum; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 11, 126
Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Special Mission, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *July* 7, 1828
The Campaign of 1882 — *The Meat Contract*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Brand *May* 21, 1019
The Fortifications of Alexandria, Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter *May* 19, 944
The Port of Suakin, Question, Mr. H. S. Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *June* 8, 1407
Egypt and the Soudan—The "Protocole de Désintéressement"—Evacuation of Dongola, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *July* 6, 1706

Finance, &c.
The Egyptian Coupon—The Five per Cent Deduction, Question, Mr. Sidney Herbert; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 21, 1040; Question, Lord John Manners; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *June* 8, 1407

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Egypt—COMMONS—*Finance, &c.*—cont.
The Egyptian Loan—The Joint Guarantee, Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Lord John Manners, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 22, 1151

The Soudan
Ministerial Statement, The Marquess of Hartington; Questions, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Finch-Hatton, Mr. Chaplin, Lord Eustace Cecil, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Puleston; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Gladstone *May* 11, 152
Events in the Soudan—The Alleged Massacre at Khartoum, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 8, 30
Relief of Kassala, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 12, 364; Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Sir John Hay; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 15, 623; Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Gladstone, 632
M. Olivier Pain, Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 14, 484
The Papers, Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 18, 717
European Prisoners with the Mahdi, Questions, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 21, 1041; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 22, 1148
Organization of a Local Force, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 22, 1151

The Military Expedition
Vote of Thanks to the Forces, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 14, 485; Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 1830
Lord Wolseley's Instructions, Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter *May* 19, 939
The Camel Corps, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 18, 708
The Canadian Voyageurs, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 18, 713
The Australian Contingent, Question, Mr. Finch-Hatton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 18, 718
The Indian Contingent, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *June* 8, 1406
The Coldstream Guards, Question, Viscount Lewisham; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter *May* 19 947
The Brigade of Guards, Question, Sir Henry Fletcher; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter *May* 20, 985

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Egypt — COMMONS — *The Military Expedition*— cont.

The Guards at Alexandria, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 21, 1038

Stores for the Soudan, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Brand *May* 21, 1019

Generals Graham and M'Neill, Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *June* 8, 1412

The Military Expedition—The Suakin Force

The Suakin-Berber Railway, Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Raikes; Answers, Sir Arthur Hayter *May* 19, 940; Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Creyke; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 21, 1016; Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *June* 5, 1336

The Nile Force

Health of the Troops, Question, Sir Frederick Milner; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 14, 486

War in the Soudan

Fighting near Suakin, Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Healy, Mr. Macartney, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 8, 24

The Coolies at Suakin, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Caine *May* 11, 138

Suakin, Questions, Mr. Percy Wyndham, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Gregory, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Heneage, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 11, 165

Military Operations—The Hospital at Suakin, Questions, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 14, 468

Withdrawal of Troops from Suakin, Questions, Colonel Stanley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 15, 625

Occupation of Suakin, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 21, 1036

The Friendly Tribes at Suakin, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 14, 489

The Nile Expedition—Report of Sir Charles Wilson, Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 15, 623

Suppression of the "Bosphore Egyptien"

Question, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 11, 143; Questions, Mr. Gibson, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Mr. Gladstone *May* 21, 1025; Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 22, 1149

The Incriminatory Articles, Questions, Mr. Jerningham, Sir Frederick Milner; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *June* 8, 1405

[See title *Suez Canal*]

Egypt and the Soudan

Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Return of the number (approximate) of British troops employed in Egypt and the Soudan" (*The Earl of Longford*) *May* 8, 5; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Egypt (*The Eastern Soudan*)

Moved to resolve, "That, in the opinion of this House, until a settled government has been established in Eastern Soudan, in the interests of civilization, of the native population, and of commerce, and for the security of Egypt, this country cannot relieve itself of the responsibilities it has incurred through the warlike operations that have, during the last two years, been twice undertaken in that part of the Soudan" (*The Earl of Wemyss*) *May* 18, 655

Amendt. To leave out all after the first ("That") insert ("this House accepts with satisfaction the promise of Her Majesty's Government to recall Her Forces from the Soudan, and considers the construction of a railway from Suakin by military force through a hostile population would be inconsistent with the pledge just given to Parliament and the country. Moreover this House declines to assume any responsibility for commercial, civilizing, or philanthropic enterprises outside the admitted obligations and interests of Great Britain" (*The Lord Wentworth*); after debate, Amendt. and original Motion withdrawn

Egypt—Return of Naval and Military Expenditure—Loss of Life and Casualties

Moved for, "Return of the total sums spent by the Imperial and Indian Governments on naval and military operations in or connected with Egypt, on its civil administration, and on any other matters relating to that country since 1st January 1882 up to the present time: Also, for a Return of the officers and men who have lost their lives and of the number invalided home in consequence of our operations in Egypt between the above-mentioned dates" (*The Earl of Jersey*) *May* 19, 908; after short debate, Motion amended, by addition of the words ("so far as it can be given,") and agreed to

Egyptian Loan Bill

(*Earl Granville*)

l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 11]

ELCHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*

Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 458

Elementary Education Provisional Orders Confirmation (Birmingham, &c) Bill

[H.L.] (*The Lord President*)

l. Committee * *July* 6 (No. 80)
Report * *July* 7

ELLENBOROUGH, Lord
Egypt and the Soudan, Motion for a Return, 10
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. *cl.* 28, 1385

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
Supply — Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1208

ELLIS, Sir J. W., *Surrey, Mid*
Parliament—Business of the House, Res. 1899
Supply—Embassies and Missions Abroad, 1757

ELTON, Mr. C. I., *Somerset, W.*
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland), Motion for Leave, 865

EMLY, Lord
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. 1365

Employers' Liability Act Amendment
Question, Mr. Charles Roundell; Answer, The Attorney General *May* 19, 937

ENFIELD, Viscount
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, 2R. 1648, 1651

English Masters of English Schools Abroad
Question, Mr. Alderman Lawrence; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 21, 1028

EWART, Mr. W., *Belfast*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 54, 56

EWING, Mr. A. ORR-, *Dumbarton*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1420, 1466
North British Railway, Consid. 935
Ways and Means—Financial Statement—The Spirit Duty, 140

FAIRBAIRN, Sir A., *York, W. R., E. Div.*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 47

FARQUHARSON, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
Forestry, Motion for a Select Committee, 646
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 969
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1721, 1722

Federal Council of Australasia Bill
Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *May* 15, 621

FEILDEN, General R. J., *Lancashire, N.*
Education Department — Alleged Overpressure at Adlington National School, Chorley, Lancashire — Suicide of Elizabeth Forshaw, 479

FEVERSHAM, Earl of
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), 2R. 599; Comm. Schedule 7, Amendt. 1392, 1394; Commons Reasons Consid. 1596, 1610

FINCH-HATTON, Hon. M. E. G., *Lincolnshire, S.*
Consolidated Fund (No. 3), 2R. 203
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Australian Contingent, 718
Soudan, Ministerial Statement, 160
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 42
Representation of the People Act, 1884, Sec. 9—Duties of Overseers, 616

FIRTH, Mr. J. F. B., *Chelsea*
Metropolis Management Acts Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 876, 878
Parliament—Business of the House, 718
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 966

FITZGERALD, Lord
Barristers Admission (Ireland), 2R. 2
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. 1369
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 16, 901
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, 2R. 1650

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G. P. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Calne*
Asia (Central)—Questions
Ameer of Afghanistan, 485;—Proclamation, 1027, 1150
Russia and Afghanistan — Russo-Afghan Boundary—Russians at Ak Tépé, 363;—Papers, 716
Russo-Afghan Frontier—Negotiations, 620, 714, 1189, 1192
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Egypt—Questions
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Colonel De Coetlogon, 127
Events in the Soudan—European Prisoners with the Mahdi, 1041, 1042
Finance, &c.—Egyptian Coupon—Five per Cent Deductions, 1040, 1407
Seizure of the "Bosphore Egyptien," 143;—Suppression of, 1025, 1026, 1150, 1406
Egyptian Loan — The Joint Guarantee, 1153, 1154
English Masters of English Schools Abroad, 1029
Public Health—Inoculation for Cholera, 21
Quarantine on Shipping — An International Scientific and Sanitary Conference at Rome, 487
Russia—Conscription in the Caucasus, 29
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Supply — Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 773
United States — Mr. Keely, the American Minister at Vienna, 28
United States and Cuba — Treaty of Commerce, 1401

FLETCHER, Sir H., *Horsham*
Egypt (Military Expedition) — Camel Corps, 708;—Guards, The, 985
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FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Secretary of State (*see* GRANVILLE, Earl)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Under Secretary of State (*see* FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G. P.)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Secretary of State (*see* SALISBURY, Marquess of)

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Under Secretary of State (*see* BOURKE, Right Hon. R.)

Forestry
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *May* 15, To leave out from "That," add "a Select Committee be appointed to consider whether, by the establishment of a Forest School or otherwise, our Woodlands could be rendered more remunerative" (*Sir John Lubbock*) *v.*, 634; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and negatived; words added
Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford*
Education Department — Alleged Overpressure at Adlington National School, Chorley, Lancashire—Suicide of Elizabeth Forhsaw, 480
Inland Revenue—Stamp Duties upon Foreign Bonds, 475

FORSTER, Sir C., *Walsall*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 3R. 466

FOWLER, Mr. H. H. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Wolverhampton*
Parliament—Business of the House—Orders of the Day, Res. 1588
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. *cl.* A, 1564; *cl.* B, 1568
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 452
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1195, 1214, 1222

(*After Resignation*)
Supply—Embassies and Missions Abroad, 1753

FOWLER, Right Hon. R. N. (Lord Mayor), *London*
Africa (South)—Zululand—Rumoured British Protectorate, 478
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Spain—The Derelict Ship "Thessalos," 946
Supply—Orange River Territory, &c. 1770

FOWLER, Mr. W., *Cambridge*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 401, 419

Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Whitley, Captain Aylmer*)
c. Committee *; Report; read 3° *May* 21 [Bill 139]
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl Stanhope*) *June* 5 (No. 128)
Read 2ª * *June* 25
Committee *; Report *July* 7

Friendly Societies Act, 1875—*Registration of New Societies*
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the working of the Friendly Societies Act, 1875, with regard to the admission of new Societies to registry" (*The Lord Greville*) *June* 5, 1329; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 9, Not-Cont. 50; M. 41; resolved in the negative

GABBETT, Mr. D. F., *Limerick*
Army—Brigade of Guards, 121

GALLOWAY, Earl of
Asia (Central) — Russia and Afghanistan—Diplomatic Representation at Cabul, 1011
Cart Navigation, 2R. 107
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Egypt and the Soudan, Motion for a Return, 10
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Commons Reasons Consid. 1609

Gambling Act—Raid on a Betting Club
Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 19, 941

Gas and Water Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *May* 12 [Bill 149]
Report * *June* 12
Read 3° * *June* 15
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 15 (No. 136)
Read 2ª * *June* 23
Committee * *July* 6
Report * *July* 7

Gas Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 3° * *May* 8 [Bill 126]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *May* 11 (No. 108)
Read 2ª * *June* 8

Gas Provisional Orders (*No.* 1) *Bill*—cont.
Committee * *June* 12
Report * *June* 15
Read 3ª * *June* 19

GIBSON, Right Hon. E., *Dublin University* (*afterwards* Lord Ashbourne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland)
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—Proclamation of the Ameer, 1027, 1150
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 1177
Egypt — Suppression of the "Bosphore Egyptien," 1025, 1026, 1149
Parliament—Adjournment (Whitsuntide Holidays), Res. 1104, 1113
Parliament—Rules and Orders — Public Bills —Notices of Objections, 1040
Registration (Occupation Voters)—Medical Relief—Mr. Chamberlain, 1409
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 410, 417, 1037 ; Lords Amendts. Consid. 967
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 443 ; Amendt. 447, 516 ; *cl.* 8, 519 ; *cl.* 17, 521
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GILES, Mr. A., *Southampton*
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GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Edinburghshire*
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Asia (Central)—Afghan Boundary Commission —Sir Peter Lumsden, 1031, 1032, 1344
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Parliament—Business of the House, 1709, 1710, 1711
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Parliamentary Elections (Mr. Bradlaugh), Res. 1681, 1701

GLADSTONE, Mr. H. J. (Lord of the Treasury), *Leeds*
Charity Commission, Office of the, 137

Glasgow Corporation Tramways Bill
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *June* 15, 1533
Moved, "That the Order be postponed" (*The Earl of Redesdale*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Motion agreed to; Bill read 3ª

Gordon, General—Financial Engagements
Question, Mr. Brodrick; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 18, 715

GORST, Mr. J. E., *Chatham*
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Suakin-Berber Railway, 1336, 1337
Parliament—Business of the House, 629;—New Rules of Procedure, 720
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Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. 381; *add. cl.* 398; Lords Amendts. Consid. 961
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 514
Supply—Board of Trade, 1281
Civil Service Commission, 1299
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Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1195, 1232, 1241
Ways and Means—Resolutions—Spirit and Beer Duty, 1342
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GOURLEY, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
Egypt (Military Operations in the Soudan)—Generals Graham and M'Neill, 1412
Mercantile Marine, Cruisers of the—Manning and Equipment, 1824
Navy—The Evolutionary Squadron—Torpedo Craft, 1399
Supply—Board of Trade, 1268

GRANARD, Earl of
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. 1368

GRANT, Mr. A., *Leith, &c.*
Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings (Scotland) Act—Leith Improvement Scheme, 708

GRANT, Mr. D., *Marylebone*
Supply—Lunacy Commission, England, 1726

GRANTHAM, Mr. W., *Surrey, E.*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1557; *cl.* A, 1564

GRANVILLE, Earl (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
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Parliament—Privilege—Marquess of Salisbury's Speech at Hackney—Personal Explanation, 295, 299, 322
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Suez Canal Commission, 1331, 1332, 1333

Greenwich Hospital—The Staff—Appointment of a Director General
Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Caine *May* 18, 709

GREER, Mr. T., *Carrickfergus*
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Report of Sir Charles Wilson, 623
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 54

GREGORY, Mr. G. B., *Sussex, E.*
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Suakin, 165
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Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 965
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GUNTER, Colonel R., *Knaresborough*
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GURDON, Mr. R. T., *Norfolk, S.*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 953

HAMILTON, Right Hon. Lord G. F., *Middlesex*
Consolidated Fund (No. 3), 2R. Amendt. 171, 179, 191, 195, 250, 271
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1444, 1445, 1446
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Mercantile Marine, Cruisers of the—Manning and Equipment, 1824
Navy—Steam Reserves, 1833

HAMILTON, Lord C. J., *Liverpool*
Public Health — The Cholera — Preventive Measures, 1830

HAMILTON, Mr. I. T., *Dublin Co.*
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HARCOURT, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Derby*
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HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of (Secretary of State for War), *Lancashire, N.E.*
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HENDERSON, Mr. F., *Dundee*
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HENEAGE, Mr. E., *Great Grimsby*
Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Suakin, 166
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HENRY, Mr. M., *Galway Co.*
Literature, Science, and Art — National Portrait Gallery, 1830
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Ways and Means — The Resolutions — Spirit and Beer Duty, Ministerial Statement, 1340

HERBERT, Hon. S., *Wilton*
Egypt (Finance, &c.) — Egyptian Coupon—The Five per Cent Reduction, 1040

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LORDS
Message from the Queen *May* 12, 300
Her Majesty's Most Gracious Message considered *May* 15, 569

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H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—cont.
Moved, "That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for the most gracious communication which it has pleased Her Majesty to make to this House of the intended marriage between Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice and His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg, and to assure Her Majesty that this House, always feeling the liveliest interest in any event which can contribute to the happiness of the Royal Family, will concur in the measures which may be proposed for the consideration of the House to enable Her Majesty to make suitable provision for Her Royal Highness" (*Earl Granville*); after short debate, Motion agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*

COMMONS
Message from Her Majesty brought up, and read by Mr. Speaker *May* 12, 348
Moved, "That the said Gracious Message be referred to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Motion agreed to
Message from Her Majesty considered in Committee *May* 14, 492
Moved, "That the annual sum of Six Thousand Pounds be granted to Her Majesty, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, the said Annuity to be settled on Her Royal Highness Princess Beatrice for Her life, in such manner as Her Majesty shall think proper, and to commence from the date of the Marriage of Her Royal Highness with His Serene Highness Prince Henry of Battenberg" (*Mr. Gladstone*); after debate, Question put; A. 337, N. 38; M. 299 (D. L. 188)
[See title *Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill*]

HERSCHELL, Sir F. (Solicitor General), *Durham*
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(*After Resignation.*)
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Supply — Supreme Court of Judicature — Salaries and Expenses not charged on the Consolidated Fund, 1921, 1932

HIBBERT, Mr. J. T. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), *Oldham*
Beer, Manufacture of—Return of Brewers and Brewers' Licences, 1186
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Prisons — Late Royal Commission — Expenses of Medical Witnesses for Payment of Substitutes, 1015
Ireland—Piers and Harbours—Questions
Arklow Harbour Works, 1398
Fishery Piers and Harbours—Harbour at Clogher Head, Co. Louth, 1334
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Ways and Means—Inland Revenue—The Income Tax—Schedule B, 1030

(*After Resignation*)
Supply—Consular Establishments Abroad, &c. 1764
Embassies and Missions Abroad, 1749, 1756, 1760
Lunacy Commission, England, 1725

HICKS, Mr. E., *Cambridgeshire*
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Supply—Criminal Prosecutions, Sheriffs' Expenses, &c. 1916

Highlands and Islands of Scotland Commission — Letter of the Duke of Argyll
Observations, Lord Napier and Ettrick, The Duke of Argyll *June* 23, 1612

Highways Bill (*Lord Clinton*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 11 (No. 98)
Committee *; Report *May* 12
Read 3ª * *May* 15
Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 13]

HILL, Mr. A. S., *Staffordshire, W.*
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HOLLAND, Sir H., *Midhurst*
Africa (South) — Bechuanaland — Despatch of Sir Hercules Robinson, 1335;—Papers, 357
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HOLMS, Mr. J. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Hackney*
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HOME DEPARTMENT—Under Secretary of State (*see* FOWLER, Mr. H. H.)

HOME DEPARTMENT—Secretary of State (*see* CROSS, Right Hon. Sir R. ASSHETON)

HOME DEPARTMENT—Under Secretary of State (*see* WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART-)

Honorary Freedom of Boroughs Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Norwood*)
c. Read 2° * *May* 13 [Bill 153]
Committee; Report *May* 18, 874
Considered; read 3°, after short debate *May* 21, 1134
l. Commons Amendt. considered *June* 19, 1594
Moved, "To agree to the said Amendt." (*The Marquess of Ripon*); after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative
A Committee appointed to prepare a reason to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said Amendt.: The Committee to meet forthwith: Report from the Committee of the reason prepared by them; read, and agreed to; and Bill returned to the Commons with a reason

HOPE, Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford, *Cambridge University*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 419
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HOPWOOD, Mr. C. H., *Stockport*
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Parliamentary Elections (Mr. Bradlaugh), Res. Amendt. 1677
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Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1204
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Housing of the Working Classes
The Royal Commission, Questions, Mr. Sexton: Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 12, 355; —*City of Cork*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 8, 19
Irish Representation — Transfer of Small Houses—The Stamp Duties, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 19, 946

HUBBARD, Right Hon. J. G., *London*
Parliament—Business of the House, 1711
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Telegraph Acts Amendment, 2R. 1169, 1173
Ways and Means—Inland Revenue — Spirit Duty—Refunding the Increased Duty, 1416

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Bill
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *May* 14, 466; after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Read 3°, after debate *May* 15, 599

HUNTLY, Marquess of
Earldom of Mar Restitution, 2R. 886
Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 997

ILLINGWORTH, Mr. A., *Bradford*
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Defence of the Coaling Stations, Question, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 15, 625
The Colonies—A Colonial Navy, Questions, Viscount Sidmouth; Answers, The Earl of Derby, The Earl of Northbrook *May* 8, 11

INCE, Mr. H. B., *Hastings*
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, 1832
Supply — Supreme Court of Judicature—Salaries and Expenses not charged on the Consolidated Fund, Amendt. 1918, 1923

INCHIQUIN, Lord
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Income Tax Administration Amendment Bill (*Mr. Hubbard, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Edward Leatham, Mr. Whitley*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *May* 13 [Bill 20]

INDIA—Secretary of State (*see* KIMBERLEY, Right Hon. Earl of)

INDIA—Under Secretary of State (*see* CROSS, Mr J. K.)

INDIA—Secretary of State (*see* CHURCHILL, Right Hon. Lord R. H. S.)

Industrial Schools (Ireland) Bill (*Lord FitzGerald*)
l. Committee *; Report *May* 8 (No. 95)
Read 3ª * *May* 12
Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 19]

INDIA (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Bengal Tenancy Bill, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) *July* 6, 1707
Bombay Land Revenue Act, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *June* 8, 1401

INDIA—*cont.*
Finance, &c.
Military Preparations — Expenditure, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *May* 21, 1030
Probable Deficit arising from War Preparations, Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *June* 8, 1397
Loss arising from Guarantees, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *June* 8, 1401

Intermediate Education, Wales, Bill (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Lord Richard Grosvenor*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Mundella*) *May* 21, 1136; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 195]

IRELAND (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Board of Trade (*Marine Department*), *Harbour Appointments in Dublin*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 22, 1145
Extra Police Tax—The Corporation of Limerick—Action of the Government, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 14, 488; Questions, Mr. Lewis; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 623; *June* 8, 1403
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Inflammatory Language — Mr. William Johnston, Inspector of Irish Fisheries, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 8, 28; Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 11, 133; Questions, Viscount Crichton, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 477
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County Down Lunatic Asylum—Surcharge on Governors, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 472;—*Residence and Attendance of Governors*, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 473

Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Dundrum, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *June* 8, 1398

District Lunatic Asylums, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 620

Lunacy Commissioners—The Report for 1884, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 470

Education (*Ireland*)

Banagher Royal School, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 22, 1143

Waterford Industrial School, Question, Mr. Richard Power; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 8, 18

Commissioners of National Education—Annual Examination of Teachers—Names of Examiners, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 12, 352;—*Appointment of Mr. William Robertson, Assistant Inspector of Schools*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 472;—*Ballymote National School, Co. Sligo*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 22, 1141

Board of National Education—Dr. Newell, Senior Secretary, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 22, 1143

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Cavan Union — Mr. James Hartly, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 22, 1140

Dr. Molony, Medical Officer, Arklow Dispensary District, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 613

Donegal Workhouse — Catholic Assistant Teacher, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 11, 122

The Infirmary at Lifford, Co. Donegal, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 8, 16

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Vacancies in Usk and Naas Divisions, Naas Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 19, 943

Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians—The Rev. Mr. M'Fadden, P.P., Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *June* 4, 1187

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Water Supply at Urlaur—Action of the Swineford Sanitary Board, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 21, 1020

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Sea and Coast Fisheries — The Trawling Ground at Portstewart Bay, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *June* 4, 1186

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Harbour at Clogher Head, Co. Louth, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *June* 5, 1333

Loan of £250,000 from Irish Church Fund, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 6, 1708

Piers and Harbours (*Ireland*)

Arklow Harbour Works, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *June* 8, 1398

Greystones Harbour Works, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 14, 471

Pier at Rosses Point, Co. Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *June* 4, 1186

Port of Ballyshannon—Wreck of the "Rockabill," Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. J. Holms *May* 14, 469

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Conviction of James Daniel, of Cloneen, Co. Tipperary, for Assault on Henry Meagher, Questions, Mr. John O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 481

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Lawrence Hannen—Costs of Defence, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 19, 938

Explosive Outrage at Londonderry — George M'Garrigle, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 11, 129

Imprisonment of two Women, Co. Wexford, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 19, 939

Judicial Arrangements at Lisburn, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 475

The Barbavilla Murder, Notice of Resolution, Mr. T. D. Sullivan *June* 5, 1345; Observations, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Reply, The Attorney General for Ireland; Observations, Mr. Sexton, Mr. John Redmond *June* 5, 1346 [House counted out]

The Tubbercurry Prisoners, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *May* 8, 27

The Magistracy (*Ireland*)

Arms Licence—Nenagh Petty Sessions—Case of George Napier, Questions, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 11, 136; Questions, Mr. John O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 616

Cappawhite Presentment Sessions, Question, Mr. John O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 18, 706

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The Crossmaglen Prisoners, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Harcourt *May* 11, 132

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Riot at Stewartstown—Inaction of the Police, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 8, 14

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The late Royal Commission — Expenses of Medical Witnesses for Payment of Substitutes, Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 21, 1015

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Report * *June* 15
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l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *June* 19 (No. 144)
Read 2ª * *June* 25
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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders Bill
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c. Ordered * *May* 14
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Read 2° * *June* 5
Report * *July* 6
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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill
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c. Ordered * *May* 14
Read 1° * *May* 15 [Bill 183]
Read 2° * *June* 5
Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *June* 19 (No. 146)
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c. Read 3° * *May* 8 [Bill 128]
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. x]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 2) Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 2° * *May* 11 [Bill 155]
Report * *May* 20
Read 3° * *May* 21
l. Royal Assent *June* 25 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. xxix]

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l. Committee * ; Report *May* 18 (No. 84)
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c. Read 1° * *May* 20 [Bill 188]
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Report * *June* 15
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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) Bill
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *May* 19 [Bill 185]
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Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *June* 19 (No. 145)
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Read 3ª * *July* 7

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Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Public Health Act) (No. 1) Bill [H.L.]
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l. Committee * ; Report *June* 8 (No. 83)
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Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * ; Report *May* 8 (No. 89)
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c. Ordered ; read 1° * *May* 8 [Bill 169]
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Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *June* 19 (No. 147)
Read 2ª * *June* 25

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *May* 22 [Bill 196]
Read 2° * *June* 9
Report * *June* 19
Read 3° * *June* 23
l. Read 1ª * *June* 23 (No. 152)
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Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)
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l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. v]

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Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Monson*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *May* 12 (No. 110)
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Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill (*Dr. Lyons*)
c. Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 21, 1038
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [30th April], "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 7, 1938
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

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The "Marie Brockelmann," Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Holms *June* 5, 1334

Merchant Shipping (Transfer of Registry, &c.) Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 13 [Bill 179]
Read 2°, after short debate *June* 4, 1324
Committee—R.P. *July* 7, 1939

Metropolis (Hughes Fields, Deptford) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 15 (No. 82)
Committee *; Report *June* 8
Read 3ª * *June* 9
c. Read 1° * *June* 12 [Bill 205]
Read 2° * *June* 23

Metropolis Management Acts Amendment Bill (*Viscount Lewisham, Sir Charles Mills, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Boord*)
c. Committee *May* 18, 876 [House counted out)
Committee; Report *June* 4, 1325 [Bill 138]
Considered *; read 3° *July* 6 [Bill 200]
l. Read 1ª * (*E. of Camperdown*) *July* 7 (No. 162)

Metropolis (Tabard Street, Newington) Provisional Order Confirmation Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 15 (No. 81)
Committee *; Report *June* 8
Read 3ª * *June* 9
c. Read 1° * *June* 12 [Bill 204]
Read 2° * *June* 23

Metropolitan Board of Works Bill (*by Order*)
c. Considered *May* 19, 916

Metropolitan Improvements—Billingsgate Market
Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 8, 19

Metropolitan Streets Act (1867) Extension Bill (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 12 (No. 101)
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Denaby Main Colliery, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 19, 942
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Supreme Court of Judicature—Salaries and Expenses not charged on the Consolidated Fund, 1923

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order Bill (*Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 2ª * *May* 12 (No. 96)
Committee *; Report *May* 15
Read 3ª * *May* 18
Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 12]

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Papal See, The—Diplomatic Communication with the Vatican—Mr. Errington—cont.
Question, Mr. Sexton [no reply] *May* 8, 32; Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 11, 149; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 12, 361; Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 15, 632; Questions, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. Callan; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *June* 4, 1188

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Privilege — The Marquess of Salisbury's Speech at Hackney, Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury; short debate thereon *May* 12, 293

Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92 and 93 be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Whitsuntide, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess *May* 21

Ordered that Standing Orders Nos. 72 and 82 be suspended for the remainder of the Session *June* 12

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

Westminster Hall (Restoration), Question, Observations, Lord Norton, The Earl of Wemyss, Viscount Bury; Reply, The Earl of Rosebery *May* 21, 999

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Moved, "That the House do adjourn during pleasure" (*The Earl of Cork*) (The Registration Bills) *May* 19, 950; after short debate, Motion agreed to; House adjourned accordingly at 11.45. A.M.; House resumed at 5 P.M.

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS

Adjournment

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday" (*The Earl Granville*) *June* 9, 1516; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Arrangement of Public Business, Statement, Earl Granville *June* 12, 1521

Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday next" (*Viscount Cranbrook*) *June* 15, 1534; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Several Bills having been advanced a stage, Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Friday next" (*Viscount Cranbrook*); Motion agreed to

Further Adjournment, Question, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury *June* 19, 1592

The New Ministry, Statement of the Earl Granville *June* 23, 1607

Statement of the Marquess of Salisbury, Observations, The Marquess of Salisbury, Earl Granville *June* 25, 1631

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PARLIAMENT—LORDS—*cont.*

Moved, "That this House do adjourn until Monday week" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *June* 25, 1638; Motion agreed to

Ministry of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, as it stood at their Resignation of Office, 1643

Ministry of the Marquess of Salisbury, as formed on Acceptance of Office, 1644

Arrangement of Public Business — Statement of the Marquess of Salisbury (Prime Minister)

Moved, "That the House do now adjourn" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *July* 6, 1652; Motion agreed to

COMMONS—

Committee for Privileges — The Lovat Peerage —Removal of Coffin Plates from Vault at Kirkhill, Questions, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answers, The Lord Advocate *May* 12, 361; *May* 14, 483

Lord Randolph Churchill and the Khedive, Notice of Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, The Secretary of State for India (Lord Randolph Churchill) *July* 6, 1702

Order — Course of Procedure — Registration (Occupation Voters) Bill, Observations, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Reply, Mr. Speaker *May* 13, 438

Rules and Orders—Public Bills—Notices of Objection, Questions, Mr. Warton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Speaker *May* 21, 1039

Private Bills

Ordered, That Standing Orders 39 and 129 be suspended, and that the time for depositing Petitions against Private Bills, or against any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, and for depositing duplicates of any Documents relating to any Bill to confirm any Provisional Order, or Provisional Certificate, be extended to Thursday the 4th day of June (*The Chairman of Ways and Means*) *May* 22

House of Lords—The Appellate Court—Certificate "In Formâ Pauperis," Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *May* 12, 357

Ascension Day—Committees

Moved, "That Committees shall not sit To-morrow, being Ascension Day, until Two of the clock, and have leave to sit until Six of the clock, notwithstanding the sitting of the House" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *May* 13, 438; Question put; A. 54, N. 4; M. 50 (D. L. 185)

Whitsuntide Holidays, Observations, Sir R. Assheton Cross *May* 20, 951; Moved, "That the House, at its rising on Friday, do adjourn till Thursday the 4th of June" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*); debate arising; debate adjourned

Debate resumed *May* 21, 1077; after debate, Question put, and agreed to

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Questions, Sir Edward J. Reed, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 11, 148;—*Ascension Day — Committees*, Motion, Mr. Gladstone *May* 13, 438; Observations, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 18, 718; Observation, Mr. Gladstone *May* 21, 1042; — *The Whitsuntide Holidays*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 8, 31; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Puleston; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, The Marquess of Hartington *May* 12, 365; *May* 20, 951; *May* 21, 1077; — *The Civil Service Estimates — Devolution*, Questions, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gladstone *May* 11, 145;—*Ministerial Statement*, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Mr. Bulwer; Answer, Mr. Speaker; Questions, Mr. Gorst, Mr. E. Stanhope, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Mitchell Henry, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *May* 15, 626;—*Ministerial Statement*, Mr. Gladstone; Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *June* 5, 1344; — *New Rules of Procedure* (*Rule* 12—*Notices on going into Committee of Supply*), Observations, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Gorst; Reply, Mr. Speaker; short debate thereon *May* 18, 720; — *Telegraph Acts Amendment Bill*, Questions, Lord John Manners, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Sir William Harcourt, The Attorney General *May* 19, 947;—*Wednesday Sittings*, Resolution, Mr. Warton *May* 19, 950 [House counted out];—*The Count Out of Friday Night*, Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *June* 8, 1413

Business of the House, Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach); short debate thereon *July* 6, 1708

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS

Statement of Mr. Gladstone—Arrangement of Public Business

Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 9, 1517; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question put, and agreed to

Arrangement of Public Business, Statement, Mr. Gladstone *June* 12, 1528

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Sittings and Adjournment of the House*—cont.

Statement of Mr. Gladstone—Arrangement of Public Business

Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Friday next" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 15, 1536; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 15, 1583; after short debate, Question put; A. 32, N. 55; M. 23 (D. L. 206)

Orders of the Day

Moved, "That the remaining Orders of the Day be deferred till Friday" (*Mr. Rowley Hill*) *June* 15, 1586; after short debate, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Henry Fletcher*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put; A. 75, N. 7; M. 68 (D. L. 207)

Moved, "That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn until Tuesday next" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 19, 1603; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Acceptance of Office by the New Ministers—Statement of Mr. Gladstone

Moved, "That Standing Order No. 1 be suspended, and that this House, at its rising, do adjourn until To-morrow at Five of the clock" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 23, 1618; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question put, and agreed to

The New Ministry—New Writs

Moved, "That this House, at its rising, do adjourn till Friday" (*Mr. Rowland Winn, Secretary to the Treasury*) *June* 24

The Correspondence, Statement, Mr. Gladstone *June* 24, 1623

Motion withdrawn

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Rowland Winn*) *June* 24; Question put, and agreed to

Resolved, That this House will, at the rising of the House this day, adjourn till Monday 6th July (*Mr. Akers-Douglas, Secretary to the Treasury*)

COMMITTEES

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 15, 1540

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House (*Mr. Gladstone*) *June* 19

Ordered, That all Committees have leave to sit, notwithstanding the adjournment of the House *June* 25

Commencement of Public Business, Observation, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *July* 7, 1824

Parliament—Business of the House

Moved, "That the Committee of Supply have precedence this day of all other business;

[*cont.*

Parliament—Business of the House—cont.

and that for the remainder of the Session, including this Day, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesdays, Government Orders having priority; that Government orders have priority on Wednesdays; and that the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply on Monday and Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer*) *July* 7, 1834

After long debate, Amendt. To leave out from "That," add "this House not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *v.*, Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further debate, Question put; A. 151, N. 2; M. 149 (D. L. 211)

Main Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—House of Lords

Representative Peer for Scotland

June 12—The Earl of Lindsay, *v.* The Earl of Selkirk, deceased

New Peers

June 26—The Right Honourable Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, created Baron Halsbury of Halsbury in the County of Devon

July 6—The Right Honourable Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Baronet, G.C.B., created Viscount Saint Cyres of Newton Saint Cyres in the county of Devon, and Earl of Iddesleigh in the same county

The Right Honourable Edward Gibson, Chancellor of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created Baron Ashbourne of Ashbourne in the county of Meath

Rowland Winn, esquire, created Baron Saint Oswald of Nostell in the West Riding of the county of York

July 7—Edward Charles Baring, esquire, created Baron Revelstoke of Membland in the county of Devon

The Right Honourable Sir Robert Porrett Collier, Knight, a Member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, created Baron Monkswell of Monkswell in the county of Devon

Sir Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen, K.C.B., created Baron Lingen of Lingen in the county of Hereford

Sat First

May 18—The Viscount St. Vincent, after the death of his brother

June 5—The Earl Cairns, after the death of his father

Parliament—House of Commons

New Writs Issued

May 8—*For* County of Antrim, *v.* James Chaine, esquire, deceased

May 15—*For* County of Denbigh, *v.* Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, deceased

June 24—*For* Wakefield Borough, *v.* Robert Bownas Mackie, esquire, deceased

For Devon County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, First Lord of the Treasury

For Gloucester County (Eastern Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, baronet, Chancellor of the Exchequer

For Lancaster County (South-Western Division), *v.* Sir Richard Assheton Cross, baronet, Secretary of State

For Woodstock Borough, *v.* Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State

For Westminster City, *v.* Right honble. William Henry Smith, Secretary of State

For Lancaster County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley, Secretary of State

For Launceston Borough, *v.* Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Great Britain

For Dublin University, *v.* Right honble. Edward Gibson, Lord Chancellor of Ireland

For Middlesex County, *v.* Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, First Lord of the Admiralty

For Leicester County (Northern Division), *v.* Right honble. John James Robert Manners, Postmaster General

For Lincoln County (Mid Division), *v.* Honble. Edward Stanhope, Vice President of the Council

For Lincoln County (Mid Division), *v.* Henry Chaplin, esquire, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

For Hertford Borough, *v.* Arthur James Balfour, esquire, President of the Local Government Board

For Dublin University, *v.* Right honble. David Robert Plunket, First Commissioner of Works

For Kent County (Mid Division), *v.* Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

June 25—*For* Lincoln County (Northern Division), *v.* Rowland Winn, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds

For Kent (Western Division), *v.* Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, Vice Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT — COMMONS — *New Writs Issued*— cont.

For Down County, *v.* Right honble. Arthur William Hill, commonly called Lord Arthur Hill, Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household

For Wilts County (Southern Division), *v.* Right honble. William Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household

For Devon County (Eastern Division), *v.* William Hood Walrond, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury

For Wilton Borough, *v.* the honble. Sidney Herbet, Commissioner of the Treasury

For Bute County, *v.* Charles Dalrymple, esquire, Commissioner of the Treasury

For Eye Borough, *v.* Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire, Commissioner of the Admiralty

July 6—*For* Brighton, *v.* William Thackeray Marriott, esquire, Q.C., Judge Advocate General

For Chatham, *v.* John Eldon Gorst, esquire, Q.C., Solicitor General

July 7—*For* Aylesbury, *v.* Sir Nathaniel Mayer Rothschild, baronet, now Baron Rothschild, called up to the House of Peers

New Members Sworn

June 8—William Pirrie Sinclair, esquire, *Antrim County*

Sir Herbert Lloyd Watkin Williams Wynn, baronet, *Denbigh County*

July 6—The Right honble. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, baronet, *Gloucester County* (Eastern Division)

The Right honble. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B., *Lancaster County* (South Western Division)

The Right honble. Frederick Arthur Stanley, *Lancaster County* (Northern Division)

The Right honble William Henry Smith, *Westminster City*

The Right honble. Randolph Henry Spencer Churchill, commonly called Lord Randolph Churchill, *Woodstock Borough*

The Right honble. John James Robert Manners, commonly called Lord John Manners, *Leicester County* (Northern Division)

The honble. Edward Stanhope, *Lincoln County* (Mid Division)

The Right honble. George Francis Hamilton, commonly called Lord George Hamilton, *Middlesex*

The Right honble. David Robert Plunket, *Trinity College, Dublin*

The Right honble. Arthur James Balfour, *Hertford Borough*

The Right honble. Sir William Hart Dyke, baronet, *Kent County* (Mid Division)

Henry Chaplin, esquire, *Lincoln County* (Mid Division)

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Members Sworn*— cont.

The Right honble. William Heneage Legge, commonly called Viscount Lewisham, *Kent County* (Western Division)

Charles Dalrymple, esquire, *Bute County*

The Right honble. Pleydell Bouverie, commonly called Viscount Folkestone, *Wilts County* (Southern Division)

Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, esquire, *Eye Borough*

Richard Edward Webster, esquire, *Launceston Borough*

William Hood Walrond, esquire, *Devon County* (Eastern Division)

The honble. Sidney Herbert, *Wilton Borough*

Hugh Holmes, esquire, *Trinity College, Dublin*

Edward Green, esquire, *Wakefield Borough*

John Curzon Moore Stevens, esquire, *Devon County* (Northern Division)

Parliamentary Elections (*Mr. Bradlaugh*)

Letter received by Mr. Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh *June* 19, 1600

Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton, came to the Table to take the Oath

Moved, "That this House doth affirm the two Resolutions made upon the 11th of February 1884, directing that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted to go through the form of taking the Oath prescribed by the statute 29 Vic. c. 12, and 31 and 32 Vic. c. 72, and directing the Serjeant at Arms to exclude Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House until he shall engage not to disturb the proceedings of the House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) *July* 6, 1672

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "Mr. Bradlaugh, Member for Northampton, having informed Mr. Speaker of his intention to come to the Table to be sworn, this House is of opinion that the questions raised concerning promissory and other Oaths call for an early settlement, on wider grounds than the interests of a constituency or its Member, and, believing that legislation is necessary for its settlement, resolves that it be proceeded with as soon as possible" (*Mr. Hopwood*) *v.* ; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put ; A. 263, N. 219 ; M. 44 (D. L. 208)

After short debate, main Question put, and agreed to

Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief) Bill (*Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Davey, Mr. Burt, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Reid, Mr. Charles Russell, Mr. Carbutt, Mr. Agnew*

c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Jesse Collings*) *June* 15, 1590 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to ; Bill ordered ; read 1° * [Bill 206]

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill (*Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*)

c. *Disqualification of Voters—Medical Relief*, Questions, Mr. Alderman Cotton; Answers, The Attorney General *May* 8, 24

Consideration [Third Night] *May* 8, 33 [Bill 134]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *May* 11, 278; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Raikes*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Original Question again proposed, 284; after short debate, original Question put; A. 116, N. 33; M. 83 (D. L. 178); Bill read 3°

l. Read 1ª* (*E. of Kimberley*) *May* 12 (No. 109)

Read 2ª, after short debate *May* 15, 596

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee" *June* 8, 1360

Amendt. to leave out ("now,") add ("this day six months") (*The Lord Denman*); on Question, That ("now,") &c.? resolved in the affirmative; after short debate, Committee, 1374

Report of Amendts. to be received To-morrow; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with *June* 11

Report of Amendts. considered *June* 12, 1522; after debate, Standing Order No. XXXV. considered and dispensed with; Bill read 3ª with the Amendts. and passed, and sent to the Commons (No. 129)

c. Lords Amendts. to be considered upon Monday next, and to be printed *June* 12 [Bill 202]

Moved, "That the Lords Amendts. be now considered" *June* 15, 1540

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*); Question put; A. 35, N. 333; M. 298 (D. L. 202)

Original Question put, and agreed to; Lords Amendts. considered, 1555; several agreed to; two disagreed to

Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to two of the Amendts. to which this House hath disagreed;" List of the Committee, 1583

Reasons for disagreeing to the Lords Amendts. reported, and agreed to; to be communicated to the Lords *June* 15

l. Returned from the Commons with several of the Amendts. agreed to, and some disagreed to, with Reasons for such disagreement: The said Reasons to be printed; and to be considered on Friday next *June* 16 (No. 135)

Order of the Day for considering the Commons Reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendts. read *June* 19, 1594; Moved, "That the House do now take the said Reasons into consideration"

Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("on Tuesday next") (*The Marquess of Salisbury*); after short debate, on Question, That ("now") &c; Cont. 56, Not-Cont. 124; M. 68

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont, 1598

Ordered that the said Reasons be considered on Tuesday next

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution) Bill—cont.

l. Moved, "That the House do adjourn until Tuesday next" (*Earl Granville*); Motion agreed to

Moved, "That the Commons' Reasons for disagreeing to some of the Lords Amendts. be now considered" *June* 23, 1608

Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day six months") (*The Lord Denman*); on Question? resolved in the negative

Original Motion agreed to; Commons Reasons considered accordingly

c. Message from the Lords—That they do not insist on their Amendts. to the Bill to which this House has disagreed *June* 25

l. Royal Assent *June* 25 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 23]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*

Parliamentary Elections (Mr. Bradlaugh), Res. 1677

Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1560

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act (1882)—Renewal of Act, 1630

Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. 382

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 774, 777, 826, 829, 830

Local Government Board in Ireland, &c. 1746

Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1242, 1245

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*

Channel Tunnel (Experimental Works), 2R. 342

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland), Motion for Leave, 465

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 3R. 608

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Huntingdon*

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock, 3R. 466, 600, 603, 604, 607, 610, 611

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*

Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1586

Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. 381; *add. cl.* 390, 391; Lords Amendts. Consid. 969

Revenue and Expenditure—Incidence of Taxation, 351

Supply—Land Commissioners for England, 1713

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester Bo.*

Parliament—Adjournment, 1584

Pluralities, 2R. 976

Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 968

Russia—Offensive Speeches, 1704

[*cont.*

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Considered * *May* 8 [Bill 123]
Read 3° * *May* 11
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *May* 15 (No. 114)
Read 2ª * *June* 15
Report of Select Comm. * *June* 26

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
Parliament—Adjournment, 1584
Public Health—Reported Outbreak of Cholera, 1039

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Asia (Central)—Russia and Afghanistan—Negotiations, 1189
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 55, 78, 80, 85; Schedule 8, 96
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 445, 451

(*First Commissioner of Works*)
Literature, Science, and Art—National Portrait Gallery, 1829, 1830
Medical Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1938, 1939

Pluralities Bill (*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *May* 20, 972; after short debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Warton*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill committed to a Select Committee [Bill 22]
Moved, "That Mr. Acland be nominated a Member of the Select Committee on the Pluralities Bill" *July* 7, 1943
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Illingworth*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived; original Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Lord Edward Cavendish be nominated one other Member of the Committee;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Illingworth*); Question put; A. 7, N. 35; M. 28 (D. L. 213)
Original Question again proposed
[House counted out]

Polehampton Estates Bill
(*Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Ordered * *July* 7

Police Bill
Question, General Alexander; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 19, 944; Question, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (*Sir R. Assheton Cross*) *July* 7, 1831

Poor Law
Election of Guardians—Marylebone Union, Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, Mr. George Russell *May* 8, 28

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill
l. Select Comm. L. Inchiquin added *v.* L. Tyrone *May* 15
Report of Select Comm. * *June* 12 [No. 130]

Poor Law Unions' Officers (Ireland) Bill
(*Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Ordered * *July* 7

POSTMASTER GENERAL (*see* LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw)

POSTMASTER GENERAL (*see* MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R.)

POST OFFICE (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Charges against Post Office Servants, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 22, 1144
The Inventions Exhibition, Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Birkbeck; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert *May* 15, 612
The Parcel Post—Temporary Clerks, Questions, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 11, 130
Telegraphic Communication with the Hebrides, Question, Lord Colin Campbell; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey *May* 8, 20

Telegraph Department
Insufficient Addresses, Question, Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *May* 11, 142
Secrecy of Telegrams, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, The Lord Advocate *June* 8, 1402
Sixpenny Telegrams, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Puleston; Answers, The Postmaster General (Lord John Manners) *July* 7, 1825

Postal Service (*Great Britain and North America*)
Select Committee nominated *May* 20; List of the Committee, 985

Post Office Sites Bill
(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Report of Select Comm * *May* 21 [No. 298]
Order for Committee (*on re-comm*) read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *June* 4, 1317
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dixon-Hartland*); after short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

POWER, Mr. P. J., *Waterford Co.*
Ireland—Memorial of the Civil Bill Officers, 16
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *cl.* 18, 530

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford City*
Asia (Central)—"Penjdeh Incident"—General Komaroff and Sir Peter Lumsden, 719
Ireland — Education — Waterford Industrial School, 18

POWERSCOURT, Viscount
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. 1363; Schedule 6, Amendt. 1392

POWIS, Earl of
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. *cl.* 28, 1385

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882
Firing at the Person—Case of W. R. Perceval, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 614
Legislation, Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 11, 147; Question, The Earl of Donoughmore; Answer, Lord Carlingford *May* 15, 568
Prosecution of Mr. Daniel Ryan, of Doon, Co. Limerick, for Re-entry after Eviction, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 14, 473; *May* 18, 711

Renewal of Act, Notice of Motion, Mr. Heneage *June* 4, 1193; Notice of Motion, Mr. Parnell *June* 24, 1630

See 84 (*Searches, &c.*)—*Case of Mr. John O'Rourke, Redhill, Newport, Co. Mayo*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 15, 613

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Navy—Royal Marines—Pensions of Non-Commissioned Officers, 1833
Steam Reserves, 1833

PRIME MINISTER (*see* GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E.)

PRIME MINISTER (*see* SALISBURY, Marquess of)

Princess Beatrice's Annuity Bill
(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Resolution [May 14] reported; Bill ordered * *May* 18
Read 1° * *May* 19 [Bill 187]
Read 2° * *May* 21
Committee *; Report *June* 4
Read 3° * *June* 15
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl Granville*) *June* 17
Read 2ª; Committee negatived *June* 19, 1593 (No. 138)
Royal Assent *June* 25 [48 & 49 *Vict.* c. 24]

Prisons (England)
Convict Prisons—Regulations as to Convicts' Memorials, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 12, 361
Prisoners' Library at Liverpool, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 21, 1029

PRIVY SEAL, Lord (*see* ROSEBERY, Earl of)

Public Health
Small-Pox — Tables of Mortality, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. George Russell *May* 12, 349
Vaccination—Small-Pox Statistics at West Ham, Questions, Mr. Hopwood, Colonel Makins; Answers, Mr. George Russell *May* 14, 482

The Cholera
Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell *June* 8, 1399
Protective Inoculation for Cholera, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 20
Vaccination for Cholera, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. George Russell *May* 22, 1147
Reported Outbreak of Cholera, Question, Sir Lyon Playfair; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *May* 21, 1039
Preventive Measures, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 7, 1830

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Ordered *; read 1° *May* 21 [Bill 194]
Read 2° * *June* 5
Report * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Dalhousie*) *June* 19
Read 2ª * *June* 25 (No. 148)

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Ordered * *June* 15
Read 1° * *June* 19 [Bill 207]
Read 2° * *July* 7

Public Offices—The New Admiralty and War Offices—The Models
Question, The Earl of Wemyss; Answer, The Earl of Rosebery *June* 15, 1535

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. Motion for reporting Progress, 1790
Dee Conservancy, Res. 1822
East India Loan (£10,000,000), Comm. 1782, 1789
Egypt (Soudan), Ministerial Statement, 162
London Livery Companies, Motion for Leave, 1791, 1792
Parliament—Business of the House, 366
Post Office—Sixpenny Telegrams, 1826
Post Office Sites, Comm. 1324
Suez Canal Commission, 23
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1212
Telegraph Acts Amendment, 2R. 1157

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill
Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *May* 14, 488

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 1178
Dee Conservancy, Res. 1806, 1818, 1822
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Suakin-Berber Railway, 941
Law and Police—Robbery at the House of Commons, 949
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 37, 38, 39, 40; 3R. Motion for Adjournment, 280, 283; Lords Amendts. Consid. 1550, 1552, 1559
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 400, 415; Lords Amendts. Consid. 954

Railways — South Hetton and Seaham Harbour Coal Railway—Casualty at Seaham
Question, Mr. T. C. Thompson; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 15, 617

RANKIN, Mr. J., *Leominster*
Education—Voluntary Training Homes, 1397
Supply—Woods, Forests, &c. 1741

RATHBONE, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 37

RAVENSWORTH, Earl of
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, 2R. Amendt. 1794, 1803

READ, Mr. C. S., *Norfolk, W.*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1455

Real Property Registration Bill [H.L.]
(*The Duke of Marlborough*)
c. Presented; read 1ª* *June* 12 (No. 132)

REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)
Cart Navigation, 2R. 107
Earldom of Mar Restitution, 2R. 888
Friendly Societies Act, 1875—Registration of New Societies, Motion for a Select Committee, 1329
Glasgow Corporation Tramways, 3R. 1533
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, 2R. 1804
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, 2R. 1650

Redistribution of Seats Bill
(*Admiral Sir John Hay, Mr. James Campbell*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *May* 18 [Bill 16]

REDMOND, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Ireland—Law and Justice — The Barbavilla Murder, 1359
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 6, 33

REDMOND, Mr. W. H. K., *Wexford*
Channel Tunnel (Experimental Works), 2R. 346
H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—Queen's Message, 508, 510
Ireland—Questions
Local Government Board—Irregularity of a Rate Collector at Arklow, 1021, 1022
Post Office—Branch Office at Whitby's Cross, Co. Wexford, 478
Roads and Bridges—Newtownbarry Bridge, 699
Papal See — Diplomatic Communication with the Vatican—Mr. Errington, 632
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 6, 34; Schedule 7, 78, 87
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *cl.* 18, 524, 526
Supply—Marriage Portion of H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, 1906, 1907

REED, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
Parliament—Business of the House, 148

Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway Bill
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *July* 7, 1792
Moved, "That Standing Order No. 128 (which prohibits the payment of interest out of capital) be dispensed with" (*The Earl of Ravensworth*); after short debate, on Question? Cont. 46, Not-Cont. 37; M. 9; resolved in the affirmative
Bill read 2ª, and committed; The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection

Registration (Occupation Voters) Act
Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, The Attorney General *May* 21, 1036

Registration (Occupation Voters) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Henry H. Fowler*)
c. Order for Consideration, as amended, read *May* 12, 367
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed for the purpose of receiving a Clause providing for the repeal of so much of any Act or Acts relating to Parliamentary Registration in Counties and Boroughs as makes the expenses of Overseers of the Poor and Clerks of the Peace or Town Clerks a legal charge upon the Local Rates" (*Sir Massey Lopes*); after debate, Question put; A. 258, N. 280; M. 22 (D. L. 180)
Bill considered, 387; after long debate, Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°;" Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3° [Bill 140]
l. Read 1ª* (*The Lord Chancellor*) *May* 15
Read 2ª* *May* 18 (No. 111)
Committee *May* 19, 889
Report*; read 3ª *May* 20 (No. 120)
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and agreed to *May* 20, 952
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 15]

Registration (Occupation Voters)—Medical Relief—Mr. Chamberlain
Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Gibson, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Richard Grosvenor *June* 8, 1408

Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Order for Consideration, as amended, read *May* 13, 441
After short debate, Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed with respect to new Clauses regarding temporary provision for remuneration of local officials, and contribution to cost of registration in borough of Dublin by townships of Pembroke and Blackrock" (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*); Motion withdrawn; Bill considered; after debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *May* 14, 512; after long debate, Bill re-committed; Committee, 562; after further short debate, Report; Considered; read 3° [Bill 150]
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord President*) *May* 15
Read 2ª * *May* 18 (No. 116)
Committee *May* 19, 905
Report *; read 3ª *May* 20 (No. 122)
c. Lords Amendts. considered and agreed to *May* 20
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 17]

Registration of Voters (Scotland) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *May* 12, 434
Amendt. to leave out "now read 3°," add "re-committed" (*Mr. Henderson*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That 'now read 3°' &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Original Question again proposed; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3° [Bill 151]
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Rosebery*) *May* 15
Read 2ª * *May* 18 (No. 112)
Committee; after short debate *May* 19, 903
Report *; read 3ª *May* 20 (No. 121)
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and agreed to *May* 20, 970
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict.* c. 16]

REID, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Parliament—Adjournment, 1584
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 965
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. *add. cl.* 444

Representation of the People Act, 1884
Instructions to Clerks of Unions and Poor Rate Collectors, Questions, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 11, 143
Duties of Boards of Guardians, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 12, 350; — *Clones*

[*cont.*

Representation of the People Act, 1884—cont.
Union, Co. Monaghan, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *May* 12, 359
Duties of Overseers, Questions, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Finch-Hatton; Answers, The Attorney General *May* 15, 615

Representation of the People and Registration of Voters (Ireland) Acts—Duties of the Collector General of Rates, Dublin
Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *May* 18, 713

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*
Intermediate Education (Wales), 358

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of
Egypt and the Soudan, Motion for a Return, 10
Glasgow Corporation Tramways, 3R. 1533
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. *cl.* 22, 1382
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 16, 899, 901

(*President of the Board of Trade*)
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, 2R. 1798
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, 2R. 1648

RIPON, Marquess of
Honorary Freedom of Boroughs, Commons Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 1594
Parliament — Adjournment — Resignation of Ministers, 1534
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. Schedule 7, 1393
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 13, 891

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Egypt (Soudan), Ministerial Statement, 160, 161
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1555
Registration (Occupation Voters) — Medical Relief—Mr. Chamberlain, 1410
Water Companies (Regulation of Powers), 2R. 104

(*Secretary to the Admiralty*)
Navy—Royal Marines—Pensions of Non-Commissioned Officers, 1834

River Thames (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Elton, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Sellar, Colonel Makins, Mr. Molloy*)
c. Read 2° *, and referred to a Select Committee *May* 20 [Bill 90]
Select Committee nominated *May* 21
Report of Select Comm * *June* 12 [No. 218]
Committee * (*on re-comm*)—R.P. *July* 6 [Bill 203]
Committee (*on re-comm*); Report *July* 7, 1941

Rivers Purification Bill (*Mr. Hastings, Earl Percy, Colonel Walrond*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 20 [Bill 190]
Bill withdrawn * *July* 6

ROBERTSON, Mr. H., *Shrewsbury*
Dee Conservancy, Res. 1815

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Metropolis Management Act Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 1, 878
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 6, 35
Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. *add. cl.* 390, 404
Supply—Colonial Local Revenue, &c. 1767
Embassies and Missions Abroad, 1759, 1760
Supreme Court of Judicature—Salaries and Expenses not charged on the Consolidated Fund, 1922

ROSEBERY, Earl of (Lord Privy Seal, and First Commissioner of Works)
Earldom of Mar Restitution, 1R. 1; 2R. 880
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—Westminster Hall (Restoration), 999, 1000
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. Schedule 5, 1390, 1391
Public Offices — New Admiralty and War Offices—The Models, 1535
Registration of Voters, 568
Registration of Voters (Scotland), Comm. 903; *cl.* 12, 904
Secretary for Scotland, 1R. 567, 1670
Women's Suffrage, 2R. 1611

ROSS, Major A. H., *Maidstone*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The Boxley Rifle Range, 21

ROSSE, Earl of
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. 1369

ROUNDELL, Mr. C. S., *Grantham*
Employers' Liability Act Amendment, 937

Royal Family, Provision for the — A Select Committee
Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *July* 7, 1832

Royal Irish Constabulary Redistribution Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *May* 21 [48 *Vict* c. 12]

RUSSELL, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Parliamentary Elections (Medical Relief), Motion for Leave, 1590

RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E. (Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*
Metropolis Management Acts Amendment, Comm. *add. cl.* 1327

RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E.—*cont.*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, 91
Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Marylebone Union, 28
Public Health—Small-Pox, 349;—Cholera Vaccination, 1148, 1400
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Russia
Conscription in the Caucasus, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 8, 29
Offensive Speeches (*Lord Randolph Churchill*), Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Picton; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *July* 6, 1704

Russia — Circular Despatch of Prince Gortchakoff, 1864
Resolution, The Duke of Argyll *May* 11, 109; debate adjourned
Debate resumed *May* 12, 302
Moved, "That the circular despatch addressed by Prince Gortchakow to Russian Representatives abroad, dated 21st November 1864, be reprinted" (*The Duke of Argyll*); after debate, Motion agreed to
[See *Central Asia—Russia and Afghanistan*]

RUSTON, Mr. J., *Lincoln City*
Burials—Nonconformist Burial at Holmbeach, 121
Telegraph Acts Amendment, 2R. 1173

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords Amendts. Consid. 955
Supply—Board of Trade, 1276
Comptroller and Auditor General of the Exchequer, &c. 1309
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1220

Sale of Food and Drugs Act—Spurious Butters
Questions, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 21, 1018

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Asia (Central)—Russia and Afghanistan—Russo-Afghan Frontier, 108; Personal Explanation, 301
Egypt—Suppression of the "Bosphore Egyptien"—Sir Evelyn Baring, 5
Egypt (The Soudan)—Abandonment by England, Res. 690, 694
H.R.H. Princess Beatrice—Message from the Queen, 300, 569
Parliament—Business of the House—Adjournment, 950, 951
Privilege—The Marquess of Salisbury's Speech at Hackney—Personal Explanation, 293, 295
Parliament—Adjournment of the House, Motion, 1638

SALISBURY, Marquess of—*cont.*
Parliament—New Ministry—Statement of the Marquess of Salisbury, 1592, 1593, 1631
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), 2R. 598; Comm. 1371; *cl.* 9, 1377; *cl.* 12, Amendt. 1378, 1379; *cl.* 22, Amendt. 1381, 1382; *cl.* 28, 1385; Schedule 5, 1388, 1390;—Commons Reasons Consid. Amendt. 1595, 1597
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 13, Amendt. 889, 890; *cl.* 15, 892; Amendt. 893, 896; *cl.* 16, 900
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Suez Canal Commission, 1332

(*Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs —Prime Minister*)
Lunacy Bill, 1670
Parliament—Adjournment—Statement of the Marquess of Salisbury — Arrangement of Public Business, 1652, 1664
Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, 2R. 1799, 1804

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—Arrangements with the Ameer, 712
Customs and Inland Revenue—Spirit and Beer Duties—Income Tax Exemptions, 1016
Supply—Vote of Credit, 1015

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
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Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1217, 1234, 1240

SCOTLAND (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
Artizans and Labourers Dwellings (Scotland) Act—The Leith Improvement Scheme, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. A. Grant; Answers, The Lord Advocate *May* 18, 707
Representation of the People Act, 1884—*Printing the Register of Parliamentary Voters*, Question, Mr. Preston Bruce; Answer, The Lord Advocate *May* 11, 139

Education Department (Scotland)
Aberdeen University, Question, Mr. Craig Sellar; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 21, 1021
School Board Examinations, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella *May* 11, 128

Law and Justice (Scotland)
Discharged Prisoners, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate *May* 11, 124
Office of Auditor of the Court of Session, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate *June* 8, 1396

Sea Coast Fisheries — Fishing Vessels—Trawlers' Lights
Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *May* 15, 632

Sea Fisheries (Scotland) Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 2ª, after debate *May* 21, 987 (No. 102)

Secretary for Scotland Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Rosebery*)
c. Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *May* 8, 20
l. Presented; read 1ª *May* 15, 567 (No. 117)
Observation, The Earl of Rosebery *July* 6, 1670

SELBORNE, Earl of (Lord Chancellor)
Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883 — County Courts—Power of Bailiffs, 109
Barristers Admission (Ireland), 2R. 4
Earldom of Mar Restitution, 2R. 836
Lunacy Acts Amendment, Comm. 879, 880
Parliament — Adjournment — Resignation of Ministers, 1516, 1534
Parliament—Business of the House—Adjournment, 950, 951
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. *cl.* 28, 1385
Registration (Occupation Voters), Comm. *cl.* 13, 890, 891; Amendt. 892; *cl.* 15, 894, 896; *cl.* 16, 898, 900
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Regent's Canal, City, and Docks Railway, 2R. 1708
Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment, 2R. 1649

SELLAR, Mr. A. C., *Haddington, &c.*
Education Department (Scotland)—Aberdeen University, 1021
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. *cl.* E and F, 1377

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
Police Superannuation Bill, 1831
Supply—Embassies and Missions Abroad, 1755

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Royal Irish Rifles —Disturbance at Downpatrick, 127
Army — Small-Pox at Manchester — 5th Dragoon Guards, 622
Barrington's Hospital, 3R. 916
Honorary Freedom of Boroughs, Comm. 874; *cl.* 1, Amendt. *ib.* 875; Consid. 1135
Ireland—Questions
Collector General of Rates, Dublin—Collection of the Improvement Rate, 17
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Education—Banagher Royal School, 1143
Evictions—Gweedore, 358;—Case of Mary Magee, 938
Fishery Piers and Harbours—Harbour at Clogher Head, Co. Louth, 1333
Housing of the Working Classes—Royal Commission, 355, 356
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Landlord and Tenant—Colonel King-Harman and his Tenants, 491
Law and Justice—Barbavilla Murder, 1355; Tubbercurry Prisoners, 27
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Piers and Harbours—Pier at Rosses Point, Co. Sligo, 1186
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Representation of the People and Registration of Voters Acts—Duties of Collector General of Rates, Dublin, 713
Sea and Coast Fisheries—Trawling Ground at Portstewart Bay, 1186
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Ireland—Poor Law—Questions
Dunfanaghy Board of Guardians—The Rev. Mr. M'Fadden, P.P. 1187, 1188
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Law and Police — Robbery at the House of Commons, 949
Medical Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1938, 1939
Merchant Shipping — The "Marie Brockelmann," 1334
Papal See — Diplomatic Communication with the Vatican — Mr. Errington, 32, 149, 150, 361
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Registration (Occupation Voters), Consid. 382; Lords Amendts. Consid. 956, 968, 1037
Registration of Voters (Ireland), Consid. 442; *add. cl.* 444, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 459, 463; Amendt. 512, 514, 515; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 516; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 518, 520; *cl.* 9, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 17, 522; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 523, 525, 532; Schedule 1, Amendt. 534, 536, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 547, 548, 549, 551; Schedule 2, *ib.*; Schedule 3, 560; Re-comm. *add. cl.* Amendt. 562, 563; 3R. 564
Registration of Voters (Scotland), 3R. 435, 436
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SEXTON, Mr. T.—*cont.*
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1222, 1231
Supreme Court of Judicature — Salaries and Expenses not charged on the Consolidated Fund, 1934
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Shannon Navigation Bill [Bill 171]
(*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Report of Select Committee * *May* 8 [No. 183]
Committee (*on re-comm*)—R.P. *June* 4, 1325
Committee * (*on re-comm*); Report *July* 6

SHEIL, Mr. E., *Meath Co.*
Registration (Occupation Voters), Lords' Amendts. Consid. 954

Shipping, Quarantine on — An International Scientific and Sanitary Conference at Rome
Question, Mr. Sutherland; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 14, 486

SIDMOUTH, Viscount
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SIMON, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 43, 47; Lords Amendts. Consid. *cl.* E and F, Amendt. 1580

Sites for Places of Religious Worship Bill (*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Burt, Mr. Alexander M'Arthur, Mr. Webster*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *May* 20, 979
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Colonel Makins*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Newdegate*); Question put, and negatived
Original Question again proposed; Debate adjourned

SLAGG, Mr. J., *Manchester*
Burmah, Affairs of—Alleged Treaty with Germany and France, 1038
Channel Tunnel (Experimental Works), 2R. 333
East India Loan (£10,000,000), 2R. 1061
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Ireland — Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Firing at the Person—Case of Mr. W. R. Perceval, 614
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SMITH, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
Army—Defence of the Coaling Stations, 625
National Debt, 1184; — Suspension of the Sinking Fund, 709
Navy — Explosion on Board H.M.S. "Inflexible," 1413
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Lords Amendts. Consid. 1559
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Supply—Charity Commission, 1287
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 768
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Ways and Means — Financial Statement—Ministerial Statement, 1193

(*Secretary of State for War*)
Egypt (Military Expedition)—Vote of Thanks to the Forces, 1830
Parliament—Business of the House, Res. 1871

SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (*see* HERSCHELL, Sir F.)

South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Companies (Arbitration) Bill
l. Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee to whom the said Bill was committed" (*The Earl of Milltown*) *May* 18, 650; after short debate, resolved in the negative

Spain
Failure of the Commercial Negotiations, Questions, Mr. Slagg, Mr. Bourke, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 18, 703
The Treaty of Commerce, Question, Captain Aylmer; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *June* 8, 1407
The Barque "Mary Mark," Questions, Mr. Henderson; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 18, 710; *May* 19, 945
The Derelict Ship "Thessalos," Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *May* 19, 946

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Asia (Central) — Russo-Afghan Frontier — Arbitration, 1035
Barrington's Hospital, 3R. 916
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(*The Lord Sudeley*)
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SULLIVAN, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*
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Summary Jurisdiction (Term of Imprisonment) Bill (*Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
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Considered in Committee *May* 18, 723—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS
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Moved, "That a further sum, not exceeding £1,360,500, be granted, &c." (*Lord Randolph Churchill*); after debate, Moved, "That the Motion be withdrawn;" after further short debate, Question put; A. 11, N. 74; M. 63 (D. L. 195)
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Resolutions reported *July* 6
Considered in Committee *July* 6, 1712—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 15 to 42; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES—Votes 1 to 3, 5 to 9
Resolutions reported, and, after short debate, agreed to *July* 7, 1934
Considered in Committee *July* 7—£30,000, MARRIAGE PORTION OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS BEATRICE—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE—Votes 1, 3, and 4
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Tithe Rent Charge Redemption Bill
(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Cubitt, Mr. Monk, Mr. Vivian*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 14 [Bill 181]
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Tithe Rent Extraordinary Limitation Bill (*Mr. Daniel Grant, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Duckham, Mr. Borlase*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 13 [Bill 177]

TOLLEMACHE, Mr. H. J., *Cheshire, W.*
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TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
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c. Report * *May* 21 [Bill 131]
Considered * *May* 22
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Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill
(*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Read 2° * *May* 8 [Bill 143]
Report * *June* 12
Considered * *June* 15
Read 3° * *June* 19
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 19 (No. 149)
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Tramways Provisional Orders (No 2) Bill
(*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 8 [Bill 166]
Read 2° * *May* 19
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Considered * *June* 24
Read 3° * *June* 25
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Beauchamp*) *June* 26 (No. 156)

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill
(*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 8 [Bill 167]
Read 2° * *May* 19
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Valuation of Lands (Scotland) (Appeals) Bill (*Mr. Henderson, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Stewart Clark*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *May* 20 [Bill 191]

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Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Ritchie*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *May* 8, 104
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WATERLOW, Sir S. H., *Gravesend*
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Water Provisional Orders Bill (*Mr. Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Report * *June* 12 [Bill 142]
Read 3° * *June* 15
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Sudeley*) *June* 16 (No. 137)
Read 2ª * *June* 23
Committee * *July* 6
Report * *July* 7

Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill (*Mr. Daniel Grant, Mr. Torrens, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Aldermn W. Lawrence, Bron Henry De Worms*)
l. Read 1ª * (*Viscount Enfield*) *June* 5 (No. 127)
c. Considered *May* 8, 103 [Bill 152]
Read 3° *May* 21, 1136
Order of the Day read for taking into consideration Standing Order No. 93 in order to its being dispensed with in respect of a petition or petitions of the Metropolitan Water Companies praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill *July* 6, 1647
Moved, "That the said Standing Order be now considered" (*The Lord Bramwell*); after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª;" Motion agreed to; Bill read 2ª, and referred to a Select Committee

WATKIN, Sir E. W., *Hythe*
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Customs Department—Examination of Baggage at English Ports, 1030

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WAUGH, Mr. E., *Cockermouth*
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Consid. Schedule 7, Amendt. 38, 39

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The Spirit Duties, Question, Mr. H. S. Northcote; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 11, 124; Question, Mr. Orr Ewing; Answer, Mr. Hibbert, 140; Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 14, 480
The Wine Duties, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 19, 944
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The Succession Duties—Exemption of Universities and Colleges, Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *May* 11, 132
Precedent for appropriating Funds of Proximate to meet Deficit in Current Year, Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *June* 8, 1413

Revenue and Expenditure—Incidence of Taxation, Question, Mr. Pell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *May* 12, 351

WEBSTER, Sir R. E. (Attorney General), *Launceston*
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WEST, Mr. H. W., *Ipswich*
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WHITBREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*
Customs and Inland Revenue, 2R. 1469
Dee Conservancy, Res. 1821

WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
Merchant Shipping—Transfer of Registry, &c. Comm. *cl.* 1, 1939

WILLIAMSON, Mr. S., *St. Andrews, &c.*
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WILLIS, Mr. W., *Colchester*
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WILLS, Mr. W. H., *Coventry*
Parliamentary Elections (Mr. Bradlaugh), Res. 1702

WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*
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WILSON, Sir M., *York, W. R., N. Div.*
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WINN, Mr. R., *Lincolnshire, N.*
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WOLFF, Sir H. D., *Portsmouth*
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Women's Suffrage Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Denman*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *June* 23, 1611; after short debate, on Question? Cont. 8, Not-Cont. 36; M. 28 resolved in the negative (No. 27)

WOODALL, Mr. W., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Parliament — Business of the House, Res. 1881

WORKS—First Commissioner (*see* ROSEBERY, Earl of)

WORKS—First Commissioner (*see* PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R.)

WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART-, *Sheffield*
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WROTTESLEY, Lord
Parliamentary Elections (Redistribution), Comm. Schedule 7, Amendt. 1392

WYNDHAM, Hon. P. S., *Cumberland, W.*
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Yorkshire Registries Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Wenlock*)
l. Presented; read 1ª* *June* 15 (No. 133)
Read 2ª* *June* 23
Committee*; Report *June* 25
c. Read 1°* *July* 7 [Bill 211]

END OF VOLUME CCXCVIII., AND SIXTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.

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